

2. • Allan Johnson

# PATRIARCHY, THE SYSTEM: An It, Not a He, a Them, or an Us (2014)

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"When you say patriarchy," a man complained from the rear of the audience, "I know what you *really* mean—me!" A lot of people hear "men" whenever someone says "patriarchy," so that criticism of male privilege and the oppression of women is taken to mean that all men—each and every one of them—are oppressive people.

Some of the time, men feel defensive because they identify with patriarchy and its values and do not want to face the consequences these produce or the prospect of giving up male privilege. But defensiveness can also reflect a common confusion about the difference between patriarchy as a kind of society and the people who participate in it. If we are ever going to work toward real change, it is a confusion we will have to clear up.

To do this, we have to begin by realizing that we are stuck in a model of social life that views everything as beginning and ending with individuals. Looking at things in this way, the tendency is to think that if bad things happen in the world and if the bad thing is something big, it is only because there are bad people who have entered into some

kind of conspiracy. Racism exists, then, because white people are racist bigots who hate members of racial and ethnic minorities and want to do them harm. The oppression of women happens because men want and like to dominate women and act out hostility toward them. There is poverty and class oppression because people in the upper classes are greedy, heartless, and cruel.

The flip side of this individualistic model of guilt and blame is that race, gender, and class oppression are actually not oppression at all but merely the sum of individual failings on the part of people of color, women, and people living in poverty, who lack the right stuff to compete successfully with whites, men, and others who know how to make something of themselves.

What this kind of thinking ignores is that we are all participating in something larger than ourselves or any collection of us. On some level, most people are familiar with the idea that social life involves us in something larger than ourselves, but few seem to know what to do with that idea. Blaming everything on "the system" strikes a deep chord in many people,<sup>1</sup>

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but it also touches on a basic misunderstanding of social life, because blaming the system (presumably society) for our problems doesn't take the next step to understanding what that might mean. What exactly is a system and how could it run our lives? Do we have anything to do with shaping *it*, and if so, how? How do we participate in patriarchy, and how does that link us to the consequences? How is what we think of as normal life related to male privilege, women's oppression, and the hierarchical, control-obsessed world in which everyone's lives are embedded?

Without asking such questions, not only can we not understand gender fully, but we also avoid taking responsibility either for ourselves or for patriarchy. Instead, "the system" serves as a vague, unarticulated catch-all, a dumping ground for social problems, a scapegoat that can never be held to account and that, for all the power we think it has, cannot talk back or actually *do* anything.

[...]

If we see patriarchy as nothing more than men's and women's individual personalities, motivations, and behavior, then it won't occur to us to ask about larger contexts—such as institutions like the family, religion, and the economy—and how people's lives are shaped in relation to them. From an individualistic perspective, for example, we might ask why a particular man raped, harassed, or beat a particular woman. We would not ask, however, what kind of society would promote persistent *patterns* of such behavior in everyday life, from wife-beating jokes to the routine inclusion of sexual coercion and violence in mainstream movies. We would be quick to explain rape and battery as the acts of sick or angry men, but without taking seriously the question of what kind of society would produce so much male anger and pathology or direct it toward sexual violence rather than something else. We would be unlikely to ask how gender violence might serve other more normalized ends such as masculine control and domination and the proving of manhood. . . .

In short, the tendency in this patriarchal society is to ignore and take for granted what we can

least afford to overlook in trying to understand and change the world. Rather than ask how social systems produce social problems such as men's violence against women, we obsess over legal debates and titillating but irrelevant case histories soon to become made-for-television movies. If the goal is to change the world, this will not help. We need to see and deal with the social roots that generate and nurture the *social* problems that are reflected in and manifested through the behavior of individuals. We cannot do this without realizing that we all participate in something larger than ourselves, something we did not create but that we now have the power to affect through the choices we make about *how* to participate.

Some readers have objected to describing women as "participating" in patriarchy. The objection is based on the idea that participation, by definition, is something voluntary, freely chosen, entered into as equals, and that it therefore makes no sense that women might participate in their own oppression. But that is not my meaning here, and it is not a necessary interpretation of the word. To participate is to have a *part* in what goes on, to do something (or not) and to have that choice affect the consequences, regardless of whether it is conscious or unconscious, coerced or not. Of course, the *terms* of women's participation differ dramatically from those that shape men's, but it is participation, nonetheless.

This is similar to the participation of workers in the system of capitalism. They do not participate as equals to the capitalists who employ them or on terms they would choose if they could. Nevertheless, without workers, capitalism cannot function as a system that oppresses them.

The importance of participation can be seen in the many ways that women and working-class people respond to oppression—all the forms that fighting back or giving in can take. To argue that women or workers do not participate is to render them powerless and irrelevant to patriarchy's and capitalism's past, present, and future, for it is only as participants that people can affect anything. Otherwise, women and workers would be like pieces of wood

floating down a river, which, as history makes clear, has never been the case.

