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A TECHNO-ECONOMIC EXAMINATION OF MIDSEXUALISM

By

Mary Curtis


B.A. Rocky Mountain College, 1981

Presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1984

Approved by:


Chairman, Board of Examiners


Dean, Graduate School

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Anthropology

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A midsexual has been defined as any individual who may or may not retain his socialized gender identity, but who displays physiological or behavioral characteristics of the opposite sex that allow him to assume the corresponding gender role in most situations, early and continuing throughout the life cycle. The purpose of this study was to examine midsexualism from a cultural materialist perspective and determine under what conditions midsexuals are more likely to exist and be accommodated. Through the use of the Human Relations Area files and other supporting information, midsexuals were identified in 140 societies in the world, 30 of which were chosen for a detailed analysis using both statistical and ethnographic data. It was found that midsexuals were more likely to exist and be accommodated in societies where female economic participation and control were high or at least significant. In contrast, midsexualism was rarer in cultures with predominant male contributions and the accommodation shown midsexuals also tended to be less. These general conclusions were further supported by additional evidence indicating greater accommodation for male midsexuals than female ones in midsexual present societies. The difference in accommodation was related to the dual economic role adopted by male midsexuals and its lack of reproductive conflict. Finally, an attempt was made to look at current attitudes towards midsexuals in the United States and relate them to current techno-economic conditions.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Contents	iv
Figures and Tables	v
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION.....	5
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY.....	17
CHAPTER 4 SOME EXPLANATIONS OF MIDSEXUALISM.....	28
CHAPTER 5 SOME INDICATIONS OF MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION.....	43
CHAPTER 6 SELECTED FACTORS AFFECTING MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION..	63
CHAPTER 7 DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE MIDSEXUALS.....	110
CHAPTER 8 MIDSEXUALISM TODAY.....	131
BIBLIOGRAPHY	141

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

1. Prenatal Sex Diamorphic Development in Normal Males and Females. 31

Tables

1. Midsexual Present Societies in the World 29
2. Midsexual Present Societies and Degree of Accomodation 61
3. Time Spent and Animals Taken Over a One Month Period 66
4. Midsexual Accommodation by Subsistence Contribution 68
5. Midsexual Present Societies by Subsistence Practice 70
6. Home Range Sizes, Day Ranging Distances and Subsistence Act- ... 72
ivities of Adult Male and Female Orangutuns and Chimpanzees
7. Division of Labor in Horticulture vs. Intensive Agriculture 74
8. Midsexual Present Societies by Division of Labor 76
9. Midsexual Present Societies by Male Midsexual Accommodation, ... 83
High Female Control, Polygyny, Warfare, Kinship and Female Input
10. Incidence of Homosexuality and Polygyny in Midsexual Absent 81
Societies
11. Scale of Female Status With Related Variables 96
12. Midsexual Accommodation by Female Status 96
13. Status Indicators for Midsexuals by Accommodation 97
14. Sexual Attitudes and Midsexual Accommodation102
15. Midsexual Accommodation by Eight Selected Factors103
16. Midsexual Present Societies by Male and Female Midsexuals111
17. Male Midsexuals by Subsistence114
18. Female Midsexuals by Subsistence115
19. Selected Male and Female Midsexual Societies by Accommodation ..117
and Number
20. Comparison of Male and Female Midsexuals119
21. Selected Midsexual Absent Societies with Boy Wives121
22. Societies with Female Husbands by Selected Features128
23. Women in the Labor Force, Selected Years 1890-1968134
24. Labor Participation Rates of United States Mothers134
25. Sex Attitudes among Sampled College Students136
26. Comparison of Male and Female Students 136

Chapter One Introduction

What does it mean to be a man or a woman in a particular culture? This question has intrigued anthropologists for decades and many ethnographies devote a chapter or more to describing the roles men and women assume in their culture and the attitudes and behaviors that characterize them. More recently, attempts have also been made to correlate the presence of high or low female status with the level of economic development and the degree of control over production (Boserup 1970, Friedl 1975). Other researchers have questioned traditional interpretations of sex roles (Slocum 1975, Goodale 1971), or concentrated on examining the effects of Colonialism and industrialization on sex roles around the world (Draper 1975, Dwyer 1977). All these studies have increased our understanding of the origin, development and maintenance of sex roles. However, they tend to deal with males and females in terms of separate categories and base many conclusions on the assumption that every individual will adopt and interact in either the male or female role.

This assumption neglects the reality that in a number of cultures around the world, people have existed who are sexually ambiguous and cannot be easily classified. Sometimes the reason is biological, as in the case of abnormal genitalia. In other instances, it appears to be psychological and behavioral--the person assuming the personality and activities of the other sex, up to and including sexual preference and practices. The presence of these people is intriguing and poses a

question: under what circumstances are these people more likely to exist and what does this say about the nature of sex roles in general? The intent of this thesis will be to address that question and come to some conclusions based on the ethnographic evidence. First, however, certain definitions must be clarified.

Sex Role: In using the term, I have relied on Money and Erhardt's (1972) definition that it consists of two complementary aspects--gender identity and gender role. Gender identity refers to an individual's sense of himself as male or female, while gender role emphasizes the behavior and characteristics that allow him to be correctly identified by other members of his society. While Money and Tucker (1975:9) use the term "gender identity/role" to indicate the unity of the concepts, I found the terminology too cumbersome and will use either gender or sex role when talking about these aspects together.

Transsexual: Although many different definitions of the word exist, I have chosen to subscribe to the one offered by Money and Tucker, (1975:31) that a transsexual's "gender identity has swung all the way over against his anatomy." The transsexual feels antagonistic towards his physical sex and its accompanying gender role and, to the degree allowed by his society will try to assume the gender role and appearance that corresponds to his gender identity up to and including surgical transformation.

Transvestite: Again, the definitions vary. I prefer the narrow definition offered by Kessler and McKenna (1979:14) that a transvestite is "someone whose gender identity corresponds to his/her sex assignment, but who obtains erotic pleasure by dressing as the other gender."

Berdache: This term has been used interchangeably with transvestite in the literature. However, since berdaches can also be hermaphrodites can frequently adopt behaviors of the other sex in addition to sexual practices, I felt the two terms should be kept separate. Usually, berdache is used to refer to "a person, usually male, who was anatomically normal but assumed the dress, occupations and behavior of the other sex to effect a change in gender status" (Callender and Kochems 1983:443).

Hermaphrodite or Intersexed: Definitions still vary. However, the view that a hermaphrodite is "an individual having both male and female reproductive organs" appears to be the most inclusive (Angelino and Shedd 1956:124).

Midsexual: An individual who may or may not retain his socialized gender identity, but who displays physiological or behavioral characteristics of the opposite sex that allow him to assume the corresponding gender role in most situations, early and continuing throughout the life cycle. I have coined this term to simplify referring to transsexuals, berdache, hermaphrodites and others which fit within the category and also to exclude individuals such as transvestites as they have been defined here, who do not meet the criteria.

These definitions represent a starting point. The remainder of the thesis will be devoted to answering the question already raised: under what circumstances are midsexuals more likely to exist and be accommodated and what implications does this have for the study of sex roles in general? In undertaking this analysis, I have begun by

outlining my theoretical position. Next, I will evaluate several explanations for the existence of midsexuals and discuss selected factors which might influence the degree of midsexual accommodation. Finally, I will compare differences in frequency and distribution of male and female midsexuals and examine current trends in the United States towards midsexuals. A summary will review this information and state the conclusions reached on the basis of the ethnographic evidence and supporting statistical information.

Chapter Two Theoretical Orientation

Most of the anthropological information on midsexuals comes from two sources. The first is early accounts given by traders, trappers and other explorers in the 19th and 18th centuries. The second comes from ethnographic reports and descriptions written by anthropologists from 1900 to 1950. During the latter period anthropology was also dominated by the historical reconstructionist school founded by Franz Boas. Consequently, many of the interpretations that have been made about midsexuals are based on a Boasian theoretical orientation. In this thesis, however, the intent is to examine midsexualism from the perspective of cultural materialism. The follow chapter will concentrate on comparing materialist and idealist approaches and discussing their utility for anthropological research, especially in the area of social organization.

The term cultural materialism was first coined in 1968 by Marvin Harris to describe an anthropological research strategy based on the principle of techno-environmental and techno-economic determinism. According to this view, similar technologies applied to similar environments tend to result in similar patterns of production and distribution and that these foster similar kinds of social groupings which are justified and maintained through similar systems of values and beliefs. "Translated into a research strategy, the principle of techno-environmental, techno-economic determinism assigns priority to the study of the material conditions of socio-cultural life, much as the principle of

natural selection assigns priority to the study of differential reproductive success" (Harris 1968:4). This approach is often represented by a trifold model consisting of the infrastructure, the structure and the super structure. The mode of production and reproduction fall under the category of the infrastructure, while a society's domestic and political economy are subsumed under the structure of social organization, ideals and values under super structure. These three elements are arranged in a hierarchy with the infrastructure forming the base of society. Due to their emphasis on techno-economics, cultural materialists see cultural change as progressing from the bottom up; changes in the environment or technology result in changes in economic practices which in turn cause changes in social organization and ideology through positive or negative feedback. Ideas and individuals are therefore not seen as the prime movers of culture, but rather are shaped by and reflect techno-economic realities. Ideas and inventions for example, do not take hold when they are first conceived unless "appropriate material conditions for their social acceptance and use are also present" (Harris 1979:59). Individuals are also not seen as being able to exert an influence on their culture until infrastructural or techno-economic conditions allow their ideas to be accepted. As a result, cultural materialism tends to be an unpopular theory with humanists and cultural idealists who stress the importance and uniqueness of the individual and his ability to affect culture change.

Another important aspect of cultural materialism is its emphasis on emics and etics. These terms were originally derived from the words phoenemic and phonetic (Pike 1967) and were used to refer to subjective

and objective approaches to anthropological problems. Cultural materialism employs these terms to distinguish between native viewpoints and explanations for cultural practices and events and the techno-economic based reached by researchers. Importance is also placed on showing how emic interpretations may reflect or rationalize etic realities and incorporating both kinds of analysis into the basic research strategy. As Harris sees it:

The first simple step toward operationalizing such concepts as status, role, class, caste, tribe, state, aggression, exploitation, family kinship, and the rest is to specify whether the knowledge of one professes to have about these entities has been gained by means of emic or etic operations. All notions of replicability and testability fly up the chimney when the world as seen by the observed is capriciously muddled with the world as seen by the observer. . . . Research strategies that fail to distinguish between mental and behavior stream events and between emic and etic operations cannot develop coherent networks of theories embracing the causes of socio-cultural differences and similarities. And a priori, one can say that those research strategies that confine themselves exclusively to etics do not meet the general criteria for an aim-oriented social science as effectively as those which embrace both points of view (1979:33-34).

Cultural materialism also embraces the viewpoint that differences in power and access to strategic resources may result in one segment of the population being exploited by another. This has important implications for the study of sex roles. When male and female access to strategic resources is similar, cultural materialists argue that females are more apt to enjoy an equal status with men. If differences exist, then one sex's status will show elevation at the expense of the other. In societies where women do not make many economic contributions, their loss of status and power places them in a subordinate position to males. While doctrines of equality may facilitate women achieving independence,

cultural materialism does not see ideology as the major initiator of change. Rather, it is the return of women to the work force and their resumption of a degree of economic control that allow such ideas as women's liberation to take root. Harris applies this model to the changes in modern sex roles since the industrial revolution. As he observes:

When there was an agrarian homesteading, frontier infrastructure, families were large and women's roles as mother and unpaid domestic laborer were emphasized. With urbanization and the increasing cost of reproduction relative to the benefits expected from children, women began to "raise their consciousness" demanding entrance into the general employment market on an equal basis with males. Clearly the consciousness-raising process has been an important instrument for liberating women from the role of domestic drudge. But one cannot argue that political-ideological struggle by women was responsible for the vast shifts in technology, production, demand for cheap labor, rise of cities, and the increased costs of rearing children, and so forth--all of which provide the functional infrastructural conditions upon which the propagation and amplification of modern feminist political-ideological struggle is premised (1979:73).

Applying these principles, cultural materialists have sought to explain such diverse topics as infanticide, the agricultural revolution, witchcraft, warfare and food taboos (Harris 1974) (Ross 1978). Field ethnographies have also been conducted, a good example being Roy Rappaport's 1967 work Pigs for the Ancestors. This book focuses on the Maring, a horticultural group in New Guinea and examines the origin and utility of their pig centered religious beliefs from a techno-economic perspective. According to tribal lore, pigs must be periodically sacrificed to dead ancestors in a ceremony called the Kaiko. Held approximately every twelve years, the ritual involves the slaughter of most of the group's pigs in a huge feast that cumulates with the men going to wage war with neighboring groups. The fighting continues until the

reserves of meat are consumed at which point a truce is called and the people return to their usual occupations of gardening and pig raising until the next Kaiko. The emic explanation for this cycle concerns beliefs about the ancestors' hunger, but Rappaport digs deeper and finally exposes convincing techno-economic reasons for the ritual that are related to subsistence practices.

As horticulturists, the Maring exist primarily on a diet of sweet potatoes, yams and other starches that are grown in the gardens tended by the women. Access to protein is minimal and Rappaport argues that religious rituals such as clubbing a sow to death on the grave of your father and roasting it, provides the Maring with supplemental protein. The cycle of the Kaiko is also interpreted in this light. Rappaport observed that the largest consumption of pig flesh took place when people needed it the most--for waging war and producing children. During war and the period of peace, sexual relations and regular interaction between men and women are tabooed. Men "may not have sexual intercourse or even touch women, nor may they eat food prepared by women. They should not set foot in the wora, the lower portion of the territory and food grown in the wora should be avoided" (Rappaport 1967:175-176). Consequently, most conceptions take place during the short, liminal period between the end of the war and the resumption of marsupial trapping by the men which acts to reinstate sexual taboos. This restriction, therefore, limits reproduction to the time immediately after the consumption of the needed protein, enhancing both mother and child survival.

From a cultural materialist perspective, Maring sex roles and sex

relations are an outgrowth of infrastructural considerations and persist because they increase the group's fitness. While the interpretation may conflict with the emic attitudes expressed by the Maring themselves, it etically seems to be a sound conclusion.

Convincing as some anthropologists have found cultural materialism, others have disapproved of it as a research strategy and stress humanistic concerns instead. A proponent of the cultural idealist view is the historical reconstructionist school founded by Franz Boas. Unlike cultural materialists, historical reconstructionists do not emphasize the roles of evolution and ecology. Instead, they prefer to record cultural events from a historical perspective and see social organization and ideology as being created by and shaped by individuals. Diffusion is also an important concept for historical reconstructionists and used to explain cultural differences and similarities rather than infrastructure. Historical reconstructionist concern for the individual is shown by their efforts to capture the native viewpoint through participant observation and the recording of language, myths and stories to a greater degree than cultural materialists. These theoretical objectives were addressed by Boas in "The Limitations of the Comparative Method," where he argued:

A detailed study of customs in their relations to the total culture of the tribe practicing them, in connection with an investigation of their geographical distribution among neighboring tribes, affords us almost always a means of determining with considerable accuracy in the historical causes that led to the formation of the customs in question and to the psychological processes that were at work in their development . . . We have in this method a means of reconstructing the history of the growth of ideas with much greater accuracy than the generalizations of the comparative method will permit (1940:276).

Although the environment was a variable in the historical reconstructionist scheme, Boas stated that "I do not see how the view that it is a primary moulder of culture can be supported" (1940:278). Instead, psychology is given the central place in historical reconstructionist analysis. "Thus, cultural laws or regularities--should they ever be discovered--would in the final analysis turn out to be psychological in nature" (Kaplan and Manners 1971:71). Ruth Benedict exemplified this perspective when she defined culture as "individual psychology thrown large upon the screen and given gigantic proportions over a long time span" (1934:24). She also posited that "each culture 'selects' and 'chooses' from the infinite variety of behavioral possibilities a limited segment which sometimes corresponds to a configurations and sometimes did not" (Harris 1968:403).

Historical reconstructionists also differ from cultural materialists in stressing the primacy of emic values over etic ones.

Expressed by Harris:

Idealist strategies approach the definition of social and cultural phenomena exclusively from an emic perspective; society exists to the extent that participants view themselves as members of social groups, sharing common values and purposes; social action is a special kind of behavior identified by the social intentions of the participants; and culture consists exclusively of the shared emics of thought and behavior (1979:46).

Much of the ethnographic material produced for 1900 and 1950 drew from the idealist approach and is reflected in accounts of sex roles. Margaret Mead's Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies is a good example. While her descriptions of the Arapesh, Mundugumor and the Tchambuli demonstrate the sex roles may differ, they attribute the reasons for these differences to contrasting child rearing practices

that resulted in the formation of different modal personalities. As seen by Mead:

These three situations suggest, then a very definite conclusion. If those temperamental attitudes that we have traditionally regarded as feminine--such as passivity, responsiveness, and a willingness to cherish children--can so easily be set up as the masculine pattern, and in another be outlawed for the majority of men, we no longer have any basis for regarding such aspects of behavior as sex linked . . . Only to the impact of the whole of the integrated culture upon the growing child can we lay the formation of the contrasting types. There is no other explanation of race, or diet, or selection that can be abduced to explain them (1935:278, 280).

While this explanation may have merit, it does not address the question of why different child rearing practices were adopted by the three groups or why these practices have persisted over long periods of time. As a result, the utility of the idealist strategy is limited. This suspicion is further supported by evidence from archaeology.

Meggers (1957) for example, suggests that there are limits to the extent that culture can develop within the parameters of certain environments. Diffusion is therefore as a secondary rather than primary cause of culture change. As Meggers explains:

Previous attempts at explaining differences in level of cultural development in terms of geographical position, proximity to continental junctions, accessibility to centers of diffusion, genius or other psychological factors attributable to the population may not penetrate to the level of primary cause. Absence of a suitable source of diffusion can explain the failure of the environment it occupies, but where the environment is type 1 or type 2, no amount of opportunity for diffusion can affect a cultural advance beyond the limitations set by environment (1957:822).

Similarly, Steward's (1955) work on the Great Basin Shoshoni suggests that the type of flexible band organization characteristic of the area was an adaptation to the sparse and erratic resource base.

Further research by Bettinger (1977) and Thomas (1973) comparing site size and densities in different zones and using computer simulation models tends to support Steward's conclusions and throw doubt on the adequacy of psychological explanations for various types of social organization. Kroeber's (1917) account of the rediscovery of Mendellian genetics also seems to support cultural materialist notions that technological and economic conditions must be right before society will accept an idea. As a result, the usefulness of the principles of cultural idealism is seriously limited.

Ethnographic data on cultures undergoing social change also seems to support the cultural materialist viewpoint rather than the idealist one. Turnbull's study of the Ik in Uganda, for example, documents how quickly traditional hunting and gathering values such as honesty, food sharing and close, personal ties disappear in a group when they are "no longer functional for them" (1980:21). Sharp's account of the introduction of steel axes among the Yir Yoront of Australia also shows how changes in technology and access to resources can force profound changes in the social structure. Prior to the appearance of the steel axes, access to stone axes was controlled by older men in the community. Women and younger men could not obtain axes except through these elders. Consequently, the latter enjoyed a high status. As soon as missionaries introduced the steel axe, however, this situation changed. As Sharp notes:

By winning the favor of the mission staff, a woman might be given a steel axe which was clearly hers, thus creating a situation quite different from the previous custom which necessitated her borrowing an axe from a male relative. As a result, a woman would refer to the axe as "mine," a possessive form she was

never able to use of a man's stone axe. In the same fashion, young men or even boys also obtained steel axes directly from the mission with the result that older men no longer had a monopoly of all the axes in the bush community. All this led to a revolutionary confusion of sex, age and kinship roles, with a major gain in independence and loss of subordination of the part of those who now owned steel axes when they had previously been unable to possess stone axes (1980:232).

Additional research shows that the experiences of the Ik and the Yir Yoront are not isolated examples. Richard Sorenson (1976) has linked the adoption of the sweet potato among the Fore of New Guinea to increases in war, pig domestication, changes in sex roles and the use of pigs and pig feasts to make alliances and repay debts. Nash (1967) has also attributed an increase in violence among Mayan communities to competition over land and resources as a result of Mexican land reforms. Even the introduction of one shotgun into a community can force changes in social organization (Mitchell 1980). Draper has also compared the status of !Kung women in foraging and recent sedentary contexts and concluded that females in the traditional society enjoy more independence. Among the factors contributing to a loss of status in sedentary contexts, Draper listed: "decrease in the mobility of women as contrasted with men; changing nature of women's subsistence contributions" and "tendency for men to have greater access to control over such important resources as domestic animals, knowledge of Bantu language and culture, wage work and male entrance into extra village politics" (1975:78).

On the other hand, when individuals or groups have attempted to initiate social changes based on ideals rather than techno-economic realities, they have seldom been successful. A good example is group

marriage. Although many people tried to adopt it as a lifestyle during the 1970's in the United States, their efforts were futile. As Van den reports:

Well over half these groups (58 percent) lasted less than a year. Only 5 of these 26 groups were still intact at the time of this writing and of these only two had survived more than 2 (1979:54).

Other social experiments such as the Kibbutz in Israel continue to exist, but do so as dependent rather than self supporting units. Work by Tiger and Sheper (1975) and Spiro (1972) also suggest that social relationship in the Kibbutz have undergone modification through the years so that they now approximate those of the larger Israeli society. For example, although division of labor according to sex was supposed to have been abolished, the researchers noted that most tasks were actually performed by one sex or the other. Men ran Kibbutz administration, maintained the machinery and did most of the work in the fields while women engaged in service occupations like cooking, cleaning and caring for or teaching children. Communal child care has also largely been abandoned in favor of a return to the conventional nuclear family arrangement.

Judging from the ethnographic evidence that has been presented, cultural materialism seems to be a more useful and better supported theory and research strategy than the Idealist position. Consequently, cultural materialism is the one I have adopted to investigate the phenomenon of midsexuals. This conclusion can be further tested by constructing two hypotheses to explain midsexual frequency, distribution and accommodation. The first is that midsexuals are more likely to

exist and be accommodated in societies where they or women make substantial subsistence contributions. The alternate hypothesis that will be considered is that techno-economic conditions have little effect on the degree of midsexual expression and accommodation. In the next chapter I will examine the methodology used to test these two hypothesis.

Chapter Three Methodology

Sarana (1975:11) has defined methodology as "the analytical study of method." In the following pages I will look at this area and attempt to make explicit the techniques and methods used in the present thesis to collect, organize and code the ethnographic and statistical data that has been presented. Problems encountered in doing the research will also be discussed.