[...]

Even more so, we cannot understand the world and our lives in it without looking at the dynamic relationship between individual people and social systems. Nor can we understand the countless details—from sexual violence to patterns of conversation to unequal distributions of power—that make up the reality of male privilege and the oppression of women.

As Figure 2 shows, this relationship has two parts. The arrow on the right side represents the idea that as we participate in social systems, we are shaped as individuals. Through the process of socialization, we learn how to participate in social life—from families, schools, religion, and the mass media, through the examples set by parents, peers, coaches, teachers, and public figures—a continuing stream of ideas and images of people and the world and who we are in relation to them.

Through all of this, we develop a sense of personal identity—including gender—and how this positions us in relation to other people, especially in terms of inequalities of power. As I grew up watching movies and television, for example, the message was clear that men are the most important people because they are the ones who do the most important things, as defined by patriarchal culture. They are the strong ones who build; the heroes and superheroes who fight the good fight; the geniuses, writers, and artists; the bold leaders; and even the evil—but always interesting—villains.

[...]

Invariably, some of what we learn-through socialization turns out not to be true and then we may have to deal with that. I say “may” because powerful forces encourage us to keep ourselves in a state of denial, to rationalize what we have been taught. It is a way to keep it safe from scrutiny, if only to protect our sense of who we are and ensure our being accepted by other people, including family and friends. In the end, the default is to adopt the dominant version of reality and act as though it's the only one there is.

In addition to socialization, participation in social systems shapes our behavior through paths of least resistance, a concept that refers to a feature of social systems that guides the conscious and unconscious choices we make from one moment to the next. When a young male college student at a party, for example, observes another man taking sexual advantage of a young woman who is clearly so drunk that she has little idea of what is happening, there are many things he could do. The options vary, however, in how much social resistance they are likely to provoke. They range from asking to join in or standing by to watch as if it were some kind of entertainment to walking away and pretending he doesn't know what is happening or stepping in to intervene before it goes any further. And, of course, as a human being he could do plenty of other things—sing, dance, go to sleep, scratch his nose, and so on. Most of these possibilities won't even occur to him, which is one of the ways that social systems limit our options. But of those that do occur to him, usually one will risk provoking less social resistance than all the rest. The path of least resistance in such a situation is to go along and not make any trouble, to not get in the way of

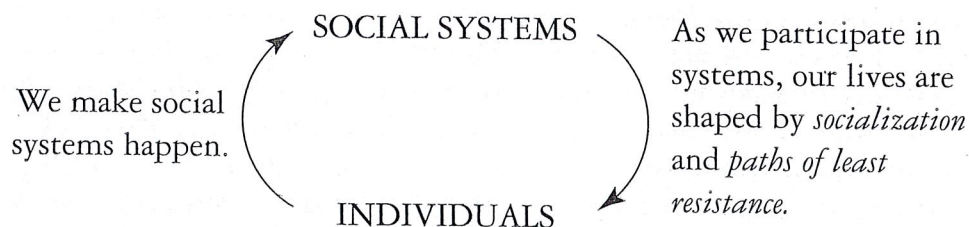


Figure 2 Individuals and systems

another man making use of a woman, to not risk being accused of siding with a woman against a man and thereby appearing to be less of a man himself, and unless he is willing to deal with the greater resistance that would follow, that is the choice he is most likely to make.

[...]

This brings us to the arrow on the left side of the figure, which represents the fact that human beings are the ones who make social systems happen. A classroom, for example, does not happen as a social system unless and until students and teachers come together and, through their choices from moment to moment, *make* it happen in one way or another. Because people make systems happen, then people can also make systems happen differently. And when systems happen differently, the consequences are different as well. In other words, when people step off paths of least resistance, they have the potential not simply to change other people but to alter the way the system itself happens.

Given that systems shape people's behavior, this kind of change can be powerful. When a man objects to a sexist joke, for example, it can shake other men's perception of what is socially acceptable and what is not so that the next time they are in this kind of situation, their perception of the social environment itself—not just of other people as individuals, whom they may or may not know personally—may shift in a new direction that makes old paths (such as telling sexist jokes) more difficult to choose because of the increased risk of social resistance.

The dynamic relationship between people and social systems represents a basic sociological view of the world at every level of human experience, from the global capitalist economy to casual friendships to the patriarchal system in which women and men participate. Thus, patriarchy is more than a collection of women and men and cannot be understood by understanding *them*. We are not patriarchy, no more than people who believe in Allah *are* Islam or Canadians *are* Canada. Patriarchy is a kind of society

organized around certain kinds of social relationships and ideas that shape paths of least resistance. As individuals, we participate in it as we live our lives. Paradoxically, our participation both shapes our lives and gives us the opportunity to be part of changing or perpetuating it. But *we are not it*, which means patriarchy can exist without men having oppressive personalities or actively conspiring with one another to defend male privilege.