SAMPLE

Societies considered in this study were drawn from the Human Relations Area Files, with an emphasis on the cultures included in Murdock's and White's Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (1969). Among the reasons for deciding on this sample were the following:

The Human Relations Area Files represent an immense storehouse of ethnographic data that has already been compiled and organized. As a result, the researcher is able to save time by referring to the specific categories that contain information relevant to his study. In my case, I was able to gain most of my data by reviewing the information contained in categories 838 and 562, which dealt with homosexual expression and sex status respectively.

In addition, the Human Relations Area Files and most specifically the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample were "constructed with the specific aim of minimizing the problems of diffusion and historical contamination that have characterized other cross-cultural samples"

(Broude and Greene 1976:409). While this may not erase Galton's problem from consideration, dependence on the sample would seem to minimize its effects.

A third reason for choosing the stated sample is that a number of anthropologists have based similar work on the same group of societies. These include Murdock and Provost (1973), Barry and Schlegel (1982) Broude and Greene (1978) and Whyte (1978). In many cases I was able to draw on information directly from these studies, a significant amount which was already coded and could be easily adapted to serve the needs of my research. Some of the North American data shown in Table 2 was also drawn from Callender and Kochems (1983) article and supplemented my original sample.

ASSIGNMENT OF MIDSEXUAL PRESENT AND ABSENT STATUS

After deciding on this sample, I went through the societies listed in the Human Relations Area Files one by one. Societies which did not have information listed under category 838 were eliminated from consideration. The remaining societies with an 838 category, were assigned a midsexual absent status if a survey of the information in the file did not describe people who fit the description of midsexuals as stated in the introduction. The remainder of the societies were classified as midsexual present.

PROBLEMS WITH THE EHTNOGRAPHIC DATA

Unfortunately, much of the information that is available on midsexuals is sketchy and confined to a few lines or paragraphs. Consequently, a difficulty was created when I tried to score many groups

in terms of midsexual accommodation; there was simply not enough information to base my scores upon. Therefore, I had to confine myself to those societies for which adequate information was available. This led to a reduction in sample size from 140 societies to 30, which served as my core group. However, I deemed this the safer and more scientific alternative than assigning accommodation scores to more cultures based on a lack of or questionable evidence.

Another problem is that midsexuals may have existed in more societies than were recorded in the Human Relations Area Files. As noted by Broude and Greene:

Information of any sort on sexual habits and beliefs is hard to come by, and is a result of a number of factors. The area to begin with, is not conducive to participant observation: interviews or questionnaires can clearly be awkward to conduct under certain circumstances; and the ethnographic reporting of sexual matters has not always been considered an appropriate undertaking (1978:410).

In many cases it is too late to go back and check or revise the ethnographic findings in the Human Relations Area Files. If midsexuals did exist in more societies than were reported, we have no way to confirm it. This is unfortunate as legitimate arguments can be made that if the missing societies were included, the data might indicate different conclusions. However, there is an equal chance they would only strengthen the conclusions reached in this thesis. Since there is no way to resolve the issue or in fact even determine if more midsexual present societies existed in the past, it seems best to acknowledge it as a possibility but continue to treat the 140 midsexual present societies recognized here as a representative if not complete sample.

CODE CONSTRUCTION AND RATING

As I have mentioned, a number of anthropologists have done cross-cultural studies in areas relevant or related to my own research. Since I was often drawing directly on their work, I attempted to retain or duplicate their coding and rating procedures as closely as possible. This approach has several advantages. The first is that it required minimal adaptation of the data on my part. A second advantage is that precoded data does not reflect the bias of the current researcher. For that reason if the information still falls into the pattern he suggests or predicts, the conclusions may be more reliable and objective. In addition, "if a researcher uses data previously coded by another comparativist for one variable, and then correlates it with a second variable newly coded by himself and his assistants, the relationship is likely to be less biased than if one person did all the coding" (Driver 1976:348). This is the case for example, where I correlate midsexual accommodation scores with female labor input percentages drawn from Barry and Schlegel's 1982 study on the division of labor. Finally, use of codes also applied by other established researchers reduces the chance for criticism directed against the codes chosen to present the information.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CODES

The codes used in this study included present/absent, high/low scales and numerical ratings leading to cumulative midsexual accommodation and female status scores. Percentages were also indicated when possible to calculate. In table 2, a positive percentage scale was used

to calculate levels of midsexual accommodation. For the first accommodation indicator, language, societies scored a + if the term used to refer to midsexuals had a positive or neutral connotation; 0 was used if the term was ambiguous and a - was given if the term used was derogatory or actively hostile. For the second indicator myths and stories, societies scored a + if they had stories or myths in which midsexuals were present and their portrayal was favorable or neutral; 0 was assigned if the data was ambiguous and a - if midsexual portrayals were derogatory. For the third indicator, religious participation and sanctions, a value of + was assigned for those societies which exhibited positive midsexual religious participation as shaman or as important figures in other ceremonies and where religious sanction existed that supported a transition to midsexual status; 0 was assigned to the data was ambiguous and a - was assigned if there was an absence of midsexual participation in religion or if no sanctions existed to support the change to midsexual status. For the fourth indicator interaction, a value of + was assigned to those societies where midsexuals took part in daily social and economic activities, could achieve high status positions and where their talents were praised; 0 was used if the interaction that took place was ambiguous and a - if midsexuals were excluded from full participation in community life, ridiculed by word or action and barred access to high status positions.

The number of pluses indicating positive accommodation were then tallied and percentages assigned on the basis of the data available. If information was absent or ambiguous in any category, it did not figure into the final score. Thus, the Navaho received a score of 1.0 on the

basis of positive data recorded in all four categories. However, the groups from the Mandan through the Tanala received a 1.0 on the basis of positive information in three categories. The Zuni received a score of .75 for three positive indications out of four and the Yokuts through the Gros Ventre received scores of .67 on the basis of two positive indicators out of three categories. The Chuckchee through the Sioux received scores of .50 on the basis of two positive out of four categories and the Marquesans received a .33 score on the basis of one positive indicator out of three. The Mohave and the Balinese received scores of .25 on the basis of one positive indicator out of 4 and the rest of the groups all scored 0 or showed no evidence of any positive accommodation. Groups scoring from 1.0 to .75 were placed in the high accommodation range; groups scoring in the .74 to .50 were put in the middle accommodation range and groups scoring from .49 to 0 were placed in the low accommodation range.

For tables 12 and 14 on female status and sex ideology, I adapted precoded material from Broude and Greene's (1978) study as well as Whyte's (1978) article to fit a present or absent scale. In table 14, a rigid sex ideology was noted if cultures scored a 3 or higher in columns 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 or 13. A low opinion of women was recorded for the culture if societies scored a 2-6 in column 14, and below a 3 in column 15. A loose sex ideology was indicated of groups scored a 2 or lower in columns 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14. A high opinion of women was indicated by a score of 1 or 7 in column 14 and above 2 in column 15. In table 12, high economic control was indicated by scores of 3 and above for columns 15, 18, and 19. The presence of female

sexual freedom was marked present if cultures scored a 3. Political participation was indicated if cultures scored a 2 or above in columns 7 and 8. Divorce ease was indicated by a score of 3 and above for column 35. Absence of male deference was indicated by scores of 1 in column 40, 2 or above for column 46 and 2 for column 40 and a 1 score for columns 46 and 51.

These columns and the meaning of the scores as represented by Broude and Greene and Whyte are reproduced below.

Sex Distinctiveness Table 14

Column 1 Talk about sex

- 1= adolescents and adults talk explicitly in front of children
- 2= talk about sex except in front of children
- 3= talk about sex except in front of specific categories
- 4= talk about sex with small group of intimates
- 5= talk about sex always shameful, offensive and improper

Column 3 Attitude that sex is dangerous

- 1= sexual intercourse never considered dangerous
- 2= sexual intercourse dangerous to specific categories of people
- 3= unusual or unsanctioned sexual intercourse dangerous
- 4= sex secretion are dangerous, ritual washing
- 5= sexual intercourse is always dangerous

Column 7 Premarital Sex attitudes

- 1= premarital sex expected, approved; virginity has no value
- 2= premarital sex tolerated; accepted if discreet
- 3= premarital sex mildly disapproved; virginity valued
- 4= premarital sex disallowed except with bride groom
- 5= premarital sex strongly disapproved; virginity required or stated as required (virginity tests, severe reprisals for non-virginity)

Column 8 and 9 Frequency of premarital sex for men and women

- 1= universal or almost universal
- 2= moderate, not uncommon
- 3= occasional
- 4= uncommon; rarely or never engage in premarital sex

Column 11 Double standard in extramarital sex

- 1= single standard prevails; extramarital sex allowed for husband and wife.
- 2= double standard; extramarital sex is allowed for husband, condemned for wife.
- 3= double standard; extramarital sex is condemned for both sexes but wife's activities are more severely punished.

Column 12 and 13 Frequency of extramarital sex for men and women

- 1= universal or almost universal
- 2= moderate
- 3= occasional
- 4= uncommon

Column 14 Wife lending

- 1= extramarital sex of any kind allowed for wives
- 2= wife lending with group of men
- 3= wife lending with specific man other than husband
- 4= wife lending occurs only on occasion
- 5= wife lending occurs for a reason that benefits husband and on a one time basis
- 6= wife lending occurs rarely
- 7= no wife lending or exchange allowed

Column 15 Attitude toward rape

- 1= accepted
- 2= ridiculed
- 3= mildly disapproved
- 4= strongly disapproved

Female Status Table 12

Column 7 Intermediate or local political leaders

- 1= only males
- 2= both sexes, but males are more numerous or powerful
- 3= both sexes

Column 8 Leadership posts in kinship groups

- 1= include men only
- 2= both, but men have more say and influence
- 3= both, with equal influence

Column 15 Who can inherit economically valuable property

- 1= only males
- 2= both, but male has preference
- 3= roughly equal inheritance
- 4= female preference

Column 18 and 19 Use and disposal of labor done by males and females

- 1= men have total say
- 2= men have predominant say
- 3= men and women have equal say
- 4= women have predominant say

Column 23 Occurrence of extramarital affairs for women

- 1= not allowed
- 2= not allowed, but occurs
- 3= allowed or common

Column 24 Menstrual taboos

- 1= no menstrual taboos
- 2= rules relating to menstruating women
- 3= + dietary menstrual restrictions
- 4= + stated belief menstrual blood is dangerous
- 5= + a rule of menstruating women not cooking for men
- 6= + menstruating women are segregated from men
- 7= + a rule that menstruating women may not have contact with male things

Column 27 Explicit view that sex is dangerous

- 1= yes
- 2= no

Column 35 Divorce ease

- 1= divorce available to male
- 2= divorce possible for both, but more difficult for females
- 3= divorce equally possible
- 4= divorce more available to females

Column 40 Institutionalized male deference

- 1= none
- 2= husband dominates decision making
- 3= + wife excluded from social gatherings
- 4= + wife rarely disputes husband
- 5= + husband has seating priority
- 6= + wife kneels and bows when greeting husband

Column 46 View that males dominate wives

- 1= yes
- 2= no, evidence of rough equality
- 3= no, evidence of wife dominance

Column 51 Belief in female inferiority

- 1= yes
- 2= no such belief

There is no doubt that other codes could have been used nor that the current ones are far from ideal. However, I can only agree with Broude and Greene, that:

In point of fact, the codes, as a set, tend to reflect neither ideal distributions nor ideal codes, but rather, ethnographic reality. They were constructed on the basis of what was available in the literature and, while this clearly has its drawbacks, we feel that this particular set of codes represents our best effort given what there is to work with in the ethnographic material (1978:412).

CODES

The following codes appear in Tables 1 through 26. Cumulative scores for status, midsexual accommodation etc. are also evaluated in reference to specific tables.

P -- trait is present in society

A -- trait is absent in society or not reported

* -- no information

+ -- characteristic present in its positive form

O -- ambiguous

- -- characteristic absent or present in its negative form

H -- high contribution, above 30%

S -- significant contribution, between 30 and 20%

L -- low contribution, below 20%

D -- dominant subsistence input, other activities less important

Co - co-dominant subsistence input, other activities equally important

Pe - peripheral subsistence input, other activities more important

X -- larger number

M -- matrilineal

Bi - bilateral

Pa - patrilineal

Cumulative Scores

Midsexual accommodation (Table 2)

1.0 to .75 -- high MA

.74 to .50 -- positive MA

.49 to 0 -- low MA

8 factors influencing MA (Table 15)

6 and up -- high correlation

5 to 3 -- positive correlation

2 to 1 -- low correlation

Sex Attitudes (Table 14)

2 -- low sex distinctiveness

0 -- some sex distinctiveness

-2 - high sex distinctiveness

Female Status (Table 12)

3 and up -- high FS

Below 2 -- low FS

Chapter Four Some Explanations of Midsexualism

A review of the literature reveals that midsexuals have been reported in 140 aboriginal societies throughout the world. While the majority existed in North America, significant numbers were also found in Africa, India, Asia and to a lesser extent in South America. This distribution is represented in table 1.

As the data shows, midsexualism is not an isolated phenomenon. This fact has intrigued researchers and efforts have been made to explain why midsexuals have existed in so many societies. Some explanations point to biology as the dominant causal factor. Others stress psychological or sociological reasons. In this chapter I plan to discuss some of these explanations and evaluate them in terms of cultural materialism. Finally, an attempt will be made to show how different hypotheses might be integrated in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of midsexualism.

BIOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS

Most of the explanations that fall under this category are based on the assumption that biology exerts an important influence on human behavior and the formation of sex roles. Midsexuals are thought to be the product of genetic or hormonal deviations that result in the birth of an abnormal individual. Before the merits of this position can be understood, however, it is necessary to first outline the normal sequence of human development.

TABLE 1
MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES IDENTIFIED IN THE WORLD

	N. America		S. America	Africa	Asia &
Europe					
Achumawi	Kansa	P. Cree	Araucanians	Ngonde	Lapps
Acoma	Karankawa	Pomo	Aymara	Mbundu	Chuckchee
Araphaho	Lasla	Ponca	Coahuiltecan	Pokot	Hindu
Arikara	Kato	Potawatomi	Cocopa	Ila	Apayao
Atsugewi	Klamath	Quapaw	Gabrieleno	Hottentot	Iban
Assiniboine	Kitememuk	Quileute	Juaneno	Tanala	Balinese
Bannock	Kutenai	Quinault	Luiseno	Basongye	Makassar
Bella Bella	Laguna	Rogue River	Goajiro	Amhara	Marquesans
Bella Coola	Lassik	Saliman	Tarasco	Rwala	Koryak
Blackfeet	Lilloot	S.A. Pueblo	Tabatulabal	Hausa	Polynesians
Caddo	Lipan	S. Dakota	Tehuelche		Burmese
Carrier	Mandan	Sauk	Warso		
Cheyenne	Maricopa	Shasta			
Chilula	Mattale	Shoshoni			
C. Apache	Menomini	Shoshoneans			
Choctaw	Miami	Sinkaietle			
Chumash	Miwok	Siuslaw			
C. Salish	Modoc	Sinkyou			
Costanoan	Mohave	S. Painte			
Crow	Natchez	Teton			
Eyak	Navaho	Thompson			
Flathead	Nez Perce	Tewa			
Fox	Niesenar	Timuara			
Gros Ventre	Paiute	Tiapai			
Haisla	Nootka	Tolowa			
Hidatsa	Nomlaki	Ute			
Hopi	Ojibwa	Winnebago			
Hupa	Omaha	Wintu			
Illinois	Osage	W. Apache			
Ingalik	Oto	Wishram			
Iowa	Papago	Yana			
Ipai	Patwin	Yankton			
Kalekau	Pawnee	Yokuts			
Kanigmuit	Pima	Yuki			
Karen	Yorok	Yama			
Creek		Zuni			

Conception in humans occurs when an egg and sperm cell unite. Each parent contributes 23 chromosomes which line up in pairs. Out of these 46 chromosomes, two determine a person's genetic sex. Female development is indicated if both these chromosomes are X; male development is expected if one is X and the other is Y. For six weeks after conception, both sexes develop identically. Then if the Y chromosome is present, it signals the Medulla or inner layer of the fetal gonads to develop into testes. Two weeks later the testes start to produce androgens, which encourages the growth of seminal vesicles, ejaculatory ducts and the prostate gland. At the same time, it acts to inhibit the growth of the Mullerian or female structures by releasing a Mullerian or female inhibiting substance. This hormone causes the Mullerian structures to atrophy and normal male development proceeds. If the Y chromosome is not present, the embryo will develop as a female. The cortex of the gonads will become ovaries and the Mullerian structures will differentiate into the Fallopian tubes, a uterus and the upper vagina. Last to develop are the external sex characteristics. In males the genital tubercle increases in size, becoming a penis and a scrotum also develops to receive the testicles as they descend. Among females the tubercle remains small and a clitoris, labia and lower vagina form. Birth then occurs and the post-natal environment acts to reinforce biological sex distinctions. Transition from each of these stages is smooth and is characterized by a concordance. "That is, the chromosomes, the gonads, the prenatal environment, the reproductive

systems, and the post-natal secondary sex characteristics all line up consistently in the male, or female, patterns" (Baker 1980:81-81). This process is summarized in figure 1.

Normal male	Normal prenatal Diamorphic structure	Normal Female
XY	Sex chromosomes	XX
Testes	primordial gonad	ovaries
High androgens	Prenatal hormone	Low androgens
Wolfian System	internal reproductive (undifferentiated)	Mullerian System
Penis and scrotum	external reproductive from genital tubercle	clitorous, labia

Figure 1 Prenatal Sex Diamorphic Development in Normal Males and Females

However, some individuals do not develop in the normal pattern. In other words, they may develop in a male way at one stage and in a female way in another stage. At the chromosome level, error is usually caused by the addition or deletion of a chromosome. Individuals with Turner's Syndrome, for example, have only one functional X chromosome; the other is defective and usually a Y. Consequently, they develop rudimentary female structures and appearance but cannot conceive or develop secondary sex characteristics without estrogen supplements at puberty. People with XXY chromosomes are male in anatomical appearance,

but usually are sterile due to the extra X chromosome inhibiting testicular development. In other cases the sex chromosomes are normal but their message is lost or only partially translated by the gonads. As a result, the gonadal structures do not differentiate and a person may be born with a mix of male and female sex characteristics. Males are especially vulnerable to this sort of biological mix-up. As noted by Money and Tucker:

It takes a male hormone mix to make the Wolffian structures develop, and it takes that special temporary hormone called simply "mullerian-inhibiting hormone," which is secreted during this period by the testicles to keep the Mullerian structures from pursuing their ambition to become a uterus, Fallopian tubes and upper vagina, but it takes no hormonal push at all for this stage of development to proceed in feminine fashion. While the absence of a Y chromosome and the presence of at least two X chromosomes are needed to make a gonad become an ovary, as soon as the gonad fork is passed, the neutral road and the female road converge. Unless there is a sufficient push in the male direction, the fetus will take the female turn at any subsequent fork, whether there is a female push or not. Nature's first choice is to make Eve. Everybody has one X chromosome and everybody is surrounded by a mother's estrogens during prenatal life. Although not enough for full development as a fertile female, this gives enough momentum to support female development. Development as a male requires propulsion in the male direction at each critical stage. (1975:47)

As a result, if either the Mullerian-inhibiting hormone or a sensitivity to androgens is lacking, a genetic male will develop female structures in addition to male ones in the first case and a female appearance in the second. For females the hormonal hazards are different. Tumors in the ovaries or adrenal glands of the mother or the baby's own adrenal cortex might produce excess amounts of androgen, masculine genitals being the result. Depending on the degree of influence, the baby may look like a boy, a girl or a hermaphrodite.

In addition to making correct sex assignment difficult, some researchers also argue that these chromosome and hormonal errors affect the brain and personality. Weitz reports that females exposed to high levels of androgens exhibited more masculine behavior, "including rough play, less interest in dolls, and a greater preference for boys than girls as playmates than girls in a control group"(1977:47). Erhardt and Baker (1974) confirm this finding in a study comparing Androgenital Syndrome girls and their normal sisters. Since AGS girls were found to still exhibit more masculine behaviors, the biological argument is strengthened as factors such as social conditioning have been minimized. Sipova and Starda (1977) propose a link between androgen overproduction, high testosterone levels and transsexualism among women. Other researchers suggest that androgen deficiencies can lead to a female differentiated brain, homosexual behavior and a positive estrogen feedback effect in human males (Stahl, Krell and Masius, 1972).

While there is some evidence that biological factors may have an impact on personality, additional studies show that its influence can be overridden. For example, Baker notes that "gender identity was concordent with sex of rearing" among AGS girls and that their masculine behavior was "within the range of normal tomboyish girl's behaviors and in no way bizarre, and sexual orientation in most cases was heterosexual to rearing and gender identity" (1977:85). Money and Tucker (1975) also report the case of an AGS girl who was raised as a boy, developed a male gender identity and was able to live as a normal man after surgery removed his female organs at puberty. An even more dramatic account is

provided by a description of twin boys, one of whom lost his penis and was subsequently reassigned and raised as a girl. Since the reassignment occurred before a fixed gender identity had become established, the transformation was a successful one. As Money and Tucker describe it:

Although the girl had been the dominant twin in infancy, by the time the children were four years old there was no mistaking which twin was the girl and which was the boy. At five, the little girl already preferred dresses to pants, enjoyed wearing her hair ribbons, bracelets and frilly blouses, and loved being her daddy's little sweetheart. Throughout childhood, her stubbornness and the abundant physical energy she shares with her twin brother and expends freely have made her a tomboyish girl, but nonetheless a girl. Her dominance behavior has expressed itself in fussing over her brother, according to their parents "like a mother hen," while he in turn, takes up for his sister if he thinks anyone is threatening her. Their mother reported that dolls and a doll carriage headed her Christmas list when she was five and that quite unlike her brother, the girl was neat and dainty, experimented happily with styles for her long hair and often tried to help in the kitchen (1975:97-98).

As the proceeding case history shows, anatomy is not destiny. However, this realization does not automatically discount biological explanations of midsexualism. A person born with ambiguous genitals can be assigned as a male or a female and will develop a corresponding gender identity. However, once that gender identity has been established, not "even the weight of societal pressure, abetted by intensive psycho-therapy," has been able to reverse the gender identity "after it had been differentiated completely" (Money and Tucker 1975:98). Therefore if a mistake is made and a person later begins to develop

physical characteristics in opposition to his gender identity, he will not acknowledge their significance. Rather, he will try to bring his physical appearance back into line with his gender identity. Presently, this aim can be achieved through surgery. In primitive societies, however, the person would remain a victim of his body and his only recourse might be to become a midsexual. As a result, biological explanations do appear to have value under some circumstances and should not be ignored.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS

Explanations that fall under this category are concerned with psychological motivations, reactions and adjustments that may influence an individual to become a midsexual. Social conditioning is also emphasized, especially aspects of child rearing which might encourage an effeminate personality in males or assertive characteristics in females. Studies done by Historical Reconstructionists tend to reflect this orientation as well as more recent studies.

A good example of this approach is Honigmann's description of midsexuals among the Kaska Indians. Adopting a Freudian viewpoint, he lists three factors he feels are responsible for male midsexualism. The first is neglect by the mother, which leads to the second factor--an aversion or ambivalence towards all women as a result of the early trauma. Other males are seen as safe confidants to whom egocentric demands can be expressed and not rejected. As the third factor, Honigmann stresses positive identification with the father. Since the

mother is unavailable as a love object, the father and by extrapolation, all men become erotic objects. Female dress, mannerisms and social role are then adopted to win the love of men. A similar approach is taken to explain female midsexuals. Honigmann asserts:

Important factors seem to include the strong positive ties between sisters, the girls greater ability, conditioned by early cooperation among female members of the family, and a fear of the aggressive components of intersexed sexual interaction. As a result of her ego-centricity the girl is not attracted to being a masochistic sexual object. Among members of her own sex she has greater opportunity to receive affectional gratification without threat to ego-centricity . . . Such women were often transvestites (1949:314-315).

Margaret Mead takes a similar view of midsexuals in Plains Indian societies. Male activities are described as "dangerous" and "nervewracking" in contrast to the placid nature of female roles. As a result, a timid male might choose to perform women's tasks and could "phrase his preference in sex terms; he could assume womens' dress and occupations and proclaim that he really was more woman than man" (1935:294).

Callender and Kochems (1983) have also suggested that the systems of prestige for males and females are different. By becoming a midsexual a man could assert his "superiority over women in an occupational sphere defined as female and associated with prestige" (1983:456). This view supposes that males and females had equal power and that their systems of prestige were just as important. The idea seems fanciful. As Datan observes; "it is commendable to call attention to the often overlooked female prestige system; but it is implausible to argue that women may have less visible prestige but an equal claim on

dominance, as it must also be posited that women are content with power so subtle that its effects are difficult to detect. It is far more parsimonious, though less pleasing, to concede that women have unequal access to power" (1983:458).

Hasserick takes a different view and argues that among the Sioux, pressure to compete successfully may push some males into becoming midsexuals. He points to parental overprotection as the most important cause. As he expresses it:

In a warring society which might well deprive children of their fathers through premature death and which undoubtedly brought heartbreak and loneliness to many a wife, it would only be natural that some mothers would endeavor to protect their young sons from what might be considered the senseless dangers of aggressive warfare. Even the games which boys played were excessively rough and brutal. Designed to steel them to the conditions of battle, the games also must have rather definitely separated the brave boys from the sissies. There can be little question that the Sioux had their mama's boys: the system was a natural for producing them. The same of the more sensitive, the more determined and/or the more perverted eventually became winktes is then quite understandable (Hasserick 1964:121-122).

Both Mead's and Hasserick's views have been called into question. Ethnographic evidence suggests that midsexuals would fight in an emergency (Lowie 1935) and were quite capable of violent behavior. "Mohave berdaches might assault unfaithful husbands or men who ridiculed them" and a Zuni midsexual "was imprisoned for a year for attacking three policemen trying to make and arrest" (Callender and Kochems 1983).

Some researchers have also discussed midsexualism in terms of psychosis. Kroeber (1940) notes, for example, that many individuals in aboriginal societies who display schizophrenic tendencies are not

thought to be mentally ill. Rather, the culture accepts them and in some cases they may hold a position of some importance in the community as a shaman. Kroeber then examines midsexuals in the same light and concludes that many of the same allowances or accommodations have been made for them. They may have an important role in religious rituals, display special skills or powers and in the very least, are allowed to remain within the community. Kroeber looks with approval at this practice and notes:

Certainly the American Indian system seems to work well from the angle of human happiness: the invert is free to work out his inner satisfactions as he can without persecution from without; and society does not feel injured or endangered. A status of adjustment is achieved instead of one of conflict and tension (1940:314).

As these examples have illustrated, psychological explanations of midsexualism are concerned with individuals and the psychic states, emotions or maladjustments that are seen to influence them in becoming midsexuals. This emphasis is expressed through emotion or value laden language such as "dangerous, nervewracking, heartbreak, loneliness" or "inner satisfaction". Most of these explanations are valuable in that regard. However, they are also truncated. The larger question of why midsexuals are accommodated by many groups is not dealt with. Therefore, while psychological explanations are helpful for understanding the emotions and personal motivations of midsexuals, they cannot be considered adequate explanations alone.

SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS

Unlike psychological explanations, sociological approaches to midsexualism attempt to explain it in systemic terms. Emphasis is

placed not so much on the individual and his personal ideas and emotions, but rather on how his role functions to benefit his society and maintain the status quo. Midsexuals are then portrayed in terms of how they fit into the total cultural system and what advantages their presence brings to the rest of the group. Such explanations resemble cultural materialist ones, except that the theory begins with society and not with techno-economics.

Munroe, Whiting and Halley, for example, have conducted a study attempting to link the presence of institutionalized midsexualism with loosely differentiated sex roles. According to their hypothesis, midsexual are more apt to be accepted in societies where less emphasis is placed on sex as a discriminating factor for prescribing behavior or membership in social groups. In order to test this idea, Munroe and the others rated sample societies with and without midsexualism on a sex distinctiveness scale. They found that "in general, transvestism as a social form is not found in societies that stress sex distinctions of the kind rated. The appearance of the institution instead tends to be confined to those societies that make relatively few distinctions on the basis of sex" (1971:88).

Another example is provided by Donald Forgey's review of midsexualism among the Plains Indians of North America. Forgey's interest is in examining the ways intergroup hostility is diffused and social solidarity maintained and he suggests that midsexuals may play an important role. As he notes:

Besides providing an outlet for the introvert with a strong aversion to the male role, the custom of berdache also provided an outlet for aggressive homosexuality. The fact

that . . . there might be as many as half a dozen berdache in a tribe at once provided an escape mechanism for individuals who would otherwise have become anti-social . . . Indian warriors themselves might turn to tribal berdache for homosexual relations" (1975:10).

Forgey also argues that males who had been trained from birth to be competitive did not have to give up the desire to achieve prestige if they became berdache. The urge was just channeled into women's activities and arts rather than warfare. "The berdache role therefore fulfilled the intended and recognized personal (integrative) function of providing the individual with the chance to obtain prestige" (1975:10). Thus, the society ran smoother with fewer arguments and conflicts that might have arisen if males had not had this alternative form of expression. All this leads Forgey to conclude that "the institution of the berdache, therefore, in deflecting social aggression away from the individual, served to reduce the potential for in-group hostility and consequently aided in promoting social solidarity" (1975:14).

Some researchers have described midsexualism as a status instituted to protect both the society and people with homosexual tendencies. Deveraux (1937), for example, argues that homosexual marriages between midsexuals and heterosexuals allowed the latter to experiment without jeopardizing their masculine status. In addition, by publically recognizing the Midsexual role, a homosexual could express his sexual preference openly, reducing psychological turmoil. Callender and Kochems (1983:431) point out however, that sexual relations was not the main reason people became midsexuals, but because of "an intense interest in women's activities".

Another interesting analysis of midsexualism is presented by Suggs and Marshall in their article "Anthropological Perspectives on Human Sexual Behavior". They feel that a lack of strong socio-cultural sanctions against midsexuals in many societies may permit individuals to engage in a deviant role and yet remain useful, functioning members of their community. Negative sanctions such as ridicule and physical punishment on the other hand might drive a midsexual away and so deprive the culture of "human resources". This could be a serious consequence in small, isolated societies. As Suggs and Marshall see it:

In such small societies as the Manganian, the Turu, or the Bala, for example, driving out all deviants might seriously deprive the group of useful and perhaps gifted individuals that it can ill afford to do without. Therefore, it is clearly socially beneficial to adopt relatively permissive attitudes towards some degree of deviant behavior (1976:243).

Sociological explanations of midsexualism have advantages over biological and psychological explanations as they tend to account not only for attitudes and biological predispositions, but attempt to relate them to the rest of society. For example, biological explanations shed light on what individuals by virtue of genital appearance or misassigned gender are more prone to become midsexuals. However, they cannot predict the conditions under which a midsexual will be able to act out his role, rather than those where he will be cast out, scorned or perhaps killed. Similarly, psychological explanations can describe attitudes towards midsexuals and suggest individual emotions and motivations experienced by midsexuals, but they do not take the next step and ask why midsexuals are accepted in some societies and not in others. By trying to show how the midsexual role is related to the

larger society and functions to diffuse intergroup hostility or preserve human resources, sociological explanations of midsexualism fill that gap and therefore are very useful.

However, sociological explanations of midsexualism can be faulted for not going far enough. As noted previously, their focus centers on society and its structure and function, but they neglect the important influences technology, economics and ecology can have in producing that societal configuration. Techno-economic explanations do take these forces into account and so may offer a more synthetic and comprehensive picture of midsexualism by combining biological, psychological and sociological explanations and showing how they complement or support cultural materialist views. This is easily done. For example, according to cultural materialism techno-economic conditions determine social organization which in turn determines ideology. Therefore, if midsexuals exist in a society and are socially accepted and junction to maintain group equilibrium in some manner, cultural materialism would expect to find that they make substantial economic contributions. Conversely, if midsexuals do not make significant contributions, cultural materialism would expect to find that they serve no integrative functions and are disliked. This hypothesis and the evidence for it was already eluded to in chapter two and will be explored more fully in forthcoming chapters.

Chapter Five Some Indications of Accommodation for Midsexuals

In some societies midsexuals are accommodated. In others they are not. This observation is easy to make, but more difficult to operationalize. A review of the ethnographic literature, however, shows that the evidence for accommodation for midsexuals can be classified under one of four categories. The first is language indicators, what words are used to describe midsexuals and how do people talk about them in the community. Labels which are neutral or favorable are assumed to indicate more cultural accommodation than those which are negative. The second indicator is the treatment of midsexuals in myth and stories. It is suspected that societies which accommodate midsexuals would be more apt to have stories about midsexuals and ones that give favorable portrayals than societies where accommodation is low. A third indicator is religious participation and sanctions. It is hypothesized that those societies in which midsexuals function as shaman or play important roles in religious ceremonies are more accommodating than societies which do not sanction this behavior. Finally, the fourth indicator is the type of interaction between midsexuals and other members of their community. More accommodation would seem to be indicated for societies which allowed midsexuals to circulate freely in the group as opposed to societies which ostracized them or were overly hostile. In the following chapter I will discuss each of these indicators in more detail and then rate midsexual present societies on their relative degrees of accommodation.

LANGUAGE

Language is a complex form of verbal behavior that tends to increase the social solidarity of a community of speakers and reflects the attitudes implicit in the group's ideology. As Richardson notes:

Analysis of verbal language can tell us a great deal about a peoples' fears, prejudices, anxieties and interests . . . it should not be surprising, then, to find rooted in the linguistic structure differential attitudes and feelings about men and women. Although language has not been completely analyzed, six general propositions concerning inherent ideas about males and females can be made (1979:19).

Richardson's propositions refer to patterns in American male and female speech. However, they serve as a good illustration of how language can be analyzed and underlying attitudes revealed. Her first observation is that women are referred to as part of men. For example, the word man as in "Anthropology, is the study of man," is used as an inclusive term for males and females alike. He, is often employed the same way and phrases like "man the oars" or "man overboard!" also lump men and women together. One implication of this lumping is that women are not important enough to be distinguished from men or given notice in their own right. This Adams'-rib idea is also present in titles of address of introductions such as "Mr. and Mrs. John Smith." Men and women are seen as a symbiotic pair, with males being the most important part.

Richardson's second proposition is that pronoun usage sexes personality attributes or career choices. For example, nurses, secretaries, and teachers are invariably referred to as she, while doctors, engineers and electricians are spoken of as he. This typing can also extend to non human objects. Boats, cars, governments and nations,

anything which is controlled, is spoken of as she. On the other hand, any controlling power such as God or Satan is referred to as a he. Richardson also asserts that female labels tend to desex and trivialize women, like the word lady. A glance at restroom doors reveals that the woman's section is more likely to be designated the ladies room. Gentleman is rarely used instead of men in the same context or in many other speech situations. Lady, however, predominates over woman in terms of address or greeting. Female immaturity is also more apt to be emphasized in the language. For example, women are called "working girls" no matter what their age and "girl talk" is used frequently to describe female conversations. Even more extreme is the term "your girl at the office" that men use to refer to secretaries and receptionists. Similarly, women are more apt to be paired with the weak or undesirable. Richardson cites a college president's comment on the draft's effect on enrollment being "We shall be left with the blind, the lame, the women" and notes that franchise law in New York was written to include everyone but "women, minors, convicts and idiots" (1979:22).

Another American speech practice is to refer to females in terms of sexual desirability and males in terms of sexual prowlsness. This tendency is reflected in words like "dog", "fox", "broad", "nice piece", "cunt", "chick" for women as opposed to words like "dude", "stud" or "jock" for men. Kramer (1975) has also identified one thousand words to designate women sexually compared to a small number for men. Stanly (1977) also reports 220 compared to 22 terms for describing a promiscuous woman or man. In addition, the sexual act is described in passive verb forms for women (to be laid) as opposed to the active form

(lay) for men. Even neutral words like tramp take on different connotations depending on the person's sex. "A male tramp is simply a "hobo," but a female tramp is a slut" (Richardson 1979:23). Women are also more apt to be defined by their relationship to men than as independent people. For example, women may be referred to as "John Smith's daughter" or "Mrs. John Smith". Nowhere is this more apparent than in the "Miss" and "Mrs." labels for women. As Richardson notes:

The existence of two contradictions for mistress (Miss and Mrs.) and but one for Mister (Mr.) underscores the cultural concern and linguistic practice. Women are defined in relationship to men. The recent preference of many women to be called Ms., is therefore, an attempt to provide an equivalency title for women that is not dependent on marital status. But even here, the title Ms. connotes to many people something about a woman's relationship to a man: "she is probably divorced or hiding the fact she's not married or not getting along well in her marriage" (1979:24).

Finally, Richardson notes that neutral words applied to females have a tendency to be thought of as obscene or debased. For example, Nymph originally meant any beautiful woman, but it is now used to refer to a promiscuous female.

These trends are present not just in words or in word use, but in manner of speech also. Lakoff (1975) has noted that women are more apt to use intensifiers like quite than men, meaningless adjectives or tag questions such as "It's hot, isn't it?" Women also avoid the use of strong swear words more often and substitute words like "Oh dear!" or "My goodness!" Lakoff interprets these speech patterns as revealing timidity and insecurity, while male speech reflects confidence and freedom of expression.

Cross-culturally, these language distinctions are more apt to be

found in societies which de-emphasize female status and have rigid roles for men and women than in societies where sex distinctions are fewer and female status higher. Japanese women traditionally have assumed submissive postures when speaking (downcast eyes, low tone), use vernacular restricted to women and are forbidden to use certain aspects of male language such as the emphatic yo! (Farb 1974). On the other hand, the Iroquois may have used the feminine pronoun "she" as an impersonal pronoun (Anthony Mattina, personal communication). These differences should be kept in mind as we look at language terms for midsexuals.

Among the midsexual present societies surveyed, most had a special term to refer to midsexuals. The labels often cited are: Men-women (Parsons 1916) (Lowie 1935), homosexual of the ridge pole (Karlin 1971), softman (Borgorous 1907), half man-half woman (Hoebal 1960), not man-not woman (Crawley 1960), Siange (Lurie 1953), woman-half (Orr 1949), Sarombavy (Linton 1935), male-female (Messing 1957), Yandaula (Smith 1954), Schopan (Langsdorff 1817), Blue Lake woman (Lurie 1953), Mi-qu-ga (Fletcher and La Flesche 1906), Das (Gifford 1926), Lokowitnono (Gayton 1948), Nadle (Reichard 1928), Kothama (Stevenson 1904), Bayutes (Hart 1955), Tayyen (Vanoverbergh 1941), Manang (Low 1848), Bentji (Covarrubias 1938), Kawe-Kawe (Chabot 1950), Mohoi or Mahu (Handy 1923), Machis (Titiev 1951), Tiraguina (Hill 1956), Bitesha (Merriam 1976), Hijara (Opler 1960) Winkte (Hasserick 1964), Sererr (Edgerton 1968), Khawals (Kaplan 1971), Alyha and Hwame (Deveraux 1938), Peulche (Cooper 1946) and Gavau' (Jochelson 1905).

Most of these terms fall into one of three categories. The first class emphasizes the midsexual's liminality. Labels like man-woman,

soft-man, not man-not woman, male-female and woman-half are good examples. These terms in themselves seem neutral and clues to whether the group regards them positively or negatively must be gleaned from other linguistic clues. For example, among the Amhara, midsexuals are referred to as "mistakes of God" and female midsexuals called "Wandawande" or mannish, a grave insult. Wandawande is also close to the native term for female midsexuals Wandararad, which means male-female or "a female with too much masculinity" (Messing 1957:550). In this context it seems that male-female is not a favorable term. Use of similar terms in other societies, however, suggest just the opposite. Forgey reports that the Cheyenne hemaneh, or half men-half-women were "held in great esteem and played an active role in Cheyenne social life" (1975:4).

The second category emphasizes physical characteristics or behavior. Names like "homosexual of the ridge pole" refers to midsexuals tendency to assume the activities of women. The use of the term "split testicles" among the Ojibwa is another example or Blue Lake Woman. Designations of this type are not as common in the literature, but seem to occur more often in a negative context. Among the Ojibwa, for example, the term "split testicles" seems to throw a male midsexual's manliness into question by insinuating that his male genitals are no longer operative or "split" like a woman's.

Native name for midsexuals fall under the third category. For example, Schopan, nadle, winkte, Hwame and Bitesha. Some of these terms fit into the first category when they are translated like Mein Ma Sha or woman-half among the Burmese. Other terms like Das refer to a beardless

man or a sterile woman and fall within the second category. Still others carry a clear positive connotation such as nadle which means "transformed" or a strongly negative one like Yandanda or "sons of dirt". There are also cases where native meaning may be ambiguous or contradictory. Lurie (1953) has reported, for example, that informants told her Siange meant "a eunuch" and "an idiot". In these instances other linguistic clues have to be examined before a verdict can be reached on the term's meaning.

In addition to terms for midsexuals, the way informants talk about them can also indicate accommodation or non accommodation by the society. Among the Sioux, for example, Hasserick quotes one informant as saying:

My father told me the way to go and what to do until I was married--among these things was to leave the winktes alone. A winkte is a man who dreams that by living as a woman, he will live a long life. This he may dream when he is a young boy, but later when he becomes a man, he will come out one day with a dress. Then he will do women's work and live like a woman. These men are good skimmers and go about calling one another sister. Each has his own tipi, for after men have had sexual relations with them, their parents put up a tipi for them. If a man goes to a winkte and treats him as you would a woman, something serious will befall him. When the winkte dies, and after you have died, you will regret your relationship for you will suffer when you reach the land beyond. Here you will not live in the main circle, but away with the murderers suffering for here the winktes will torture you (1964:122).

This account reveals that Sioux attitudes were a mixture of tolerance and hostility. While value was placed on the work midsexuals did and the products they produced, the informant's predominant attitude was that they should be avoided. In contrast, Lowie (1935) records Crows coming to the defense of a midsexual who was being harassed by a government agent. Informant descriptions and speech acts, therefore,

may help clarify their societies position on accommodation of midsexuals.

MYTHS AND STORIES

Like language, a culture's myths and stories often reflect common values and perceptions. This includes attitudes about sex roles and proper male and female behavior. In American society, for example, the ideology that females are inferior and male appendages is upheld in Genesis Chapter two, verses seven, eighteen, twenty-one and twenty-three where Eve is described as being created from Adam's rib and so destined to be subserviant to him. Other cultures have similar stories about midsexuals and the way midsexuals are portrayed in the stories can be seen as an indication of how well they are accommodated by their society.

Among the Bella Coola, for example, there is a myth of a hermaphrodite god named Sxints. According to the myth:

He resides in the land above and spends most of his time outside the walls of Nusmat-a, acting as a guardian to a number of young girls, the children of various supernatural beings. On many occasions he has descended to this world and has been seen by mortals who recognize him by his peculiar nasal voice, intermediate between that of a man and a woman. It is supposed that human hermaphrodites have been affected in some mysterious way by their supernatural prototype (McIlwraith:1948:45-46).

In this myth Sxints is portrayed as a guardian figure, a little strange perhaps, but not as an object of scorn or fear. In contrast, stories about midsexuals among the Ojibwa portray midsexuals as evil, stupid or ridiculous. One account recorded by Hallowell (1955) tells of a female midsexual who leaves her husband and children and takes another "wife". Because the midsexual cannot perform sexually "like a real man", her wife is dissatisfied and eventually the heroine is discovered

and killed by her first husband. In another story a male midsexual named Wisakedjak, who is reputed to be "always doing things backward", marries a man in another village. He then convinces the spouse to engage in anal intercourse by posing as a stranger and then telling the husband that "this mode of intercourse is customary in the locality from which 'she' comes" (Hallowell 1955:304). The tale was thought to be uproariously funny by listeners. While ridicule is present in the telling of both stories, hostility is greater towards female midsexuals. Wisakedjak is apparently convincing enough in the female role to keep his husband content and unaware and is not discovered or killed for his transgressions. Sanctions appear to be stronger against female Midsexuals than male ones in Ojibwa society, even though both are disliked.

Greater emphasis on the virtues of male midsexuals is also present in myths and stories among the Navaho. As Hill observes:

The concept of nadle is well formulated and his cultural role well substantiated in the mythology . . . In that part of the Emergence Myth which tells of the quarrel between men and women, they play a very prominent part. In this dispute, the nadle cast their lot with the men when the sexes separate. Because of this, the ability of the nadle to perform the function and duties of women as well as men, they make it possible for the men to overcome women (1935:273-274).

In every case, where midsexuals are portrayed favorably they are seen as conferring some economic advantage to men. This is true even in the rare favorable tales told about female midsexuals. Hoigmann (1949), for example, relates a Kaska Indian story about a couple who had been unable to produce a son. Since the father needed someone to help him hunt, the youngest female child was dressed as a male, taught male attitudes and activities and eventually developed into a fine hunter.

Judging from these examples, it seems that myths and stories about midsexuals do reveal different attitudes and degrees of accommodation. It is also relevant to note that stories which take a positive or neutral view of midsexuals are more common and that midsexuals are often portrayed as being economic assets in them. Stories which display midsexuals in a negative light are fewer. However, these negative stories are more apt to be associated with groups who do not accommodate midsexuals, than positive ones in the same case. A number of non-accommodating groups also have no legends about midsexuals at all, perhaps reflecting the fact that they are not seen as being worthy or important enough to be incorporated into the oral traditions.

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION AND SANCTIONS

Deviant individuals are present in every society. However, how each culture deals with them is very different. Some groups kill them or cast them out; others make attempts to accommodate them. One method of accommodation may be to allow midsexuals to assume the role of shaman. These people are often in charge of the religious life of a community, performing ceremonies to insure fertility, communicate with the dead, cure illness and create hunting magic. Unlike the medicine man, who may also be a doctor and spiritual guide, the shaman does not use hypnosis or simple suggestion to influence others. Instead, he relies on the ability to put himself "in a state of trance" (Lomel 1971:9). While in this trance the shaman may do many things that would be considered bizarre in another person, such as becoming unconscious, assuming the characteristics or behavior of animals, frothing at the

mouth or acting as a medium. Kroeber (1940) suggests that mentally ill people were drawn to shamanism and that it gave them a way to express themselves and still remain part of their community. There is also evidence that some societies accommodated midsexuals in the same manner. Jochelson (1905) reports that among the Siberian people like the Koryak and the Chuckchee, it was acceptable for shaman to publicly change their sex and assume the dress and some of the corresponding activities. Indeed, "the transformed shamans were believed to be the most powerful of all shamans. The conception of the change of sex arises from the idea . . . of the conformity between the nature of the object and its outer covering and garb" (Jochelson 1905:52). Midsexual shaman have also been reported among the Lapps, the Ila of Africa, the Balinese, the Makassarians, the Tehuelche and numerous North American tribes. Most are male, but a few--mostly menopausal women have assumed the role as well.

In addition to becoming shaman, there is evidence that midsexuals were integrated into the religious life of the community in other ways. Gayton reports that "the berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs" (1948:106). Forgey (1975) relates that midsexuals often acted as doctors, makers of love potions and accompanied war parties to insure luck in battle among many Plains Indian groups. Lowie relates that "the task of chopping down the first tree for the Sun Dance Lodge specifically devolved on a berdache" among the Crow (1935:48). Kaplan (1971) also reports similar rites among the Illinois, the Sioux, the Sac and the Fox. Among the Papago midsexuals were given the task of taunting the

dead bodies of enemies on display and threatening them with a bow and arrow (Underhill 1939).

Other religious sanctions appeared in many societies that helped buffer midsexuals. Among the Amhara, evidence of feminine behavior is attributed to female devil possession (Messing 1957). Lurie also reports that among the Winnebago "it was generally agreed that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest" (1953:708). Callender and Kochems (1983) report similar beliefs among the Miami, Mandan and Hidatsa and Dorsey (1940) notes them among the Pawnee. Schaeffer also reports that a Kutenai midsexual was "instructed by a spiritual guardian to assume such garb and behavior" (1965:217). Kinietz states that "an extraordinary dream" was thought to be behind male midsexualism among the Ojibwa (1912:155) and Fletcher and La Flesche relate a similar story among the Omaha. While men were viewed as reluctant to become Midsexuals, it was believed that it the moon appeared in a dream and forced a man to take a strap--symbolic of the female role--instead of the male bow, he had to "forfeit his manhood and become like a woman" (1906:266).

In other groups, a potential midsexual had to undergo a test or ritual designed to reveal whether it was his fate to become one. Among the Papago, for example, Underhill reports:

The berdache was said to have been discovered in early childhood. If the parents found that a boy like female pursuits, they tested him. The regular pattern mentioned by many informants was to build a small enclosure and place in it bows and arrows and basketry materials. The child was told to go in and play play and then the parents set fire to the enclosure. They

watched what he took with him as he ran out and if it was the basketry materials, they reconciled themselves to its being a berdache (1939:186).

Mohave midsexuals were tested in a different way. If parents suspected that their child might have midsexual tendencies, they secretly prepared female clothes for him and arranged an alyha initiation rite. At the proper time the villagers all gathered and initiation songs were sung. If the boy refused to dance the them, the ceremony was stopped since the fates had decreed that he was meant to live a normal life. However:

If he couldn't resist the urge to dance to them, he was revealed as a born alyha. Women bathed him in the Colorado River and gave him a skirt. He took a female name. From then on he insisted on being referred to as a she (Kaplan 1971:470).

These ethnographic examples suggest that religious participation and sanctions may be used as another indicator of midsexual accommodation in some societies. A high degree of accommodation is more pat to be associated with midsexual adoption of the shaman role or the performance of other important religious duties. However, there is some evidence that religious sanctions such as dreams and tests may function to relieve the individual of the responsibility for becoming a midsexual and so increase the degree of accommodation. This may be especially true among groups which ridicule or persecute. midsexuals such as the Ojibwa or the Mohave.

INTERACTION BETWEEN MIDSEXUALS AND OTHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Of the four indicators, the type of interaction that occurs between midsexuals and the others in their group is perhaps the most useful for determining the degree of accommodation present in the society.

Language usage and myth content can give some idea of cultural values and attitudes, but what about the situation where people say one thing and do another? Malinowski encountered this problem during his fieldwork with the Trobriand Islanders. Although informants insisted that no one ever committed incest, Malinowski observed that numerous trysts took place between males and their "sisters," who were their parallel cousins. This led him to formulate the concept of real and ideal behavior (1927).

Other researchers besides Malinowski have also encountered this problem. Marvin Harris, for example, found that the farmers he interviewed in India insisted again and again that they "would never deliberately shorten the life of one of their animals" (1979:32). After collecting and analyzing reproductive histories of cattle for the area, however, Harris discovered that the mortality rate for male calves tended to be twice as high as that for female calves. When asked about this, farmers affirmed this fact but said that the males were weaker and became sick more often. Several farmers suggested it was because males ate less. One or two were willing to say male calves ate less because they were not permitted to nurse for more than a few seconds. "But no one would say that since there is little demand for traction animals in Kerala, males are culled and females reared" (1979:33).

This example illustrates the lengths to which people will lie, deny or otherwise obscure reality. Consequently, more weight has to be placed on actual behavior and interaction as it is observed in the field, or if not available, accounts of behavior and interaction provided by informants. In the case of midsexuals, evidence of

accommodation rests largely on the later source. However, it is likely to provide more ethnic information than the other indicators that have been discussed.

One evidence for non accommodation of midsexuals may be a lack of interaction between midsexuals and others in the community. In Burma, for example, Orr (1951:46) describes midsexuals as being "rare in villages," but "banded together into a society in Rangoon" and are "scorned". Messing (1957) reports that midsexuals are often driven from their communities among the Amhara and have to live elsewhere. Hasserick (1964) also notes that Sioux midsexuals were required to pitch their tipis at the edge of the camp circle with the widows and orphans and away from influential members of the group.

Non accommodation may also be indicated when midsexuals are forced to assume low status positions in society and barred from high status ones. In India, for example, Dubois (1906) describes midsexuals loitering around temples and acting as pimps and prostitutes. The Yandauda among the Hausa also act as pimps (Smith 1954) and Opler (1960) states that the Hijara in India had to drop all caste distinctions and performed their entertainment regularly in the street. Beals also reports the case of a female Tarascan midsexual who was said to "go through the streets at night, trying to entice girls to her home", a practice which invoked hostility in the community (1946:1176).

The baiting and taunting of midsexuals by others in the group may also indicate non accommodation. In Bali, for example, Covarrubis (1938:145) observed that "it was a great joke of the village boys to sit by the bentji and make him offers of marriage". Among the Mbundu,

Hambly (1934) quoted a man as saying that "other people laughed and spoke bad words" to a midsexual walking in the village. Kaplan (1971) describes vicious taunting of midsexuals and their sexual partners among the Mohave. Insults like "you aren't a man but an alyha!" were used to shame men who stayed home from a raid and the spouse of midsexuals were often asked "the alyha was born that way, but what's your excuse?" There were even accounts of people kicking animal dung and referring to it as the couple's child. Edgerton (1968) relates a story of similar sadism among the Pokot. As he describes it:

From the beginning Cheporr was dressed like a girl but everyone knew she was intersexed. As a small child she was usually happy, although she was often teased and called Sererr by the other children. Sometimes the little boys would catch her and amid general hilarity, examine her genitals. Cheporr would cry and try to fight, but the little boys only laughed and taunted her (1968:1292).

The most extreme form of non accommodation is of course physical coercion. Midsexuals were apparently beat among the Mbundu (Hambly 1934) and Lurie describes the last known Winnebago midsexual being threatened by his brothers with death if he assumed female dress. Swanton (1928:364) also reports the whipping of a man among the Creek who had engaged in homosexual practices and being "more effeminate than became a warrior". Finally, Kaplan (1971) recounts a brutal rape of a female midsexual among the Mohave and her subsequent murder. Edgerton (1968) also reports that infanticide was practiced on midsexuals among the Pokot.

Interaction between midsexuals and other members of their community can also reveal a high degree of accommodation. For example, Kutenai midsexuals were treated with "good natured, reserved tolerance

and rarely teased" (Schaeffer 1965:218). McIlwraith (1948) also reports male midsexuals sharing the work of women among the Bella Coola and female midsexuals participating in group hunts. Skinner (1912:156) observed Ojibwa midsexuals playing with children and "imitating the women in all their employments." Lowie (1935:48) noted that Crow midsexuals "naturally associate with girls and pretend to have sweethearts among the men." Gayton (1948) records Yokut midsexuals making baskets and pounding acorns among the rest of the women and Hill (1935:275) reports that Navaho midsexuals were consulted in economic matters, supervised the work of women around the hogan and in the fields and at ceremonial gatherings "they are placed in charge of preparation and cooking of food." Stevenson (1904:37) also states that midsexuals were fully integrated into the household among the Zuni and that the women "look upon him with favor, since it means he will remain a member of the household and do almost double the work." Hart (1955:24) reports seeing male midsexuals selling vegetables in the markets of Tarasco and Chabot (1949) describes midsexuals sitting, sleeping, gossiping with women and performing female tasks among the Makassar. Among the Tehuelehe, Cooper (1946:168) describes Puelche as "men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water and stayed with the women", indicating their close contact with others in the society. Merriam (1976:94) reported that Bala midsexuals "do women's work; they carry water, prepare food and do other female tasks for their families and perhaps for other people." Polynesian midsexuals also have been described as excelling at cooking, sewing, washing clothes in the company of women (Marshall 1976) and Underhill (1939) reports that Papago midsexuals went

on food gathering expeditions with other women and generally participated in all other work. Callender and Kochems (1983) note midsexual participation in raiding parties among the Natchez, the Timucua, Cheyenne and Karan Kawa. Also, "the Teton Dakota consulted berdaches to divine their success in projected battles" (1983:449). Low (1848:175) also reports that among the Iban "the Manang is a person of great consequence in the village . . . and rich from the many presents and payments made to him by those who require his services."

Defense or praise, rather than taunting and ridicule may also indicate a high degree of accommodation for midsexuals. Lowie (1935) describes other Indians coming to a Crow midsexual's defense for example. Hill also reports that among the Navaho:

Respect verges almost on reverence in many cases. An informant stated "They know everything. They can do both the work of a man and a woman. I think that when the nadle are all gone, that will be the end of the Navaho" (1935:275).

In this chapter an attempt has been made to operationalize the term accommodation by grouping the evidence under four categories-- linguistic references, religious participation, stories and myths about midsexuals and interaction between midsexuals and other members in their community. Evidence for non accommodation was indicated by the presence of negative language terms, religious participation, stories and myths and interaction. Selected midsexual society were then scored on the basis of a positive accommodation scale in order to determine their relative degrees of accommodation. The results appear in table 2.

As the table shows, some of the sampled groups such as the Ojibwa and Mohave have elements of both accommodation and non accommodation.

TABLE 2

MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES AND DEGREE OF ACCOMMODATION

Society	lang	myth	religious P	in	score
Navaho	+	+	+	+	1.0
Mandan	+		+	+	1.0
Hidatsa	+		+	+	1.0
Iroquois	+		+	+	1.0
Arikara	+		+	+	1.0
Iban	+		+	+	1.0
Ila	+		+	+	1.0
Pawnee	+		+	+	1.0
Cheyenne	+		+	+	1.0
Kutenai	+		+	+	1.0
Crow	+		+	+	1.0
Tanala	+		+	+	1.0
Zuni	+	+	+	0	.75
Yokuts	+		0	+	.67
Blackfeet	+		+	0	.67
Bella Coola	0	+		+	.67
Gros Ventre	+		+	0	.67
Chuckchee	0	+	+	0	.50
Papago	+	0	+	0	.50
Pima	+	0	+	0	.50
Sioux	+	-	+	-	.50
Marquesans	0		0	-	.33
Mohave	-	-	+	-	.25
Balinese	-	+	-	-	.25
Ojibwa	-	-		0	0
Burmese	-	-		-	0
Hindu	-	-		-	0
Pokot	-		-	-	0
Rwala	-		-	-	0
Amhara	-	-	-	-	0

However, scores for other societies tend to emphasize either a high or low degree of accommodation like the Navaho or the Amhara. Of the societies shown, 23 or 74% have at least one indicator that suggests accommodation for Midsexuals as contrasted with 8 or 26% who do not show any degree of accommodation. This observation suggests that midsexuals are more apt to be accommodated by the societies in which they appear than not.

An interesting question is posed: what factor or combination of factors might influence the degree of midsexual accommodation and account for the distribution observed in table 2? Some possible answers to this question will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Six Selected Factors affecting Midsexual Accommodation

In the previous chapter, four indicators of accommodation were examined--language, myths and stories, religious participation and interaction between midsexuals and other members of their society. A sample of midsexual present societies were then scored according to this criterion and the results represented in table 2. An analysis of the data revealed that while midsexual present societies varied in the degree of their accommodation, 24 or 87% showed more accommodation for midsexuals than might be expected. This observation suggests that some factor or combination of factors may affect midsexual accommodation.

To explore that hypothesis, I have selected eight features which might exert an influence on accommodation. The first is mode of subsistence. It is suspected that some types of subsistence practices allow midsexuals to make more contributions than others and that in societies where the level of contribution is significant, the degree of accommodation shown them would also be substantial. The second indicator is division of labor. In societies where midsexuals engage in primary subsistence activities, rather than peripheral ones, accommodation is expected to be present. In addition, it is also suspected that societies with a shortage of female or male labor would be more accommodating towards midsexuals than societies where these shortages do not exist. Control over production is a third factor which might influence accommodation. Societies where midsexuals have a say over the goods

they produce would tend to give them more power in their community and consequently influence the level of accommodation shown them. The fourth indicator is polygyny. It is suspected that societies with polygyny would be more tolerant of midsexuals and homosexual practices in general because of a shortage of single women. Warfare may also exert an effect on midsexual accommodation. Cultures where men are absent for long periods may place the burden of subsistence activities on women and midsexuals and so increase the level of accommodation shown the latter. Groups where women and midsexuals have a high status should show a higher degree of accommodation than in societies where the status is low. Finally, an eighth factor which could affect levels of accommodation is sex role ideology. It is suspected that cultures which show a high degree of hostility towards women and prescribe rigid male and female sex roles and attitudes would not be as accommodating of midsexuals as cultures with a more positive and flexible orientation. Many of these factors interrelate and a concluding purpose of this chapter will be to reveal some of those interrelations and show how the knowledge gained can be used to re-analyze the accommodation and non accommodation scores presented in table 2.

MODE OF SUBSISTENCE

According to the principles of cultural materialism, any socio-cultural phenomenon is ultimately grounded in the material conditions and environmental realities of life. Attitudes, customs and social institutions--all arise and are maintained or modified in accordance with techno-economic demands. Thus, insight into the development and

existence of a particular cultural attitude may be gained by examining the mode of subsistence. Harris (1974) for example, has argued convincingly that pigs compete with humans for scarce resources like corn and grain in the Middle East and therefore a taboo against eating and raising them frees more resources for man's use and consumption. In other parts of the world where pig and human subsistence needs do not conflict, they are eaten, revered and often incorporated into religious ritual or other traditions (Rappaport 1968). Ross has also taken a similar approach in explaining food taboos among the Achuara Jivaro in the Amazon Basin. Large animals such as tapirs, deer, capybara and sloths and anteaters were "excluded from the diet for a variety of reasons, religious and mundane. On the one hand, deer, tapir and sloths are considered to be reincarnated spirits (Wakani) of the human dead, while tapir is also believed to cause a rash if consumed" (Ross:1978:4). Ross attributes these taboos to three factors. The first is that the largest animals are adapted to a riverine environment away from villages, are nocturnal and solitary and this makes them difficult prey for hunters. Secondly, there are fewer large species in the habitat and those that do exist are also the favorite prey of non-human predators. Thirdly, large animals cannot be eaten all at once and so much of the meat spoils or becomes infested by maggots before it can be consumed. Therefore Ross argues that it makes more economic sense in terms of time, effort and economic returns for the natives to concentrate on smaller, numerous species which can be obtained nearby and eaten quickly to cut down on waste. Observations of the Achuara's diet over a month seemed to support these conclusions as shown in table 3. The natives subsisted

TABLE 3
 TIME SPENT AND ANIMALS TAKEN OVER A ONE MONTH PERIOD

Animal	Time Spent		Number of Animals Taken				
	%	week	Birds	Monkeys	Rodents	Turtles	Peccaries
Birds	59	I	9	6	5	1	-
Rodents	42	II	7	2	3	4	-
Monkeys	31	III	5	-	-	-	-
Turtles	17	IV	4	1	-	-	4
Peccaries	7	Total	25	9	8	5	4

Ross (1978)

mainly on small animals and birds taken in greater numbers and on more days. As a result, food taboos against killing larger animals "seem to help maintain resource, population and settlement stability over a long period of time" (Ross 1978:10).

For midsexuals, the presence of absence of accommodation may similarly be related to subsistence practices. A review of the ethnographic material shows that in many societies where midsexuals are accommodated to a high degree, they also make significant economic contributions. Vanoverbergh (1941) describes midsexuals planting, weeding and pounding rice among the Apayao and Chabot (1950) notes that midsexuals among the Makassarians worked frequently in the kitchens, cooking, helping with preparations and doing the hard work such as tending the fires. Midsexuals among the Ila plaited baskets, worked in the fields and did all other kinds of women's work (Smith and Dale 1920). Gayton similarly reported Yokut midsexuals "gathed acorns and made baskets in the company of women" (1948:31). Among the Zuni,

Stevenson notes that midsexuals are "ever ready for service" and are "expected to perform the hardest labors of the female department" (1904:37). Pima and Papago midsexuals similarly engaged in female subsistence tasks and went on food gathering expeditions (Underhill 1939) and Hill gives a vivid account of the importance of Navaho midsexuals economic input. As he describes it:

They supervise the work of the women around the hogan and direct the planting and the work in the fields. At large ceremonial gatherings they are placed in charge of preparation and cooking of food. Besides, these general domestic activities . . . they are said to be excellent sheep raisers (Hill 1935:275)

On the other hand, in societies where there is less accommodation of midsexuals the economic contributions of midsexuals are also lower. Among the Ojibwa, for example, hunting and fishing are the dominant subsistence activities and restricted to males (Barnouw 1950). Consequently, the contributions of male midsexuals are minimized. The Amhara and Rwala similarly depend mainly on male subsistence activities and females and midsexuals contribute a lesser part (Textor 1967). In other societies such as India or Bali and Burma, midsexuals are marginal individuals and parasites--consuming economic resources through begging or prostitution, but not contributing directly to subsistence (Orr 1949, Dubois 1906, Covarrubas 1938). These results are summarized in table 4.

Further analysis also shows that the presence and degree of accommodation of midsexuals can be linked to specific subsistence practices. Marginal Hunting and Gathering groups which depend primarily on male fishing and hunting of small or solitary animals do not show a high incidence of midsexualism or accommodation. As represented in table

TABLE 4

MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION BY SUBSISTENCE CONTRIBUTION

Society	Acc Score	Sub Contribution
Navaho	1.0	H
Mandan	1.0	H
Hidatsa	1.0	H
Iroquois	1.0	H
Arikars	1.0	H
Iban	1.0	H
Ila	1.0	H
Pawnee	1.0	H
Cheyenne	1.0	S
Kutenai	1.0	H
Crow	1.0	S
Tanala	1.0	H
Zuni	.75	S
Yokuts	.67	S
Blackfeet	.67	S
Bella Coola	.67	H
Gros Ventre	.67	H
Chuckchee	.50	S
Papago	.50	H
Pima	.50	H
Sioux	.50	S
Marquesans	.33	L
Mohave	.25	S
Balinese	.25	L
Ojibwa	0	L
Burmese	0	L
Hindu	0	L
Pokot	0	L
Rwala	0	L
Amhara	0	L

5, only one example, the Ojibwa were identified in this class. In contrast, Transitional Hunting and Gathering groups which engage in the harvesting/hunting of large land or aquatic animals are more apt to have and accommodate midsexuals. Midsexuals were found in 87 Transitional Hunting and Gathering societies and as table five shows, 8 or 89% of the sampled Midsexual societies surveyed were characterized by a positive degree of accommodation. This trend seems to intensify with the adoption of agricultural practices. As represented in table five, 8 or 73% of the sampled midsexual present societies that practiced horticulture showed a high degree of accommodation. Only one society or 10% of the sample showed a lack of accommodation. On the other hand, intensive agriculture seems to be associated with a decline in the number of midsexual present societies and the degree of accommodation shown these individuals. Out of 91 societies with intensive agriculture, only 10 or 11% had midsexuals and of these 6 out of 8 or 75% showed a marked lack of accommodation. In the remaining two societies where accommodation was indicated, midsexuals seemed to have made significant subsistence contribution (Stevenson 1904, Linton 1933). Lastly, out of the societies where animal husbandry is the dominant mode of subsistence, only three societies have midsexuals and both cultures included in the sample had a low degree of accommodation as indicated in table 5.

Judging from the evidence, it seems that midsexuals are more apt to be present and accommodated to a high degree in societies where they and women make significant economic contributions and the dominant mode of subsistence falls under the categories of Transition Hunting and Gathering or Simple Agriculture. In contrast, Marginal Hunting and

TABLE 5

MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES BY SUBSISTENCE PRACTICE

Society	Acc Score	Sub Type	Subsistence by % and type				
			ag	do	fi	h	g
Ojibwa	0	M H & G	0	0	40	30	30
Cheyenne	1.0	T H & G	0	0	0	80	20
Kutenai	1.0	T H & G	0	0	40	30	30
Crow	1.0	T H & G	0	0	0	80	20
Yokuts	.67	T H & G	0	5	40	25	25
Blackfeet	.67	T H & G	0	0	0	80	20
Bella Coola	.67	T H & G	0	0	60	20	20
Gros Ventre	.67	T H & G	0	0	0	75	25
Chuckchee	.50	T H & G	0	60	5	25	5
Sioux	.50	T H & G	0	0	0	80	20
Navaho	1.0	Hort	40	30	0	10	20
Mandan	1.0	Hort	50	0	20	30	0
Hidatsa	1.0	Hort	55	0	5	20	20
Iroquois	1.0	Hort	40	0	20	30	10
Arikara	1.0	Hort	50	0	20	30	0
Iban	1.0	Hort	75	5	5	5	10
Ila	1.0	Hort	60	30	0	0	10
Pawnee	1.0	Hort	45	0	5	40	5
Papago	.50	Hort	35	20	0	5	20
Pima	.50	Hort	35	20	0	5	20
Zuni	.75	In Ag	60	25	0	5	5
Tanala	1.0	In Ag	80	5	5	5	5
Marquesans	.33	In Ag	60	5	25	5	5
Mohave	.25	In Ag	40	0	10	20	30
Balinese	.25	In Ag	40	25	5	5	0
Burmese	0	In Ag	35	5	25	5	5
Amhara	0	In Ag	35	25	5	5	5
Hindu	0	In Ag	60	20	10	0	0
Pokot	0	Pas	30	60	0	10	0
Rwala	0	Pas	0	65	0	5	5

Gathering groups and those practicing Intensive agriculture or animal husbandry were less likely to be associated with midsexuals or accommodate them if they were present.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Another feature which may affect midsexual accommodation is the division of labor in society. the development of differences between male and female subsistence activities has often been linked to the development of corresponding sex role behaviors and attitudes among human groups. As expressed by Galeikas and Teleki:

An important characteristic of human adaptation is economic cooperation between the sexes based upon differential subsistence activities. In gathering-and-hunting societies, men typically hunt and women gather plant resources, individuals regularly sharing the products of their activities with other members of the social unit, including individuals of the opposite sex. The differential exploitation of resources can be at least partially, equated with an ecological separation of the sexes. It is primarily because of this pronounced difference in the subsistence activities of males and females that the sharing of resources acquires adaptive significance (1981:241).

In addition to humans, some researchers suggest that the subsistence activities of some male and female pongids may show sex linked variation. Male and female orangutuns were observed to feed separately, with males covering larger distances and congregating in all male groups. Similar behavior was observed among male chimpanzees and "may contribute to their hunting success" (Galdikas and Teleki 1981:246). In contrast, female chimpanzees and orangutuns were less mobile and did more gathering of easily attainable resources. For example, "females on the average spend 20%, 15%, and 1% of their feeding time in exploiting young leaves, barks and invertebrates respectively, while the

corresponding figures for the adult males are 10%, 3% and 9% (Galdikas and Teleki 1981:244). These differences are compared in table 6.

TABLE 6

HOME RANGE SIZES, DAY RANGING DISTANCES AND SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES
OF ADULT MALE AND FEMALE ORANGUTUNS AND CHIMPANZEES

Pongid	Sex	Range (km)	Mean DR	Max Dr	% of time spent	
					Travel	Feed
Orangutan	f	5-6	.7	2.5	15	61
	m	20+	.9	4.0	17	59
Chimpanzee	f	3-4	3.0	7.0	13	52
	m	7-8	4.0	11.0	18	40

Galdikas and Teleki (1981)

In analyzing this data, Galdikas and Teleki attribute female chimpanzee and orangutan subsistence activities to promoting sedentism among females that allowed "a minimum energy expenditure and low risk of injury, especially to immature offspring" (1981:247). Hunting, which requires extensive travel and risk to young then emerges as an unsuitable activity for females. In human populations, the same pattern appears to be present. Hunting is classified as a strictly male occupation in the Ethnographic Atlas, while females tend to do the primary gathering within a restricted area and may provide as much as : "forty to sixty percent of the diet" (Martin and Voorhies 1975:181). Males, however, provide important sources of protein and resources that can be "distributed beyond the immediate household", benefitting all members of

the group (Friedl 1980:141). Both sexes cannot survive without the others contributions--especially in marginal environments, but a surplus of women may not indicate an economic advantage. The labor requirements of maintaining one household rarely exceed the daily abilities of one woman, so that extra women could be considered liabilities. This would be especially true if the women were barren.

Under other circumstances, however, the demand for female labor might warrant having two or more women in a household. Kelly (1981:412) notes that "in North Yemen, for example, it is estimated that in the average sized family of six to eight persons the labor of two women is required to carry out the minimum household chores necessary for subsistence: fetching water, caring for livestock, gathering food, etc." Ewers also reports that among the Blackfeet, "women outnumbered men by two or three to one . . . Probable more than half of the men had at least two" (1959:99-100). Although he attributes this distribution to the loss of men through war, and alternative explanation might be that the extra women were needed to manage the increased workload forced upon them by the fur trade. Lewis (1941) notes that tanning a hide took most women six days, and was very time consuming. As a result, hunters with two or three wives could produce more hides than their monogamous competitors and thus gain more economic wealth and security. Women traditionally butcher the carcasses of animals brought down in the hunt in Transitional hunting and gathering groups like the Crow and engage in other heavy labor as well, making the presence of extra women an advantage. Horticultural societies also appear to fit into this category. Coult and Haberstein (1965:528) found that in 100% of the cases where

horticulture was the dominant or a primary subsistence activity, women engaged in it and made the major subsistence contribution. Judith K. Brown (1975) has argued that unlike hunting, horticulture does not conflict with childrearing. It is practiced close to home, does not require rapt concentration, is not dangerous and can be easily interrupted. Demand for female labor is high in such groups but declines with the change to intensive agriculture. As shown in table 7:

TABLE 7

DIVISION OF LABOR IN HORTICULTURE VS INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE

Division of Labor	Cultivation Type			
	Horticulture		Agriculture	
	N	%	N	%
Female	52	50	15	16
Male	17	17	75	81
Male & Female	35	33	3	3
Totals	104	100	95	100

Martin and Voorhies (1978)

agricultural societies are tremendously consistent in their assignment of cultivation tasks. Some 81 percent delegate males for farming as compared to only 17 percent of our horticultural sample. Female cultivation so central to societies employing hand tools, shrivels in importance to a mere 16% in agricultural cases (Martin and Voorhies 1975:283).

Additional evidence is presented in table 8 and it also shows a similar pattern among groups which practice animal husbandry. Again, male labor contributions predominate.

An analysis of midsexual labor contributions reveals that they tend to correlate closely with the gender role assumed. Thus, male

midsexuals carry out labor appropriate for women and female midsexuals labor appropriate for men. As a result, we would expect to see a high degree of accommodation exhibited for male Midsexuals in societies which place a premium on female labor. This is in fact the case as depicted in table 8. In addition, midsexuals may also function as a two-in-one person, able to adopt either the male or female role as the situation demands (Callender and Kochems 1983, Thayer 1980). Lowie, for example, reported that a male Crow Midsexual had "once fought valiantly in an encounter with the Dakota" (1935:48). Hill (1935:275) also states that among the Navaho "the economic role of the nadle is dual, their activities overlapping both those of men and women" and again in reference to Warso midsexuals, noted: "the individual devoted himself to the tasks and labors which characterized the sex which he is simulating: the preparation of food, cultivating and harvesting of agricultural products, mahammocks and baskets etc. Nonetheless, there are certain indications that he also takes part in some of the masculine activities, such as fishing, hunting and commerce for example" (1956:29). In some societies, this role flexibility may have conferred an economic advantage and allowed midsexuals to fill in for temporary labor shortages. Researchers have even suggested that an increased demand for female labor may result in increased numbers of midsexuals. Liberty, for example, argues that "the economic and social value of the berdache seems indeed likely to have arisen in Plains culture with the rise of labor needs in producing tanned and ornamental robes and other leather goods for trade. Thus berdache frequency probably increased after such trade became prevalent, from an earlier hunting baseline in which the

TABLE 8
MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES BY DIVISION OF LABOR

Society	Acc	Sub	Sub ag	By do	% fi	And h	Type g	Sub ag	By do	% fi	F h	Labor g	Ave F Input
Ojibwa	0	M H&G	0	0	40	30	30	0	0	5	0	50	16%
Cheyenne	1.0	T H&G	0	0	0	80	20	0	0	0	0	100	20%
Kutenai	1.0	T H&G	0	0	40	30	30	0	0	0	0	100	30%
Crow	1.0	T H&G	0	0	0	80	20	0	0	0	0	100	20%
Yokuts	.67	T H&G	0	5	40	25	25	0	0	0	0	75	21%
Blackfeet	.67	T H&G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	20%
Bella Coola	.67	T H&G	0	0	60	20	20	0	0	20	0	75	32%
Gros Ventre	.67	T H&G	0	0	0	70	25	0	0	0	0	100	26%
Chuckchee	.50	T H&G	0	60	5	25	5	0	31	0	0	63	23%
Sioux	.50	T H&G	0	0	0	80	20	0	0	0	0	100	20%
Navaho	1.0	Hort	40	30	0	10	20	15	80	0	0	100	50%
Mandan	1.0	Hort	50	0	20	30	0	100	0	50	0	0	60%
Hidatsa	1.0	Hort	55	0	5	20	20	100	0	0	0	100	79%
Iroquois	1.0	Hort	40	0	20	30	10	100	50	0	0	0	50%
Arikara	1.0	Hort	50	0	20	30	0	100	0	50	0	0	60%
Iban	1.0	Hort	75	5	5	5	20	45	0	44	8	56	44%
Ila	1.0	Hort	60	30	0	0	10	60	0	0	0	100	50%
Pawnee	1.0	Hort	45	0	5	40	5	85	0	0	0	25	42%
Papago	.50	Hort	35	30	0	5	20	30	0	0	0	100	38%
Pima	.50	Hort	35	20	0	5	20	30	0	0	0	100	38%
Zuni	.75	In Ag	60	25	0	5	5	25	0	0	0	100	21%
Tanala	1.0	In Ag	80	5	5	5	5	44	0	38	0	0	37%
Marquesans	.33	In Ag	60	5	25	5	5	6	100	25	0	50	18%
Mohave	.25	In Ag	40	0	10	20	30	8	0	0	0	50	23%
Balinese	.25	In Ag	40	25	5	5	0	5	13	0	0	0	7%
Burmese	0	In Ag	35	5	25	5	5	19	0	25	0	0	18%
Amhara	0	In Ag	35	25	5	5	5	0	38	0	0	0	13%
Hindu	0	In Ag	60	20	10	0	10	10	0	0	0	40	10%
Pokot	0	In Ag	30	50	0	10	0	20	0	0	0	0	13%
Rwala	0	Pas	0	65	0	5	5	0	13	0	0	39	13%

contribution of males was too valuable to promote their transformation" (1938:461).

Also there is some evidence to suggest that a lack of demand for female labor may contribute to a lack of accommodation where the subsistence strategy would seem to encourage it. The Choctaw, for example, were a horticultural society where a shortage of land suitable for cultivation resulted in increased competition among women (Romans 1962). Consequently, midsexual labor was not needed or valued to the extent characteristic of most horticultural groups and this may have resulted in the lower level of accommodation.

In general, however, the ethnographic evidence seems to indicate that midsexuals are more likely to be accommodated by cultures with a high or important degree of female labor input than in societies where that input is low or less important. As table 8 reveals, within our sample of midsexual present societies, 12 or 100% of the cultures with an average female input above 35% were also characterized by a high degree of accommodation. In contrast, 9 or 100% of the societies with low accommodation scores had lower levels of female input, below 20%.

CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION

A third factor which may affect the degree of midsexual accommodation is control over production. Research has shown that the question of control is crucial and may in some cases counteract expected trends generated by subsistence or labor contributions. Among the Azande, for example, horticulture is the dominant subsistence activity and females have a high input. However, control over agricultural

products is exercised by men and consequently Azande women receive less respect than might be expected. Evans-Pritchard relates that "women could be married contrary to their wishes and were frequently paid in compensation for murder by witchcraft or adultery . . . They played no part in public life and were looked upon as child bearers and servants rather than companions and equals" (1937:16). In other parts of Africa women who make fewer labor and subsistence contributions may enjoy a high degree of power by becoming traders or merchants (Boserup 1970). Brown (1975) has also noted that among groups where female control, labor and subsistence contributions are all consistently high, women are able to exert considerable influence over societal affairs. In discussing the Iroquois, she states:

Iroquois women controlled the factors of agricultural production for they had a right in the land which they cultivated, and in the implements and the seeds. Iroquois agricultural activities, which yielded bountiful harvests, were highly organized under elected female leadership. Most important Iroquois women maintained the right to distribute and dispense all food, even that procured by men . . . These economic realities were institutionalized in the matron's power to nominate Council Elders and to influence Council Decisions. They had a voice in the conduct of war and the establishment of treaties. They elected "Keepers of the Faith" and served in that capacity. They controlled life in the longhouse (Brown 1976:250-251).

The notions of control and power have been further explored by Sanday (1974). According to her model, female participation in reproduction limits the amount of energy they can expend in defense and subsistence activities. "Such a constraint in turn increases the probability that the other two tasks draw more on the energy of males, thus placing men in a strategic position to gain control of resources" (Sanday 1974:189). Sanday's interest is in examining under what

conditions does this pattern of male and female energy expenditure change and allow women to gain more control. One change that might contribute to an increase in female control is the introduction of a market economy. As Sanday argues:

In societies where control and production are linked and a competitive market exists, female power is likely to develop if females are actively engaged in producing valued market goods. In societies where control is based on magical or religious titles, female power is unlikely to develop unless some exogenous influence (such as the introduction of cash-cropping, famine, etc.) create a new demand or results in a revaluation of female produce (1974:200-201).

There is also some evidence that control over production may affect the degree accommodation shown midsexuals. Forgey (1975:10) reports that "one finds it reported that many berdache achieved considerable reknown for their skill in women's arts and, in fact, excelled the women in these tasks." Lowie (1935) describes the same situation among the Crow and Tschopik (1941) notes it among the Navaho. Apparently, many midsexuals exercised a great deal of control over the distribution of these goods and increased both their wealth and prestige among the community. Hill confirms this suspicion by noting that weaving, pottery and basket making among Navaho midsexuals "contribute substantially to their wealth, as especially are basketry and pottery making restricted technology and they are able to trade these products extensively with their own and other peoples" (1935:275). Forgey (1975:10) also indicates that among Plains Indian Midsexuals "it would appear. . . that many men who adopted the berdache role--thereby abandoning male pursuits--did not simultaneously abandon the male goal involving the intense desire for social prestige. Rather, the means by

which prestige might be attained were simply re-channeled to the pursuits of women." In addition, Hill (1935) reports that Navaho midsexuals were given control over all family property and had to be consulted if land or other resources were put up for sale. Control over religious knowledge may also increase regard for midsexuals in groups such as the Koryak, the Yokuts or the Chuckchee. Among the Iban, for example, Low (1848:175) states "the Menang is a person of great consequence in the village, all diseases are brought to him for cure . . . He is generally old and rich from the many presents and payments made to him by those who require his services."

On the other hand, in societies which show a low degree of accommodation, midsexuals do not appear to exercise much control over resources, Opler (1960) depicts midsexuals in India as being dependent on their dancing and begging to survive and Smith (1954) reports Hausa midsexuals being hired by prostitutes to guard their houses. This lack of control also appears among groups like the Amhara or the Pokot where the midsexual is often driven out of his community and forced to take up residence elsewhere, usually as a servant or prostitute, but living mainly off others' charity. These results are summarized in Table 9.

As the table shows, some measure of control does characterize societies with a high degree of accommodation for midsexuals. However, in most cultures midsexuals enjoy consistently less control than do women under the same circumstances. As Whitehead notes:

In some areas, the berdache was subject to a disadvantage not suffered by the dominant female householder--no household to dominate. The Potawatomi actually exiled the berdache from his native village . . . Among Plains groups, a berdache when married, seems to have been taken as a subsidiary wife, never

TABLE 9

MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES BY MALE MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION,
HIGH FEMALE CONTROL, POLYGYNY, WARFARE, KINSHIP AND FEMALE INPUT

Society	MM	Acc	Acc	HFC	Pol	War	Kin	Ave F Input
Navaho	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	50%
Mandan	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	60%
Hidatsa	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	79%
Iroquois	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	50%
Arikara	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	60%
Ila	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	60%
Pawnee	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	42%
Iban	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	44%
Crow	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	29%
Cheyenne	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	M	20%
Zuni	.75		.75	p	p	Ex	M	21%
Kutenai	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	B	30%
Tanala	1.0		1.0	p	p	Ex	Pa	37%
Yokuts	.67		.67	p	p	Ex	B	21%
Blackfeet	.67		.67	p	p	Ex	B	20%
Bella Coole	.67		.67	p	p	Ex	B	32%
Gros Ventre	.67		.67	p	p	Ex	B	26%
Papago	.50		.50	p	p	Ex	Pa	38%
Pima	.50		.50	p	p	Ex	Pa	38%
Sioux	.50		.50	A	p	Ex	B	20%
Chuckchee	.50		.50	A	p	In	Pa	23%
Marquesans	.33		.33	p	p	In	Pa	18%
Mohave	.25		.25	A	p	In	Pa	23%
Balinese	.25		.25	A	p	In	Pa	7%
Ojibwa	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	16%
Burmese	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	18%
Hindu	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	10%
Pokot	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	16%
Rwala	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	13%
Amhara	0		0	A	p	In	Pa	13%

the first, and this in all likelihood cut him off from household leadership (at least in his marital household). Only in the Southwest, among Zuni and Navaho, do we find definite reports of his being permitted a position of domestic headship and here in his natal, not married household (1981:113).

Whitehead's observation suggests that there is some advantage in societies restricting the amount of control a midsexual is allowed to exercise. One possibility may be that it prevents midsexuals from becoming too entrenched in a household or position of power that might interfere with their flexibility to be moved about the society and fill in wherever there is a shortage of labor. At present, however, this remains only a speculation.

POLYGYNY

A fourth factor which may influence the degree of Midsexual accommodation is polygyny. In societies where women engage in the bulk of the subsistence activities or provide crucial labor contributions, large numbers of women per household are an economic advantage. As has been previously suggested, the influx of the fur trade may have contributed to an increase in polygyny among the Plains Indians. Boserup (1970) also suggests that it may be an adaptive advantage in horticultural societies making extensive use of land. While polygyny may have economic advantages, it also tends to reduce sexual access to women for a large proportion of the male population. As a result, homosexual contacts are apt to become more frequent and accepted within the society. Wilson suggests that "it is because unmarried girls are so scarce and lusty bachelors so many, that the seduction of wives of polygnists is frequent, and homosexual practices are general" among the Ngonde

(1951:168). This opinion is shared by other researchers (Seligman 1932) (Tauxier 1912) (Layard 1942) and seems supported by the ethnographic evidence as indicated by table 10. In some cases, homosexuality was

TABLE 10

INCIDENCE OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND POLYGYNY IN MIDSEXUAL ABSENT SOCIETIES

Society	Homo	Boy Wives	Polygyny
Azande	P	P	P
Lepcha	P	P	P
Thonga	P	A	P
Mossi	P	P	P
Nogonde	P	P	P
Rundi	P	A	P
Siwan	P	A	P
Malekula	P	P	P
B. Brazillians	P	A	P

instituted to such a degree that the institution of "boy wives" developed. Among the Malekula, for example, a boy becomes the consort of an older man when he is circumcised and remains with him for several years until he "assumes the bark belt, the badge of an adult male" and then takes a boy lover of his own (Layard 1912:486). Tauxier (1912) reports a similar institution among the Mossi and Seligman relates that among the Azande:

These boys were sometimes spoken of as women and were even addressed as such... The young men paid spears for their boy wives, and the bond between the two was publicly acknowledged.

The boys behaved as women in that they ate out of sight of their husbands and performed numerous minor duties for them, though they did not cook for them but fetched the cooked food. At night they slept beside them and with these youths the elders satisfied their sexual desires (1932:178).

The custom of taking boy wives "was definitely recognized as a substitute for normal heterosexual union" (Seligman 1932:178) among the Azande and this attitude seems to characterize other societies where the institution also appears. Since individuals take on cross-sex behaviors for only a limited period and eventually resume heterosexual occupations and pursuits, they cannot be properly called midsexuals. However, their presence would seem to suggest that there would be a place also for midsexuals in polygynous societies.

The ethnographic data seems to support this conclusion. As represented in table 9, 19 or 90% of the sampled Midsexual present societies also practice polygyny. This statistic may explain why Midsexuals exist among groups like the Amhara or Rwala, where other factors would seem to discourage their presence. Among midsexual present societies with a high degree of accommodation, the sexual outlet provided by midsexuals is also valued and sometimes quite openly. Underhill notes that among the Papago a midsexual's "sex life with the men was a community institution" (1939:186) and Forgey (1975) argues that Plains Indian groups also adhered to homosexual practices. In addition, Hill states that among the Navaho:

Transvestites had sex relations both normally and unnaturally with both sexes. Hermaphrodites appear to have sex relations only with me. Sodomy with a nadle is countanced by the culture and the insanity believed to follow such an act with a normal person does not occur if the relation is with a nadle . . . The only limit of these relations is that the clan incest taboo must be observed (1935:276).

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, the presence of polygyny seems to increase the chances that midsexuals and some degree of homosexuality in general will be accommodated. Monogamous societies, on the other hand, seems less likely to accommodate such behavior as indicated by the data in tables 9 and 10.

WARFARE

The presence of warfare in a society may also affect midsexual accommodation. Harris (1979:91) has suggested that "warfare promotes female infanticide and the abuse of selective nutritional neglect of young girls by placing a premium on the rearing of aggressive, combat ready males." Males tend to outnumber females in these situations, a trend which may be intensified by polygyny. Female subsistence and labor contributions are then minimized and control over resources is exercised primarily by males. Many other features associated with male dominance also arise. Groups are more apt to be patrilineal and patrilocal, for example, have severe male puberty rites and "Oedipal motifs, in dreams and mythology; at the same time, male dominance gives rise to marked sex antagonism and to myths and rituals involving body paint, masks, bull roarers and other paraphernalia whose function it is to mystify and justify male supremacy" (Harris 1979:91-92).

Ember and Ember (1971) have characterized this type of warfare associated with a male supremacist complex as internal, or constant conflict between neighboring groups. This type is contrasted with external warfare, or conflict that occurs away from the community and requires males to be absent for long periods of time. This places

different selective pressures on the society. Since males are not needed for constant defense nor are available for subsistence work, "the normally patridominant division of labor will be disrupted and females will come to predominate (or at least contribute equally) to subsistence" (Ember and Ember 1971:584). Under these conditions, midsexuals are more apt to have economic value since they can perform not only female tasks, but male ones also in case of an emergency. Therefore, the presence of external warfare would tend to promote midsexual accommodation and the ethnographic evidence suggests that this is the case. Among the Plains Indian groups, men were often absent for long periods while they were engaged in horse stealing or raiding other groups (Livingstone 1917) and Van den Berghe (1979) reports the existence of external warfare among southwest groups like the Navaho which have and accommodate midsexuals. Additional evidence is also provided by table 9 where a sample of internal as opposed to external warfare groups are compared. Of these Midsexual present societies, 24 or 77% of the groups which show a positive degree of accommodation are characterized by external warfare in contrast to 7 or 23% that show a low degree of accommodation and practice internal warfare.

Based on this evidence, it seems that midsexuals are more apt to exist and be accommodated in societies with external warfare than internal conflicts.

KINSHIP

A sixth factor which might affect midsexual accommodation is kinship. According to cultural materialism, kinship like other forms of

social organization, conforms to and reflects techno-economic conditions. Therefore, the type of descent and residence patterns adopted by a group do not represent arbitrary choices, but are influenced by the environment, the level of technological development and subsistence practices. Steward's (1955) work on the Great Basin Shoshoni, for example, links the absence of lineages and permanent chiefs to the erratic and sparse nature of the resource base. Lee (1966) and Sahlins (1972) have also argued that exogamous marriage practices among the !Kung bushmen increase the ability of band size to expand or retract in response to changes in the resource base. Other anthropologists such as Harris (1974) have argued that patrilocal residence and patrilineality characterize many hunting and gathering groups because they confer an economic advantage in cooperative hunting. Timing and teamwork among a group of related males who have grown up together is viewed as being significantly better than among unrelated males, allowing the former to kill more animals with greater effectiveness. Gathering, on the other hand, is an activity that can be performed equally well by unrelated as related women. Therefore, hunting and gathering groups that practiced patrilineality and patrilocal residence would have an economic advantage over those who did not. Harris' hypothesis seems to be supported by the cross-cultural data, with 248 or 44% of the hunting and gathering societies in Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas falling into this category (Coults and Haberstein 1965:274, 258).

Horticultural societies, on the other hand, tend to be matrilineal and matrilocal. Out of 76 matrilineal societies in the Atlas, 58 or 76% cited horticulture as the dominant or primary subsistence

activity (Coult and Haberstein 1965:139). Since females do most of the work, advantage can be seen in close cooperation among women and in controlling the land through matrilineal clans, especially for horticultural communities in stable environments (Martin and Voorhies 1979). Livingstone (1917) has reported just this situation among the Hidatsa. Each clan controlled a section of land which its female members worked on together and if a woman was hurt or ill, her relatives planted, cultivated or harvested the crops for her. Men were not consulted in either instance, perhaps for the reason that they were often absent. Ember and Ember (1971) have linked matrilineal residence with external warfare, a claim which seems substantiated by the data in table 9.

In some situations, however, patrilineality and patrilocal residence may have adaptive value in a horticultural context. Matrilineality appears to lose "its adaptive value in the face of expansive, competitive, or more intensively exploitive techno-economic systems" (Martin and Voorhies 1975:229). Cultures such as the Azande, which make extensive use of land through slash and burn techniques, illustrate this point. Descent and residence is patrilineal and men commonly have two or three wives (Seligman 1932). Under the circumstances of extensive land use, "a man with more than one wife can cultivate more land than a man with only one wife" (Boserup 1970:38). Regard for females seems to be affected by this shift and women in patrilineal, horticultural groups do not seem to exercise the control over resources that women in matrilineal, horticultural societies do.

Boserup (1970:32) has also argued that "female farming systems

seem most often to disappear when farming systems with ploughing and permanent fields are introduced in lieu of shifting cultivation." With men taking over most of the subsistence work, matrilineal kinship tends to be replaced by patrilineal systems. Coult and Haberstein (1965:62) found that among intensive agricultural groups, 53% of the groups were patrilineal, 28% bilateral and only 15% matrilineal.

Bilateral kinship or not rules of descent or residence tend to characterize modern industrial societies where the nuclear family is the most important economic unit (Harris 1979) or hunting and gathering groups with a sparse or unpredictable resource base. Steward (1955:130), for example, has noted that bands which follow large herds of animals like caribou are more likely to be composite, allowing people to shift with the resources. Piddocke (1965) has also argued that the ambilateral kinship among the Kwakiutl served as an insurance against famine, since individuals could ally themselves with whatever group was experiencing the greatest prosperity.

Midsexual present societies also seem to fit into this framework. As represented in table 9, 12 or 92% of sampled midsexual societies with a high degree of accommodation were matrilineal; 9 or 100% of the societies with a low degree of accommodation were patrilineal. The majority of the societies with a middle range of accommodation tended to be bilateral. As a result, it seems that accommodation for midsexuals is likely to be higher in matrilineal or bilateral societies than patrilineal ones.

STATUS

Another factor which may affect midsexual accommodation is status; specifically, female status. As noted by Kroeber (1940:313) "the North American Indian attitude towards the berdache stresses not his erotic life but his social status; born a male he became accepted as a woman socially." Consequently, it is important to understand what conditions seem to promote high and low status among women and how the same set of factors might also influence the degree of midsexual accommodation.

In many hunting and gathering societies "female labor provides over two-thirds of the group's nutritional needs" (Harris 1979:77). In spite of the importance of female contributions, however, men are apt to enjoy a higher status. Friedl (1980) explains this apparent discrepancy by pointing out that males make contributions which benefit the entire group and not just the hunter's immediate family. Therefore, recognizing male status confers an economic advantage by encouraging men to be industrious hunters. Female status, however, is only slightly lower when women make important subsistence contributions. Among the !Kung, for example, Draper (1975) noted that females in the traditional foraging contexts display independence and assertiveness, speaking up in political affairs and exercising considerable control over their sex lives. With an increase in sedentism, female subsistence contributions drop and so does female status and autonomy. Friedl (1980:145) has also linked the low status of Eskimo women to their lack of subsistence contributions and argues that "only as controllers of valued resources

can women achieve prestige, power and equality."

Horticultural societies with their high dependence on female labor and subsistence contributions seem to support Friedl's assertions. As noted by Liberty (1979:140) there "is the tendency for female status to rise in association with increasing female subsistence contributions, a factor often associated with the development of horticulture." High status especially seems to characterize matrilineal horticulture societies where women are more apt to exercise control over land and resources. Sanday (1974) for example, found that female status was much higher among the matrilineal Iroquois than the patrilineal Azande, even though both groups practiced horticulture. Iroquois women controlled considerable amounts of land and exercised rights over harvested food and the power to order men out longhouses if they were causing trouble (Brown 1975). Similar indications of high status and the rights and privileges it awarded women have been documented for many other groups such as the Mandan, the Crow and the Navaho.

Lowie (1935:61), for example, notes that Crow women were the custodians of sacred objects, assisted in Sun Dance rituals, were often adopted into the Tobacco society with their husbands and "they were not debarred from sweating or doctoring or seeking a vision." They also owned and controlled their own property, took lovers and might elope with them if their current husband did not suit them. Among the Mandans, Bowers (1950) reported the existence of female solidarity groups, female religious participating through fasting, vision quests, buying or inheriting medicine bundles and becoming shaman. In addition, Mandan "women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear

the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their honors in the Scalp Dance" (Bowers 1950:74). Hrdlicka (1900) notes that women held extensive amounts of property in Navaho society and exercised a great deal of control over not only their personal resources but those of the family. Leighton and Kluckhohn also report that:

More women than men have a ready and continual source of extra income (through weaving) giving women a strategic advantage . . . Within the hogan and the area immediately surrounding it, women's supremacy is seldom challenged. In some families a strong willed and sharp tongued woman makes by far the greater number of ultimate decisions in most realms. It is very common when one is having an interpreter or guide for a trip to have the man say "I'll have to ask my wife first" (1947:56, 137-138).

Reichard (1928) describes Navaho women as politically important, having a voice in Council and that they were able to become shaman and participate in religious ceremonies, furnishing all food and making many of the sacred objects. Also, male and female restrictions do not seem to be different in some cases and are "enjoined upon both sexes" (Reichard 1950:174). Hill relates that women sometimes joined war parties and engaged in fighting, though their presence was limited and "none of the informants had heard of a woman leading a war party" (1936:18).

In other societies such as the Zuni, the Papago or the Gros Ventre where women make fewer contributions, female status and midsexual accommodation appears to be lower. Among the Gros Ventre, for example, Kroeber (1908) notes that women's rights over property were restricted, wife beating a common occurrence and considered the women's fault. Adultery was also a serious offense for a woman but not for a man. On

the other hand, Flannery (1953:101) asserts that a woman who acted bravely in battle against an enemy raid on the camp, was "given a new name, that of Woman Chief, and her praises were sung by three groups." A mixed status also seemed to characterize Zuni women. Bunzel (1932) reported that they cannot hold political office and must obtain male assistance to conduct some religious rituals. However, Parsons notes that "girls are more desirable than boys" (1919:86); efforts are taken at birth to try and insure that a newborn baby will be a girl, such as keeping men away and preventing the mother from napping during labor if it is believed she is carrying a girl. Also, practices existed after birth such as pouring cold water on a boy's penis "that the parts may be small, and a girl has placed over her vulva a gourd cup, that the parts will be large" (1919:86). Kroeber also states "the woman's title to the house is absolute . . . when a man has built such a house, and he and his wife quarrel and separate, even though for no other reason than her flagrant infidelity, he walks out and leaves the edifice to her without the least thought of being deprived of anything that is his" (1917:89).

Papago women similarly can become shaman after menopause, undergo purification rituals with their husbands, but are not admitted to Council, could not travel unchaperoned and had less control over and access to income (Underhill 1936). Joseph (1949:52-53) also notes the mixed character of female status among the Papago, stating:

The man is always the family spokesman and the women will disclaim authority, at least in public. A telling rebuke to a wife is "Do you think you are the head of the house?" . . . The rare occasions when a woman does contest an issue with men are the subject of comment by both sexes: "And she was telling them what should be done, and she a woman, telling men! How could she

know about it? It is the men who know these things!" . . . Yet women are not regulated to an inferior position; they are never ordered about and are never servile towards men. The attitude of both sexes is simply that their spheres of authority and influence are different.

Friedl's assertion is also supported by the data on agricultural and pastoral societies where women do not exercise much control over resources. Among the Rwala, for example, a man can divorce his wife at any time and "without telling her the reason, even though she beg him on her knees to keep her" (Musel 1928:232). Low female status is also reflected by the blood price of twenty-five she-camels for a woman's death as compared with fifty she-camels, a mare and one set of riding equipment that is paid if a man is killed. Messing (1957:223) also reports that "Amhara women servants usually receive half the salary of a male servant" and were not admitted inside churches or schools. Wife beating occurred "as a matter of course for mistakes in their work or apparent flirtations with other men" (Levine 1965:79).

Among the Hausa, Smith (1955:12) also reports that "in community social structure women play no part and have no place except that which kinship and marriage give them." Wives are secluded whenever possible and there is correspondingly little female property ownership and control or legal representation.

Judging from the ethnographic evidence, Friedl's assertion that subsistence contributions have an effect on women's status seems well supported. Sanday (1974) has attempted to further test some of Friedl's notions about status, control over resources and subsistence contributions by comparing female status in twelve societies. She begins by identifying four indicators of high female status. They are: control

over land and other goods, demand for female produce, female political participation and female solidarity groups devoted to political or economic interests. As represented in table 11, societies who score high in female status also tend to score higher in female subsistence contributions than those societies where female status indicators are absent and subsistence contributions low. Among the midsexual present societies indicated in Sanday's sample, the Iroquois and the Crow, who show high scores in status and subsistence contributions, also have been identified as showing a high degree of midsexual accommodation. The Aymara who show less accommodation for midsexuals, also score lower in female status and the Rwala are characterized by both a lack of midsexual accommodation and very low status and subsistence contributions. Additional evidence for the link between high female status and high levels of midsexual accommodation is presented in table 12. As shown 7 or 100% of the societies sampled with high female status also are characterized by high levels of midsexual accommodation. In contrast, 4 or 100% of the cultures with low female status also showed lower levels of midsexual accommodation.

This evidence becomes even more conclusive when we look at the degree of correlation between high midsexual status and female subsistence contributions. Using Sanday's four status indicators it is also possible to obtain status scores for midsexuals. As represented in table 13, 100% of the sampled societies with high midsexual status also show high levels of female labor contributions. In contrast, 100% of the societies where midsexuals occupy a low status are also characterized by low female labor contributions. From this analysis it seems

TABLE 11
SCALE OF FEMALE STATUS WITH RELATED VARIABLES

Society	Status Indicators				Score	Sub %	F Deities %
	I	II	III	IV			
Yoruba	P	P	P	P	5	30	31.5
Iroquois	P	P	P	P	5	50	55.5
Samoans	?	P	P	P	5	50	53.1
Crow	P	P	P	A	4	29	40
Aymara	P	P	A	A	3	52	46.2
Tapirapo	?	P	A	A	3	24	20
Rwala	P	?	A	A	3	10	0
Andamans	P	A	A	A	2	50	43.8
Tikopia	A	A	A	A	1	75	60
Azande	A	?	A	A	1	59	33.3
Somali	A	A	A	A	1	45	40
Toda	A	A	A	A	1	10	37

Sanday (1974)

TABLE 12
MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION BY FEMALE STATUS

Society	Acc Score	MD	HFC	FSF	FDE	PP	Status Score
Navaho	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Iban	1.0	A	P	P	P	A	3
Mandan	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Zuni	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Hidatsa	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Iroquois	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Crow	1.0	A	P	P	P	P	5
Amhara	0	P	A	A	A	A	-5
Rwala	0	P	A	A	A	A	-5
Hindu	0	P	A	A	A	A	-5
Burmese	0	P	A	A	A	A	-5

TABLE 13
STATUS INDICATORS FOR MIDSEXUALS BY ACCOMMODATION

Society	Acc Score	HFC	R&P	PD	Status Score	F Input
Navaho	1.0	P	P	P	3	50%
Mandan	1.0	P	P	P	3	60%
Hidatsa	1.0	P	P	P	3	79%
Iban	1.0	P	P	P	3	44%
Rwala	0	A	A	A	-3	13%
Amhara	0	A	A	A	-3	13%
Hindu	0	A	A	A	-3	10%
Burmese	0	A	A	A	-3	18%

that midsexuals are more apt to be accommodated and enjoy a higher status among societies with high female status and subsistence contributions than groups where female status and subsistence contributions are low.

SEX ROLE IDEOLOGY

A final factor which may affect midsexual accommodation is sex role ideology. According to cultural materialism, the ideology of a group tend to reflect and support techno-economic conditions. Therefore, we would expect to find groups where female and midsexual labor contributions are high to express a greater regard for women's worth and less antagonism between the sexes in its proverbs, stories and stated

attitudes than in societies where women and midsexual labor contributions are low.

A review of the ethnographic literature reveals that this is the case. Malay women, for example, are described by informants as "she is never a doll or a chattel, but a shrewd, energetic helpmate" (Wheeler 1928:251). Vanoverbergh (1938:213) notes that among the Apayo "an Isneg man rarely contracts any important business without the consent of the womenfolk and he is usually humble and obedient at the slightest hint of his wife." Among the Iban, men and women "address their cognates by the same set of terms" (Freeman 1959:25). Women are also viewed to be just as capable of founding a bilek family--or a new household--as men. Chabot (1950:329) reports that Makassarian men and women "are regarded as compliments of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole." Games are played between brides and grooms at weddings and "care is always taken that the women wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest" (Chabot 1950:239). Kluckhohn and Leighton (1947:137-138) report that for the Navaho the "official view of women is that they are the stable foundation of society. Under normal circumstances a man will not think of making disparaging statements about his female relatives and the most that he will let slip against his wife is that 'she scolds too much'." Traditional Navaho attitudes also promote the idea that placing property and economic control in the hands of women serves to safeguard the community's financial security. Men are viewed as less practical and more inclined to drink or gamble

money away while women are reliable and concerned about their family's welfare. This general view is well supported in the mythology. As Kluckhohn and Leighton state:

Men are portrayed as less dependable, now kind, now cruel; Sun is a philanderer; the Hero Twins threaten even their own mother if she will not tell them what they want to find out. But Changing Woman is uniformly trusting and gratifying (1947:55-56).

In contrast, a Hausa woman who commits adultery is said to "steal her own body," referring to the fact that at marriage a woman's right over her body belong to her husband (Smith 1955:12). Ojibwa men are said to avoid women before a hunt for fear they will interfere with the men's hunting magic; women are also thought to cause bad luck if they accompany war parties and "men can enter the 'long tent' through any door because they are 'clean.' Women can enter only through the door of their respective domestic family" (Landes 1937:59). Names are also chosen differently for men and women depending on what symbol is used and whether it is a male or a female element. The Thunderbird, for example, is a male element. Thus:

If a boy is named 'Crashing Thunder,' the cryptic phrase has a dynamic meaning because of his sex. It is likely to mean that the name was blessed by the Thunderbird, who is associated with the sound of thunder and who confers powers of war and strength. None of the Ojibwa could imagine that a girl would be given that name or any name with such active, masculine honorific context (Landes 1938:13).

Among Arabs, low opinions of women are expressed by stories such as a doctor who distinguishes between male and female skulls by the "crookedness" of the latter and proverbs like "a Widow is frisky as a horse that has thrown its rider" and "When God shut up Satan in hell, he created women to replace Satan on earth" (Wilkinson 1925:12-13). The

Amhara also called women Syet, which means inconsistent and a standard proverb states:

Women and donkeys need the stick. Women's work is referred to derisively by men; 'women's language' is the epithet for vulgar and trivial talk. A common justification for keeping women at home nearly all the time is that if they are allowed to go outside they will stir up all manner of trouble, for they are gossipers and deceivers. Another proverb tells us 'mules and women will betray you'. In a number of legends, including those connected with saintly figures of Eche-Yohannes and Takla Haymanot, women have been turned to stone because of their vile tongues and treacherous ways. Menstruation is viewed as the punishment incurred by womenkind as a result of that first treachery in Eden (Levine 1965:79).

Among the Burmese, men "avoided walking or stopping under women's clothes hung up to dry for such things were supposed to make the men subservant to women" and a popular proverb goes "a good dog keeps his tail tucked in; a good woman keeps in the background" (Richards 1945: 37-38). In India, an informant reported that men do not want high educated or dominant women, but instead "a husband wants to mold his wife's personality" (Cormack 1953:171). Women are expected to remain faithful even in the face of their husband's infidelity and Dubois (1906:344) quotes from the Padmapurma, that:

There is no other god on earth for a woman than her husband. The most excellent of all good works that she can do is seek to please him by manifesting perfect obedience to him. Therein should lie her sole rule of life.

Antagonism between the sexes is also expressed in Indian daily life. For example, a husband addresses his wife as slave or servant, but a woman "never addresses her husband except in terms of the greatest humility. She speaks to him as my master, my lord, and even sometimes my god" (Dubois 1906:339).

Male and female sex roles also tend to be rigid and emphasize

male and female differences among groups like the Hausa. Smith reports "as male and female interests and roles are sharply distinguished, so are typical male and female life cycles. Domestic rituals are a prime female interest, whereas extradomestic activity engages men" (1965:148). The Papago also stress the separateness of the sexes (Joseph 1949) and Zuni males and females make and present different items in religious worship. "This division in ritual is a reflection of the general economic pattern, in which females supply the food and the males the clothing of the household. So also women furnish the food of the gods and men the clothing" (Bunzel 1930:501).

Other studies tend to confirm these findings. Munroe, Whiting and Halley's 1971 study, for example, rated 17 midsexual present societies on their level of "sex distinctiveness" or the rigidity and separation of cultural sex roles. They found that:

Transvestism is present in only one of the . . . societies with scores of five or higher on the sex distinction index . . . In general transvestism as a social form is not found in societies that stress sex distinctions of the kind rated. The appearance of the institution instead tends to be confined to those societies that make relatively few distinctions on the basis of sex (Munroe, Whiting and Halley 1971:88).

Additional evidence is presented in table 14 where 100% of the societies with a positive sex role ideology also show a high degree of Midsexual accommodation. In addition, 100% of the sampled societies with a hostile sex role ideology show low levels of midsexual accommodation, with middle ranges in both categories also showing correspondence. This data suggests that a group's sex ideology may affect the degree of midsexual accommodation in the society, or at least support the prevailing attitude.

TABLE 14
SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION

Society	R Id	LVF	L Id	HVF	SA Score	Acc Score
Navaho	A	A	P	P	2	1.0
Crow	A	A	P	P	2	1.0
Pawnee	A	A	P	P	2	1.0
Iban	A	A	P	P	2	1.0
Tanala	A	A	P	P	2	.50
Papago	P	A	A	P	0	.50
Pima	P	A	A	P	0	.50
Blackfeet	P	A	A	P	0	.50
Rwala	P	P	A	A	-2	0
Hindu	P	P	A	A	-2	0
Balinese	P	P	A	A	-2	0
Burmese	P	P	A	A	-2	0
Amhara	P	P	A	A	-2	0

INTERRELATIONS OF THE SELECTED FACTORS AFFECTING
MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION

In this chapter we have examined eight selected factors which appear to influence midsexual accommodation. Each has been dealt with separately, but more careful analysis suggests that all the features may be linked. As shown in table 15, midsexual present societies scoring the highest in accommodation tend to be horticultural and female labor dependent with female control over production, polygyny, external

TABLE 15
MIDSEXUAL ACCOMMODATION BY EIGHT SELECTED FACTORS

Society	Acc	Sub	HFL	HFC	Pol	War	Kin	PFS	HSD	Total
Navaho	1.0	Hort	50%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Mandan	1.0	Hort	60%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Hidasta	1.0	Hort	79%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Iroquois	1.0	Hort	50%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Arikara	1.0	Hort	60%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Ila	1.0	Hort	50%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Pawnee	1.0	Hort	42%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	8
Iban	1.0	Hort	44%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	7
Kutenai	1.0	T H&G	30%	p	p	Ex	B	p	A	8
Crow	1.0	T H&G	29%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	7
Cheyenne	1.0	T H&G	20%	p	p	Ex	M	p	A	7
Tanala	1.0	In ag	37%	p	p	Ex	Pa	p	A	6
Zuni	.75	In ag	21%	p	p	Ex	M	p	p	6
Yokuts	.67	T H&G	21%	p	p	Ex	B	p	A	7
Blackfeet	.67	T H&G	20%	p	p	Ex	B	p	A	7
Bella Coola	.67	T H&G	32%	p	p	Ex	B	p	A	8
Gros Ventre	.67	T H&G	26%	p	p	Ex	B	p	p	6
Papago	.50	Hort	38%	p	p	Ex	Pa	A	p	5
Pima	.50	Hort	38%	p	p	Ex	Pa	A	p	5
Sioux	.50	T H&G	20%	A	p	Ex	B	A	A	4
Chuckchee	.50	T H&G	23%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	2
Marquesans	.33	In ag	18%	p	p	In	Pa	A	p	2
Mohave	.25	In ag	23%	A	p	Ex	Pa	A	p	2
Balinese	.25	In ag	7%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Ojibwa	0	M H&G	16%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Burmese	0	In ag	18%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Hindu	0	In ag	10%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Pokot	0	Pas	16%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Rwala	0	Pas	13%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1
Amhara	0	In ag	13%	A	p	In	Pa	A	p	1

warfare, matrilineal kinship, high female status and a positive sex ideology. Midsexual present societies scoring the lowest in accommodation tend to be pastoral or practice intensive agriculture, male labor dominant, with male control over production, internal warfare, patrilineal kinship, low female status and a negative sex ideology. Finally, midsexual present societies with a medium range of characteristics tend to be Transitional Hunting and Gathering or Horticultural to agricultural, bilateral and show a mix of other high accommodation and low accommodation characteristics.

This trifold pattern can be interpreted two ways. The first draws on cultural materialist theory and views the mode of subsistence as being the most important variable, which then selects for different forms of labor division, control over resources, warfare, kinship, status and finally sex ideology. The second approach subscribes to cultural idealism and sees sex role ideology as exerting the major effect on Midsexual accommodation and the rest of the observed patterns. The data as it stands seems to fit both interpretations and both hypothesis proposed in chapter two. However, this dilemma can be resolved by seeing which of the proposed casual variables--techno-economics or ideology--responds first when change is introduced into the system. We shall begin by examining a general example, then look specifically at a case pertaining to kinship and lastly to one involving changes in midsexual accommodation.

Prior to settlement by Europeans, many African groups engaged in a mixed subsistence pattern of animal husbandry and casual agriculture. While women did a great deal of the crop cultivation, men maintained

economic and political control over resources and furthered their interests through practices such as polygyny, patrilineal descent and residence and a doctrine of male supremacy (Levine 1966). European contact, however, disrupted this pattern with varied results. In Kenya and South Africa, for example, the influx of Europeans stimulated the development of plantations, industries, cities, government organizations--all leading to the employment of large numbers of males. As Levine notes:

A pattern of labor migration developed, with rural African men leaving home to work far away for a period of years, returning occasionally on vacation, and eventually retiring in their rural homes . . . Labor migration has not resulted in a drastic restructuring of sex-role norms in these rural communities but rather in an accentuation of traditional tendencies. Men were always more mobile and less bound to routine tasks than women as well as having greater control over property, and this is even more the case under contemporary traditions. Many tasks in which men formerly participated are now relegated exclusively to their wives and children. The men have retained their rights over land and livestock and they also control the cash income derived from their employment and the sale of cash crops (1966:187-188).

This situation is contrasted with that of West African groups. Here, European settlement has sparked the growth of oversea trade and marketing activities in which women as well as men are able to participate. "In some areas these opportunities augmented the mobility and economic autonomy of women, causing drastic changes in the husband and wife relationship" (Levine 1966:189).

One example is provided by the Ibo of Afikpo Nigeria. In traditional times, women made pots, farmed and traded produce. Men controlled most of the income and performed the prestigious activities of yam farming and slave trading. Female mobility was also limited by

chronic warfare. However:

Under the Pax Britannica, mobility became possible and trading increased. Most importantly . . . a new crop--cassava--was introduced. The men regarded it with disdain, preferring to farm their prestigious and ritually important yams. The women were allowed to grow cassava between the yam heaps and to keep the profits for themselves. As time went on, this despised crop eliminated the annual famine before the yam harvest and attained a high and stable market value. The Afikpo women became capable of supporting themselves and their children without aid from their husbands, and nowadays they even rent land independently for cassava cultivation. Once a woman becomes self-supporting in this way, she can say in the words of an elderly Afikpo woman, "what is man? I have my own money" (Levine 1966:190).

This trend is further accentuated in towns where women have accumulated even more wealth and independence. One side effect is the appearance of pamphlets directed towards male readers with titles like "Beware of Woman," "Why Men Never Trust Women" and "the World is Hard," subtitled "Wife Brought Leprosy to her Husband after Communicating with a Secret Friend." Levine labels these actions as a form of "masculine protest," signifying male confusion and outrage at the changes in female status and cultural attitudes. In summary, Levine states:

All the societies discussed had a traditional ideal of male domination in the husband-wife relationship. Where, as in the East and South Africa societies the pattern of labor migration allowed continued control by husbands of the larger share of family income while placing the increasing burden of the work on the wives, the traditional ideal has not been challenged. Thus, though the overworked women may become irritable and punitive with their children, they do not acquire a sense of deprivation concerning their status in society. Where, as in the Nigerian societies mentioned, economic development has, through the expansion of their traditional marketing role, allowed wives to attain independent and sometimes greater incomes than their husbands, the ideal of male domination in marital relations has been seriously challenged (1966:191-192).

From this discussion, it seems clear that when techno-economic conditions changed, so did sex ideology. However, where techno-economic

pressures did not select for corresponding alternations in male and female attitudes, no modification of traditional values took place. Such evidence tends to support the cultural materialist position and cast doubt upon the principles of the cultural idealist approach.

Additional evidence is offered by Eggen's 1947 analysis of changes in the Choctaw kinship system. Comparison of the Choctaw with the Crow leads Eggen to believe that the former was once a pure type. However, contact with traders and missionaries or government officials served to push it in a more patrilineal direction. The reasons for this change can be traced to techno-economics. As Eggen observes:

The fact that women worked in the fields and that a father (in accordance with the matrilineal system of inheritance) failed to provide for his own children particularly worried the missionaries. There were introduced new regulations in regard to land which emphasized the position of the man as the head of the family; by others leaders no longer represented the clan but the male membership of the district, being elected by adult male voters. Marriage was regulated by law, land widows were entitled to a dowry and children to inherit their father's estate. For our purposes these statements indicate a change from matrilineal emphasis to a patrilineal emphasis . . . The effect on the social organization of the Choctaw was to break down the clan structure and emphasize the territorial tie . . . Specifically, this change seems to have affected the kinship structure by 'turning around' the pattern of descent from the father's sister, making "fathers" descent in the male line, rather than "father's sisters" in the female line as Edwards indicates for the old Choctaw system (1947:113).

Judging from Eggen's analysis, the changes in the Choctaw kinship system were not initiated by new values or ideals imposed on the group by the missionaries. Rather, it was only when laws were introduced to change the balance of subsistence contribution, labor and control over resources in favor of males, did the kinship system begin to change. That social organization seems to adapt to economic rather than

idealistic change again supports the cultural materialist position.

Finally, there is the example provided by the decrease in numbers of midsexuals as the cultures in which they were found came into contact with more advanced societies and this, new techno-economic conditions.

As noted by Callender and Kochems:

Early accounts that mention their frequency consistently describe berdaches as more numerous . . . Perhaps these reports should be treated skeptically; yet when information is available for a specific group over time the number of berdaches dwindle rapidly. Maximilian's statement that in 1832 the Crow had many may be compared with Holder's reporting five in 1889 (1889:622-23), Simm's counting three in 1902 (1903:580-581), and Lowie's meeting only one (1924:243-244). . . Since overall population was also decreasing, the proportion of berdaches may have remained fairly constant, up to a point. Some early accounts suggest, however, that berdaches had a significant social role who's importance diminished as other factors combined to discourage the assumption of this status (1983:446-447).

Callender and Kochems evaluation seems reasonable. As Liberty (1983) has suggested, midsexuals may have increased in number among the Plains groups like the Crow due to the fur trade. With the extinction of the buffalo herds, the placement of Indians on reservations and attempts to acculturate them, however, economic conditions changed. As a result, it seems that midsexuals were no longer able to make significant economic contributions under the new system and this led to a loss of status and finally their disappearance. Lurie (1953:708) reports that informants felt midsexuals had once been awarded more respect, "but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil." This pattern also holds even for groups like the Navaho, where midsexuals enjoyed a very high status. Hill quotes an informant as saying that "the older attitude is giving

way to one of ridicule. Any child showing a tendency to a transformation is discouraged" (1935:274).

Again, the evidence appears to favor cultural materialist explanations, rather than the cultural idealist position. As a result, the data in table 15 seems to show strong support for the cultural materialist hypothesis that midsexuals are more likely to be present and accommodated by societies in which they can make a significant economic contribution. Furthermore, midsexuals are more apt to contribute significantly to subsistence when women also enjoy this position, specifically in horticultural or Transitional Hunting and Gathering contexts. Conversely, when male contributions are the most important midsexuals are less likely to be present or accommodated if they do occur. In contrast, the alternative hypothesis that techno-economic conditions do not affect the degree of midsexual accommodation was not supported by the statistical or ethnographic data. Additional evidence strengthening these statements will be explored in Chapter seven where we will look at the frequency and distribution of female as opposed to male midsexuals.

Chapter Seven Distribution of Male vs. Female Midsexuals

The previous chapter has focused on midsexual accommodation and some of the factors that may affect it. In general, it was found that midsexuals are more apt to be present and accommodated in societies where they made significant economic contributions. Further analysis also showed that this situation is more likely to occur in either horticultural or Transitional Hunting and Gathering contexts where women also enjoy a position of economic and social importance. Marginal Hunting and Gathering, Intensive Agricultural and Pastoral groups on the other hand, showed consistently less accommodation for midsexuals and provided fewer opportunities for women and midsexuals to contribute. The results were summarized in table 15.

One question, however, remains unanswered. Specifically, "how do we account for the distribution of male only, female and both sex midsexuals? (Schlegel 1983:462). Though male and female midsexuals have both been reported, "except among groups limiting the status to women, female berdaches tended to be much rarer than their male counterparts" (Callender and Kochems 1983:446). This statistic holds true even in North America, where midsexuals were more numerous. As Callender and Kochems observe, midsexuals:

. . . were reported for only 30 groups: Achuawi, Atsugewi, Bella Coola, Carrier, Cocopa, Crow, Haisla, Ingauk, Kaska, Klamath, Kutenai, Lillouet, Maricopa, Mohave, Navaho, Nootka, Northern Paiute, Papago, Quinault, Shasta, Shoshoneans, Tipai, Ute, Washo, Western Apache, Wintu, Wiyot, Yokuts, Yuki, and Yuma. They may also have characterized the Flathead and Haida.

. . . Even more strongly than the berdache status as a whole, its female variety tended to concentrate in Western North America, restricted to the sub arctic, Northwest coast, plateau, Great Basin, California and Southwest . . . The only exception is a single instance reported for the Crow. Female berdaches tended to be more prevalent in less complex societies and those in which agriculture was absent or less important (1983:446).

References to female midsexuals among other midsexual present societies were confined to six: the Amahara, the Koryak, the Chuckchee, the Tarasco, the Pokot and the Basonge. This brings the total to 36 or 26% of the midsexual present societies identified that recognize female midsexuals. Male midsexuals, however, were reported in 137 or 98% of the same sample. In addition, 33 or 92% of the societies recognizing female midsexuals also recognized male midsexuals. Only 3 or 8% of the cultures recognized female midsexual status alone. In contrast, 104 or 74% of the societies were characterized by male midsexuals existing without female midsexuals. These are summarized in table 16.

TABLE 16

MIDSEXUAL PRESENT SOCIETIES BY MALE AND FEMALE MIDSEXUALS

	Female M	Male M	Male & Female M	Females Only
N	36	33	104	3
% of total	26	98	74	8

This data suggests that not only were male midsexuals more numerous, but they were more likely to exist in societies without female midsexuals than the reverse. The statistic is intriguing since sheer logic might lead us to expect that the same numbers of men and women would want to assume the midsexual role and that both kinds of midsexuals could occur alone just as frequently. Apparently, however,

some factor or factors has skewed the distribution in favor of the males. The rest of this chapter will concentrate on exploring possible reasons for this phenomenon from a cultural materialist perspective as well as suggesting how the same approach can be used to explain the presence of other sex role anomalies like boy wives, manly hearted women and female husbands.

Before proceeding further with this discussion, let us first refer back to the definition of midsexual. As stated, a midsexual is an individual who may or may not retain his socialized gender identity, but who displays physiological or behavioral characteristics of the opposite sex that allow him to assume the corresponding gender role in most situations early and continuing throughout the life cycle. Most important for the purposes of this analysis is the emphasis on gender role. By assuming the opposite sex gender role, it follows that male and female midsexuals would also adopt "the occupations of the gender whose dress they assumed" (Callender and Kochems 1983:447). This is in fact the case as the excerpts below indicate:

The takowan dress like women [Apayao] and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex (Vanoverbergh 1941:285).

Taking [Makassars] was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother . . . Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women . . . At the kin group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women (Chabot 1950:206).

Such conduct in the males [Marquesan] usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva or "homosexual of the ridge pole" referring

to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores (Suggs 1963:39).

These [Crow] persons are usually spoken as as "she", and as having the largest and best appointed tipis: they are also generally considered to be experts with the needle and the most efficient cooks in the tribe, and they are highly regarded for their many charitable acts (Simms 1903:580).

They supervise the work of the women [Navaho] around the hogan and direct the planting and the work in the field. At large ceremonial gatherings they are placed in charge of preparation and cooking of food. Besides these general duties, they knit, tan hides, make moccasins and are said to be excellent sheep raisers, and excel as weavers, potters and basketmakers (Hill 1935:275).

In childhood he is said to have asked his [Blackfoot] mother to make him a dress and thereafter he spent more and more time with the girls. For the rest of his life he continued to wear women's dress, leggings and belt and spend his time in women's company. Fond of jewelry, he wore bracelets, earrings and necklaces and wore his hair in feminine style. Often he used a woman's mild expletives Kyaiyo! "oh me!" and KiyE, "oh gracious!" At times he would burst into tears, claiming his husband was beating him or he would complain of mistreatment by his mother-in-law . . . He was an excellent housekeeper and performed all the household duties, including preparing meals, getting firewood, drying meat, tanning hides, making clothing and doing beadwork (Schaeffer 1965:223).

He was described as a large, heavy set [Kutenai] person with a deep voice with which he attempted to imitate a woman's way of speaking. His sitting position with both legs turned to one side was a feminine posture. He wore his hair short and rarely combed it, at least in his later years. Since he appeared unable to use a bow and arrow, he never hunted but spent his time with the women in picking berries, digging roots and other feminine pursuits (Schaffer 1965:218).

Male [Cocopa] proclivities indicated by desire to play with boys, make bows and arrows, hunt birds and rabbits (Katz 1976:325).

Shortly after her capture the [Crow] warrior to whom she belonged perceived a disposition in her to assume masculine habits and employments. As in the case of the berdache, who being male inclined to female pursuits, so this child, reversing the position desired to acquire manly accomplishments . . . Her protector having been killed in battle, she assumed charge of his lodge and family . . . Ranking as a warrior and hunter, she

could not be brought to think of female work (Denig 1961:196-199).

Yellow Weasel Woman, as she was known in her earlier years, came of a prominent Piegan family of the Small Robes band. At the age of 10 or 12 she began to exhibit masculine interests. Her father made her a good, sinew-backed bow and she began to join the boys in their games. She not only avoided girl companions, but refused to learn feminine pursuits. Soon she began to care for the family's herd of horses and joined hunting parties, helping to butcher and transport meat to camp . . . On the death of her father at the hands of the Crow, she assumed responsibility as head of the household and for the care of her brothers and sisters, taking in a young, childless widow to assist in lodge work, she started to hunt for the family (Schaeffer 1965:227-228).

As these examples illustrate, male and female midsexuals did perform the activities associated with the gender role they assumed. For male midsexuals, this involved female economic activities. As a result, male midsexuals are more apt to be present among societies where female labor and subsistence contributions are substantial and control is exercised over resources. As table 17 shows, 122 or 88% of the societies with male midsexuals meet this criterion. Only 17 or 12% do not. Consequently, it seems that when women make the dominant or a major subsistence contribution, economic pressures select for male rather than female midsexuals.

TABLE 17

MALE MIDSEXUALS BY SUBSISTENCE

	M H&G	T H&G	Hort	In Ag	Pas
N	1	87	35	14	3
F input	L	S	H	L	L
High FC	A	P	P	A	A

Female midsexuals, on the other hand, adopt male economic activities--principally hunting. Consequently, they "tended to be more prevalent in less complex societies and those in which agriculture was absent or less important" (Callender and Kochems 1983:446). The data presented in table 18 reveals that 32 or 88% of the societies with female midsexuals depended heavily on hunting which was carried out by males. Under these conditions the demand for male labor and subsistence

TABLE 18
FEMALE MIDSEXUALS BY SUBSISTENCE

	M H&G	T H&G	Hort	In Ag	Pas
N	0	31	2	2	1
Hunt status	D	Co	Pe	Pe	Pe
Male hunt	P	P	P	P	P

contributions would tend to select for female as well as male midsexuals. However, the demand for male labor in these societies conflicts with selective pressures favoring high rates of female reproduction. As noted by Schlegel:

As it generally is in societies with small and fluctuating populations, societies are unfriendly toward the loss of a fertile woman from the reproductive pool. The same would be even more true of matrilineal societies, where the matrilineage might resist the loss of a reproductive member . . . The case of the Kaska is instructive. Honigmann (1954: 129-130) notes that families will turn a daughter into a berdache only if they have no son. This is permitted but not entirely approved. Female transvestism is generally not institutionalized to the same degree as male: for example, while the Mohave male berdache undergoes a special initiation ceremony, the female berdache does not. This may reflect some ambivalence toward the female berdache even in societies that tolerate her (1983:462).

The ethnographic material seems to support Schlegel's assertion. Even among groups such as the Navaho, where midsexuals are accommodated to a high degree there is evidence to suggest that male midsexuals are regarded more favorably. Hill (1935) reports seeing and being told about more male midsexuals and his account of midsexual activities shows a clear male midsexual bias. So does the recorded myths and stories. Male midsexuals are singled out in the creation myth, for example, and no mention is made of female midsexuals or their possible role in hunting to aid the women. Devereux (1937) and Kaplan (1971) also report that while Mohave male midsexuals were ridiculed and sometimes taunted, overt violence was more apt to be directed against female midsexuals and their spouses. The rape and later murder of one female midsexual is a case in point. Public sympathies rested squarely with the raper and murderers and no legal actions were taken. Other groups such as the Pokot also seem to treat female midsexuals more brutally. For lack of specific reports, the sheer lack of numbers of female midsexuals in the societies where their presence was reported indicates a lower level of accommodation than that shown male midsexuals. Rarely are more than two reported in any culture. As a result, it seems that selective pressures favoring female midsexualism may be largely neutralized by conflicting selection for female reproduction. Male midsexuals are not subject to these push-me-pull-you demands and consequently tend to be more numerous and highly regarded in the societies where their economic contributions make accommodation more likely. Data supporting this argument is shown in table 19.

TABLE 19
 SELECTED MALE AND FEMALE MIDSEXUAL SOCIETIES BY
 ACCOMMODATION AND NUMBER

Society	Greater Number of Mid Male	of Mid Female	M Acc score	F Acc score
Navaho	X		1.0	.50
Mohave	X		.25	0
Amhara	X		0	0
Pokot	X		0	0
Basonge	X		2	1
Chuckchee	X		.50	.33

In addition, another factor may favor the greater distribution and accommodation of male midsexuals throughout the world's cultures. As noted earlier, one important economic advantage offered by a midsexual is their ability to assume both male and female roles in a crisis or other appropriate situations, thereby filling in for temporary labor shortages. Thayer (1980:250) describes the midsexual as "a figure who straddled both worlds" and goes on to note:

This intermediate or mediating character of the berdache can best be illustrated by an example from Mandlebaum's (1940) monograph on the Plains Cree. Being a great shaman and gambler, a berdache wanted to be Pescuwiskwew (i.e. Thunder Woman) because Thunder is a name for a man and iskwew is a woman's name; half and half just like he was (1980:256).

However, the ethnographic evidence also suggests that male midsexuals are more apt to show role flexibility and in more situations than female midsexuals. Lowie (1909 and 1935) noted that male midsexuals engaged in both male and female activities among the Crow and

Assiniboine; Hill (1935 and 1956) reports similar flexibility among the Navaho and Warso. Accounts of female midsexuals, on the other hand, seem to emphasize their aversion to participating in female tasks. The Crow midsexual Woman Chief for example, "could not be brought to think of female work. It was derogatory to her standing and unsuited to her taste" (Denig 1961:198). Basongye female midsexuals are also said "to refuse to prepare food or to do other normal female tasks" (Merriam 1976:95). McIlwraith (1948:46) describes "a Kitimat woman, who having assumed man's costume and occupations, refused either to marry or to have anything to with her sex." Schaeffer also reports that a Piegan midsexual Yellow Weasel woman "not only avoided girl companions but refused to learn feminine pursuits" (1965:228). Amhara female midsexuals are also spoken of as taking an "interest only in masculine weapons and activities" (Messing 1957:580).

As the evidence presented here suggests, male midsexuals seem more apt to assume dual economic role than female midsexuals. As a result, their presence in society confers a greater overall economic advantage than does the presence of female midsexuals. Adding this factor and the lack of reproductive role conflict characterizing male midsexuals, the existing distribution and frequency of male and female midsexuals observed in Table 15 now makes sense. As summarized in Table 20, male midsexuals are more apt to be present and accommodated in more societies than female midsexuals and to the greatest degree in cultures with high female subsistence and labor contributions. Female midsexuals are less likely to occur, except in Transitional Hunting and Gathering societies where male labor and subsistence contributions, especially

TABLE 20
COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE MIDSEXUALS

	M H&G	T H&G	Hort.	In Ag	Pas
F labor input	L	S	H	L	L
Status of Hunt	D	Co	Pe	Pe	Pe
Male M					
N of Soc	1	87	35	14	3
high role flex	P	P	P	P	P
Acc	L	S	H	L	L
Female M					
N of Soc	0	31	2	2	1
high role flex		A	A	A	A
Acc		L	L	L	L
Male and Female M					
		20	2	2	1
N of Soc					
Greater # in Soc					
Male		P	P	P	P
Female					
Greater role flex					
Male		P	P	P	P
Female					
Greater Acc					
Male		P	P	P	P
Female					

hunting, are of prime importance. Even then they are comparatively less numerous and show lower levels of accommodation. In addition, even in societies where both male and female midsexuals and high levels of accommodation are present, female midsexuals are generally shown less regard. These differences may be related to the male midsexual role which is not affected by reproductive pressures and is characterized by a high degree of role flexibility.

In this chapter we have seen how cultural materialism has been applied to give sense and structure to an apparently perplexing tangle of data on the distribution and frequency of male and female midsexuals. In the next few pages, I would like to use the same principles to investigate four other sex role anomalies: boy wives, manly hearted women, women warriors and female husbands.

BOY WIVES

As touched upon in Chapter six, boy wives are males who assume the dress and occupations of women for a specified time period and then adopt normal adult male social and sexual status for the remainder of their lives. The institution was also demonstrated to occur more often in societies where polygyny was present. Due to the scarcity of available women, the hypothesis was then advanced that the boy wives served as a sexual outlet for males deprived of females and was definitely recognized as a substitute for normal heterosexual union" (Seligman 1932:178). Males preferred heterosexual contact, but the availability of boy wives eased sexual frustration and promoted group stability. Forgey (1975) also suggests that midsexuals may have functioned in this capacity; in any case, the two phenomenon seemed

closely linked though not identical. Midsexual present societies also tend to practice polygyny as data in table 9 documented. The question then becomes why did some groups like the Azande or the Mossi permit the institution of boy wives, but did not take the complete step and accommodate midsexuals?

The data presented in table 21 provides one possible answer. As shown, societies with boy wives are characterized by low rather than high female status. For example, "among the Mossi, the wives are part of an estate on the same footing as the rest of the property of the deceased" (Delobsom 1933:33). Women were also expected to obey their husbands without question, carry the heaviest burdens and never complain

TABLE 21
SELECTED MIDSEXUAL ABSENT SOCIETIES WITH BOY WIVES

Society	HFS	HFC	R sex Id	Pa Kin	Poly
Azande	A	A	P	P	P
Lepcha	A	A	P	P	P
Mossi	A	A	P	P	P
Nkonde	A	A	P	P	P
Malekula	A	A	P	P	P

or "give an opinion. The husband alone rules the home" (Delobsom 1933:88). Wilson similarly reports that "women occupy a position very subordinate to men in Nyakiyusa society . . . Her deference is expressed conventionally by her crouching to greet men . . . and in her use of the submissive taa (yes my lord) when addressed by them"

(1951:15). Among the Azande, women were frequently beaten and might be tortured if their husband suspected of adultery. As Larkin notes:

Women were frequently burnt on the body. A common punishment was to rub into the skin the red spines of the pod of a creeper, which caused great inflammation. Executions were carried out by spearing and strangling. Victims were also cast over precipices where these were convenient (1926:22).

In addition, women exercise low economic control in these societies. All possessions and agricultural crops belong to men and female trading is not encouraged. As Lagae states about the Azande:

The wife, therefore, is a being in eternal tutelage. Before her marriage she had to work for her father. Once married she must work for her husband. Outside of some utensils of small value which the wife brings with her in setting up housekeeping, she possesses nothing of her own. The wife can receive some small gifts, but the fruits of her labors belongs to her husband. At his death she inherits nothing. She herself makes up part of the inheritance which is shared by the brothers and sons of the deceased (1926:154-155).

Groups with boy wives are also characterized by patrilineal descent and inheritance and a rigid sex ideology. Among the Malekula, for example, women must walk on communal paths on the lower part called "the lower side" are not permitted to enter sacred areas or participate in religious dancing or other rituals. They also must eat separately from the men and cook their food over a different fire (Layard 1942).

Given these four factors--low females status, economic control, a rigid sex ideology and patrilineal descent--the prospect of men becoming midsexuals in these societies seems both unpleasant and unlikely. Few opportunities would exist for the midsexual to gain wealth and recognition or exploit his role flexibility. Therefore, it seems that while polygyny promoted the development of the boy wife

(1951:15). Among the Azande, women were frequently beaten and might be tortured if their husband suspected of adultery. As Larkin notes:

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can bead a dress or a man's suit in a week of hard work, while it takes most women a month. An average worker makes a pair of moccasins in a week; while a manly-hearted woman can make it in a little over a day (1941:178).

Consequently, the elevated status manly hearted women enjoyed in their communities was not linked to their adoption of male roles and behaviors, but in their superior performance in the female sphere. This productivity made them "economic assets," since men could use the surplus goods to trade for horses (Lewis 1941:178). On the other hand, there is also some indication that extreme displays of independence, aggressiveness or other "masculine" behaviors on the part of the manly hearts generated unease and ill will. As reported by Lewis:

There is an ambivalent attitude towards manly-heartness, which is a designation both of opprobrium and of distinction. Men are aware of the advantage in being married to a manly-hearted woman; she is a desirable sex partner, a skilled worker and an economic asset. On the other hand, she refuses to allow her husband mastery of the household, thus exposing him to ridicule. Women consider this unconventional behavior immodest and dread the thought of their own daughters becoming manly-hearted. In another mood, however, they speak with envy and admiration of the courage and skill of manly-hearted women and look upon their deviations as a form of female protest in a man's culture (1941:184).

Women warriors also seem to have been tolerated for the same reasons that manly-hearts were. Found among groups such as the Crow, Blackfeet and Blood, they were usually "young, childless women" who "sometimes accompanied their husbands on fatiguing and dangerous horse stealing raids upon distant enemy villages in preference to remaining at home praying and worrying about the safety of their mates" (Ewers 1965:10). Though these women might fight if the part was attacked, their principle activities were domestic tasks such as cooking or mending moccasins for the whole group and did not deviate from the

normal female role. Even the few women warriors who became accomplished enough to lead or organize war parties still performed these female tasks and were constantly making excuses for their sex or acknowledging men's superior status. Ewers, for example, notes three or four instances of self effacement during one raid by the famous woman warrior, Running Eagle. When one of her party grumbled about being led by a woman, she replied "You are right. I am only a woman" and again when they were leaving with stolen horses, she said, "I am only a woman. I am not as strong as you men." (1965:12-13).

This behavior clearly differs from the actions of female midsexuals such as Woman Chief, who showed an aversion to women's work, did not apologize or refer to herself as "only a woman" and participated in warfare throughout her life. Ewers data suggests that females who became women warriors seldom did so for any length of time and stopped accompanying the men when they became pregnant or gave birth to a child. Hence, their activities did not interfere with their reproductive role. Also since they engaged in mainly female tasks of benefit to the whole party, men would be less likely to perceive the presence of these women as a threat.

Based on this evidence it seems that manly-hearted women and women warriors were accommodated by their societies for the same reasons many midsexuals were; they made significant economic contributions and were able to assume both male and female activities. However, strong sanctions existed to prevent their behavior from becoming too masculine and assertive and possibly interfering with their reproductive and

domestic roles. That women usually are warriors only when they are young and childless and do not become recognized manly-hearts until after menopause seems to support this suggestion. In any case, manly-hearts and women warriors may have enjoyed an advantage over female midsexuals, who did not show a comparable degree of role flexibility and hence, less potential productivity and reduced accommodation as a result.

FEMALE HUSBANDS

The term female husband "refers to a woman who takes on the legal and social roles of husband and father by marrying another woman according to the approved rules and ceremonies of her society" (O'Brien 1977:109). Generally, two types are recognized: the surrogate female husband who acts as a substitute for a male kinsmen in order to provide heirs for her lineage and the autonomous female husband who assumes the status of a female husband on her own because of ambition, wealth or sterility. The presence of these women have been reported in 33 African societies and seems to have occurred with some frequency among some of these cultures such as the Venda, the Lovedu and the Narene.

As might be expected, most female husbands belong to the surrogate class and are appointed to the position by their lineage. Since descent is patrilineal in these societies, female husbands function as important mediums through which control over property and economic resources are maintained in the absence of male heirs. As O'Brien reports for the Nandi:

Traditionally the property of a woman's house could only be transmitted to male heirs. As it was inappropriate for a woman to hold property, it could not be passed to daughters. If an heir was completely lacking the property would have to revert to

a man's sons by other wives or to his brothers, but this was considered very unfortunate if this should happen. The demographic reality is that not every woman gives birth to a son. Woman/woman marriage is one solution to this problem. The intention is that the wife of a female husband should bear sons who will become their father's house's male heirs in the property system (1980:73-74).

Like manly-hearts, female husbands tend to be married and advanced in age by the time they assume the status of a female husband. In keeping with their new role, "female husbands avoid female tasks, although with less rigidity than do men" (Obler 1980:77). They are also expected to spend most of their time socializing with men. In reality, however, female husbands socialize more often with women and are "rarely observed doing work that is technically reserved for men . . . but employ men to do such work for their households" (Obler 1980:77, 84). While autonomous female husbands tend to show more assertiveness and independence, it seems that most female husbands remain "women" and function as males only in specific capacities that benefit their patrilineage.

That female husband's do not etically function as "men", does not make the phenomenon less interesting, however. Most patrilineal societies are characterized by a strong male supremacist ethic and in the absence of male heirs, prefer to let other male relatives inherit rather than appoint a woman to fill the position. Societies in which female husbands exist are exceptions to this trend. This observation poses a question. Specifically, what factor or combination of factors makes a patrilineal society more apt to appoint a woman to act as a female husband than delegate the position to another male member of the patrilineage?

An analysis of the data in table 22 suggests an answer. As shown, societies that recognize female husbands tend to display more

TABLE 22
SOCIETIES WITH FEMALE HUSBANDS BY SELECTED FEATURES

Society	HF's	HFC	R sex Id	Pa Kin	F groups	Pol
Nupe	P	P	P	P	P	P
Nandi	P	P	P	P	P	P
Venda	P	P	P	P	P	P
Lovedu	P	P	P	P	P	P
Luo	P	P	P	P	P	P
Nuer	P	P	P	P	P	P
Shilluk	P	A	P	P	P	P

regard for women than other patrilineal groups. Among the Nuer, for example, Evans-Pritchard notes that women "mix freely and with easy assurance with the men, and they do not hesitate to argue with them about matters in which they are interested as women" (1951:134). Schwab (1952:832) also reports that few Yoruba women are "kept in purdah, since the women, as a whole, perform economic roles that would not permit this." As for the Shilluk, Westerman states:

The position of the women is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies (1912:35).

In addition to their comparatively higher status, women in these groups also exercise more economic control and actively participate in politics. Nadel, for example, reports that Nupe women were "the main

traders of the country" and as a result "women can as a rule command more liquid capital than men," making many of them more wealthy (1942:332). Also, "a woman's earnings as a trader cannot be touched by her husband, but remain her property until her death . . ." (Forde 1955:41). Consequently, a husband might have to turn his wife for money to pay taxes, purchase tools or even for marriages and funerals. Nuer women "have as intimate relations as the men with the cherished cattle, share with them the life of the Kraal and enter the byrus when they wish to do so" (Evans-Pritchard 1951:134). Because divorce means the loss of the cattle Nuer women bring with them as dowry, wives are often able to use this threat in order to manipulate their husbands. Yoruba women are also said to be "equally with men engaged in trading and weaving" (Johnson 1921:124). In addition, Krige (1964:165) documents queens among the Venda and Lovedu as well as women holding "important political and religious positions." Among the Yoruba, female chiefs called Iyalode also existed. "Such a chief represented "the women of the country, whose voices are heard and their feelings made known through her" (Ajisafe 1925:19-20).

Given their higher status and greater degree of political participation and economic control, it seems likely that women in female husband present societies were able to exercise more influence and independence than is usual in patrilineal societies. As a result, fewer sanctions might exist to prevent a patrilineage from appointing a woman to serve as a sociological male. However, other factors such as a rigid sexual ideology and polygyny would tend to discourage allowing many

women to achieve this status or function as true equals of men. As Obler notes about a Naudi community:

Only a minority of women who are eligible to become female husbands actually do so . . . Ten out of a total of 286 households were headed by female husbands. The rate for female husbands as household heads, then is just under 3 percent (1980:75).

In conclusion, it seems that female husbands are more likely to exist in patrilineal cultures where women enjoy a comparatively high status and level of political participation and economic control. Other factors such as polygyny and a rigid sexual ideology, however, tend to limit the amount of power and control female husbands are able to exercise. This interpretation seems supported by the ethnographic data as seen in table 22.

In this chapter we have looked at differences in the frequency and distribution of male and female midsexuals and sought to explain them from a culture materialist perspective. It was found that male midsexuals were present and accommodated in more societies than female midsexuals and that their greater frequency seemed related to their role flexibility and lack of reproductive conflict, conferring a greater overall economic advantage. Female midsexuals, on the other hand, were viewed as being less productive and as a result tended to occur and be accommodated less often. This same approach was also used to explain the presence of other sexual anomalies like boy wives, manly-hearted women and female husbands. In each case, the ethnographic evidence seemed to support the cultural materialist position and further discredit the alternative hypothesis that techno-economics does not significantly affect midsexual accommodation.

Chapter Eight Midsexualism Today

As noted in Chapter six, the number of midsexuals in many aboriginal groups declined rapidly with the advent of colonization and acculturation pressures. Some researchers such as Liberty (1983) have linked their decline to new economic factors reducing the opportunities for midsexuals to contribute and leading to a loss of status and accommodation as result. The purpose of this concluded chapter is to examine possible reasons for this decline in more detail and then look at current attitudes towards midsexualism in the United States. Finally the conclusions of this thesis will be summarized and used to suggest some implications for the continuing study and understanding of sex roles.

As Boserup (1970:32) has noted "female farming systems seem most often to disappear when farming systems with ploughing or permanent fields are introduced in lieu of shifting cultivation." In these situations men have been shown to make such larger subsistence contributions leading to a loss of female status and economic control as a result. Midsexual status and accommodation also shows a significant drop among groups practicing intensive agriculture as the data in table 15 demonstrated. Evidence suggest that colonization and acculturation pressures may work as well to effect a parallel decline in female and midsexual status. Many aboriginal societies came under the influence of European administrators, who sought through land reform laws, education, training and other policies to erase female economic participation and

control and elevate the importance of men. Boserup, for example, reports for the Union of South Africa:

In 1898 proclamation in the Transkei denied the right of each wife of a polygamist to have her own plot and introduced the rule of "one man one plot" with the result that wives not only had to cultivate in common the land belonging to their husband but lost it to his male heirs after his death. A similar transfer of rights in land took place in the the Taung reserve when the land was irrigated. Although women are the main cultivators, the irrigated fields are allocated to the men who alone were taught the techniques of irrigated farming (1970:61).

Eggan (1947) also describes a similar situation among the Choctaw where the influence of missionaries led to a loss of female power and regard. This same pattern was repeated on many other Indian reservations and other parts of the world. As a result, both female and midsexual status suffered. Women became valued primarily as child bearers, an emphasis which would select strongly against female midsexuals. With the reduced demands for female labor, male midsexualism would also be discouraged. It is only with urbanization do we see this pattern begin to reverse, resulting in higher levels of female autonomy and midsexual accommodation again.

With urbanization and migration of people into towns, there is a shift away "from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations" (Boserup 1970:174). With the increase in available services and appliances, the time women must spend engaging in domestic duties is reduced. Also, the need to pay for goods and services, including food, with money places a strain on the family budget to the extent that a working wife becomes a necessary economic asset. Finally, more jobs exist in an urban atmosphere that women can successfully perform. As Boserup notes:

parts of the world a large number of rural women work in mines, in construction; they carry headloads and load railway wagons (1970:176).

Female access to education and training is also increased in urban settings and birth control allows women to exercise choice in conception. These changes enhance the status of women as well as the degree of economic control they are capable of exercising, with the result that many women achieve financial independence of men. The latter development seems to stimulate expressions of feminism and social pressure to change laws and government policies which discriminate against women.

This trend is well documented by the course of development in the United States. As Harbeson (1971:29:31) notes:

The domestic production of many consumer goods in a once more rural America continued until a comparatively recent date . . . The number of jobs performed by housewives . . . included making all the clothing for women and children in the family, and not only processing food but raising it in the family garden . . . Time was required for still other duties such as feeding and watering livestock, and pumping and hauling water from the well for drinking, cooking, bathing and laundering . . . The coming of the factory foretold a widespread change in this pattern of work performance. With the shift of population from farms to cities, food and clothing formerly produced at home were replaced by those which were factory-made . . . These developments, together with the invention of labor-saving devices benefiting the home--sewing and washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, central heating and city water supplies--gave women time and opportunity to work outside the home and to work for pay.

This claim is substantiated by the data in table 23. As shown, between 1900 and 1968, the percentage of women in the labor force increased from 18 to 42%. Significant also is the rise in the number of working married women and those who are mothers with small children. Table 24 documents this trend, revealing that by 1967, 55 percent of

TABLE 23
WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, SELECTED YEARS 1890-1968

Date	% of all workers	As % of Female pop
1968	37.1	41.6
1953	30.6	34.0
1940	25.4	28.9
1930	21.9	23.6
1920	20.4	22.7
1900	18.1	20.0
1890	17.0	18.2

Harbeson (1971)

TABLE 24
LABOR PARTICIPATION RATES OF UNITED STATES MOTHERS

Age of Children	Mothers in Labor Force	
	non white	white
6-17	55.2	44.2
Under 6	41.1	24.8
None under 3	51.8	29.6
Some under 3	36.5	21.7

Harbeson (1971)

minority mothers and 44 percent of white mothers with children were employed. Furthermore, 42 and 24 percent of these women had children under six.

With the growing economic importance of women in the United States, concern over women's rights and issues was also stimulated. Groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Women's Liberation Front (WLF) arose in the late 1960's and have campaigned for equal pay, strict sex equality laws and other legislation such as the Equal Rights Amendment, aimed at reducing differences between male and female statuses. Women politicians are also increasing in number and presidential candidates now make attempts to cultivate female voters (Time 1983). Other advances include the appointment of the first woman to the Supreme Court and the training and involvement of female astronauts in NASA's space Shuttle program.

Accommodation for midsexuals has also increased during the same period. In 1958, a bulletin of the John Hopkins Hospital discussed hermaphroditism and other issues such as sex assignment and change of sex. Transvestites and transsexuals came under renewed investigation and the 1960's saw surgical techniques developed to help transform males into females and females into males. Other studies sought to understand midsexualism from a psychological or sociological perspective or attempted to educate the public. The 1970's also brought an upsurge in midsexual expression. Some midsexuals like Jan Morris and Renee Richards wrote books or became involved in women's tennis after their sex change operations. Their acceptance as women and as in Richard's case, the right to play tennis with other women competitively, indicates

TABLE 25
SEX ATTITUDES AMONG SAMPLED COLLEGE STUDENTS

Question	Yes	No
One	73%	27%
Two	19%	81%
Three	73%	27%
Four	21%	77%
Five	27%	73%

TABLE 26
COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS

Question	Yes %		No %	
	M	F	M	F
One	88	50	12	50
Two		30		60
Three		80		20
Four		0		100
Five	6	60	94	40

that midsexual accommodation in the United States is on the rise.

A small pilot study I conducted at the University of Montana also seems to confirm this trend. The sample consisted of 26 college students from an Introduction to Anthropology class, ten being females and sixteen males. Each student filled out a sex attitude questionnaire and answered yes or no to five questions dealing with transvestites and transsexuals. Additional insight was also gained by conducting informal interviews with 15% of the respondents. It was found that while 73% of the respondents felt transsexuals needed psychological help more than surgery and 81% would not feel comfortable telling their parents if they were a transsexual, 73% said they would remain friends with a person who was a transsexual and 77% said they would not fire a person who was a transvestite. Also, 27% favored sex reassignment for a boy disfigured during circumcision. These results are summarized in table 25.

All the respondents interviewed characterized themselves as coming from conservative families and when questioned, admitted that they would feel more comfortable talking to their female relatives about being a transsexual. They identified females as being more sympathetic and accepting and 50% made direct references to males being less accommodating and rigid because of a perceived threat to their masculinity. These suspicions seem born out by the data on male as contrasted with female responses in the questionnaire. As shown in table 26, 88% of the males compared to 50% of the females thought transsexuals needed psychological help more than surgery. Of the women, 30 to 80% also stated that they would feel comfortable confiding in their parents or remaining friends with a transsexual. In addition, 100 and 60% were in favor of

not firing the transvestite employee and reassigning the disfigured male infant. Male respondents on the other hand, were less likely to remain friends with a transsexual, retain the transvestite employee or consent to sex reassignment. Opinion was especially strong in regard to the last variable, with a full 94% of the male respondents being against sex reassignment.

The results of the pilot study do indicate, however, that attitudes towards midsexuals may be changing and that this change is in the direction of increasing accommodation. At present ideological acceptance of midsexuals seems less than technological and social advances would indicate, but this slight lag follows the pattern predicted by cultural materialism. Additional research in the area would, of course, strengthen this suggestion.

The rise of midsexual accommodation, like the increase in female status in the United States seems related to the "vast shifts in technology production, demand for cheap labor, rise of cities, and increased costs of rearing children" that have come about with urbanization (Harris 1979:73). These changes have placed both midsexuals and women in a position to make significant economic contributions and the de-emphasis on child-bearing and exclusive male labor removes many of the selective pressures working against midsexuals in an intensive agricultural society. Consequently, it seems that female and midsexual status rises and falls in the same rhythm and that these changes can be linked to changes in subsistence, labor input and economic control.

At this point it is possible to answer the question posed in the introduction of this thesis: under what circumstances are midsexuals

more likely to exist and be accommodated in their society and what does this say about the nature of sex roles in general? As the data presented in this thesis showed, the cultural materialist position and hypothesis that techno-economic conditions influence the degree of midsexual expression and accommodation was well supported. Midsexuals were more likely to exist and be accommodated in Transitional Hunting and Gathering, Horticultural or industrial cultures where female input, economic control and contributions were high or at least significant. Marginal Hunting and Gathering groups, Intensive Agriculture and Pastoral groups, on the other hand, were characterized by low levels of female input, economic control and contributions and midsexual accommodation. It was also found that male midsexuals tend to be more numerous and enjoy greater accommodation than female midsexuals in most midsexual present societies and that these differences can be attributed to male midsexuals' dual economic role and lack of reproductive conflict. The level of accommodation shown boy wives, manly-hearted women and female husbands can also be analyzed in this light and tends to strength earlier conclusions. In contrast, the alternative hypothesis that techno-economic conditions do not affect midsexual accommodation was not supported at any time.

In addition to gaining a better understanding of the midsexual phenomenon, this study also suggests that female status may be affected by the same three variables: labor input, economic control and subsistence contributions. This trend has important implications for research into the origin and nature of sex roles. If economic participation is responsible for producing high or a low female status,

then studies which only deal social or ideological factors present an incomplete explanation of sex role differences. Also, attempts to elevate female status through "conscious raising" will have no effect unless the level of female economic control and participation also increases. As Friedl (1980:143) observes, "only as controllers of valued resources can women achieve prestige power and equality" with men.

In summary, this thesis has been an attempt to explore and explain the phenomenon of midsexualism from a cultural materialist perspective. It was found that midsexuals were more likely to exist and be accommodated in societies where female economic control and participation were also high or significant. Societies where male contributions predominated tended to show less accommodation towards midsexuals. This argument was strengthened with statistical cross-cultural data and additional information concerning the distribution and frequency of male and female midsexuals and other sexual anomalies. Greater accommodation was indicated for male midsexuals due to their dual economic role and lack of reproductive conflict. Finally, an attempt was made to look at midsexual accommodation existing currently in the United States and suggest that a study of economic factors leads to a more complete understanding of sex role differences and changes, then research which stops at the ideological and social level.

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