## THE SYSTEM

In general, a system is any collection of interrelated parts or elements that we can think of as a whole. A car engine, for example, is a collection of parts that fit together in certain ways to produce a whole that is culturally identified as serving a particular purpose. A language is a collection of parts—letters of the alphabet, words, punctuation marks, and rules of grammar and syntax—that fit together in certain ways to form something we identify as a whole. In the same way, a family or a society qualify as systems that differ in what they include and how those elements are organized.

[...]

In spite of all the good reasons not to use individual models to explain social life, doing so constitutes a path of least resistance because personal experience and motivation are what we know best. As a result, we tend to see something like patriarchy as the result of poor socialization through which men learn to act dominant and masculine and women learn to act subordinate and feminine. While there is certainly some truth to this, it fails to explain patterns of privilege and oppression. It is no better than trying to explain war as simply the result of training men to be warlike, without looking at economic systems that equip armies at huge profits and political systems that organize and hurl armies at each other. . . . Socialization is merely a process, a mechanism for training people to participate in social systems. Although it tells us how people learn to participate, it does not illuminate the

systems themselves. Accordingly, it can tell us something about the *how* of a system like patriarchy but very little of the *what* and the *why*.

[...]

Patriarchy is a way of organizing social life through which such wounding, failure, and mistreatment are bound to occur. If fathers neglect their sons, it is because fathers move in a world that makes pursuit of goals other than deeply committed fatherhood a path of least resistance.<sup>2</sup> If heterosexual intimacy is prone to fail, it is because patriarchy is organized in ways that set women and men fundamentally at odds with one another in spite of all the good reasons they otherwise have to get along together and thrive. And men's use of coercion and violence against women is a pervasive pattern only because force and violence are supported in patriarchal society, because women are designated as desirable and legitimate objects of male control, and because in a society organized around control, force and violence *work*.

We cannot find a way out of patriarchy or imagine something different without a clear sense of what patriarchy is and what it's got to do with us. Thus far, the alternative has been to reduce our understanding of gender to an intellectual gumbo of personal problems, tendencies, and motivations. Presumably, these will be solved through education, better communication skills, consciousness raising, heroic journeys and other forms of individual transformation, and the mere passage of time. Since this is not how social systems actually change, the result is widespread frustration and cycles of blame and denial, which is precisely where most people in this society seem to have been for many years.

We need to see more clearly what patriarchy is about as a system. This includes cultural ideas about men and women, the web of relationships that structure social life, and the unequal distribution of power, rewards, and resources that underlies privilege and oppression. We need to see new ways to participate by forging alternative paths of least resistance, for the system does not simply run us like hapless puppets. It may be larger than us, it may not be us, but it does not happen except *through* us.

And that is where we have the power to do something about it and about ourselves in relation to it.

## PATRIARCHY

The key to understanding any system is to identify its various aspects and how they are arranged to form a whole. To understand a language, for example, we have to learn its alphabet, vocabulary, and rules for combining words into meaningful phrases and sentences. A system like patriarchy is more complicated because there are many different aspects, and it can be difficult to see how they are connected.

Patriarchy's defining elements are its male-dominated, male-identified, male-centered, and control-obsessed character, but this is just the beginning. At its core, patriarchy is based on a set of symbols and ideas that make up a culture embodied by everything from the content of everyday conversation to the practice of war. Patriarchal culture includes ideas about the nature of things, including women, men, and humanity, with manhood and masculinity most closely associated with being human and womanhood and femininity relegated to the marginal position of other. It is about how social life is and what it is supposed to be, about what is expected of people and about how they feel. It is about standards of feminine beauty and masculine toughness, images of feminine vulnerability and masculine protectiveness, of older men coupled with younger women, of elderly women alone. It is about defining women and men as opposites, about the "naturalness" of male aggression, competition, and dominance on the one hand and of female caring, cooperation, and subordination on the other. It is about the valuing of masculinity and manhood and the devaluing of femininity and womanhood. It is about the primary importance of a husband's career and the secondary status of a wife's, about child care as a priority in women's lives and its secondary importance in men's. It is about the social acceptability of anger, rage, and toughness in men but not in women, and of caring, tenderness, and vulnerability in women but not in men.

Above all, patriarchal culture is about the core value of control and domination in almost every area of human existence. From the expression of emotion to economics to the natural environment, gaining and exercising control is a continuing goal. Because of this, the concept of power takes on a narrow definition in terms of "power over"—the ability to control others, events, resources, or oneself in spite of resistance—rather than alternatives such as the ability to cooperate, to give freely of oneself, or to feel and act in harmony with nature.<sup>3</sup> To have power over and to be prepared to use it are culturally defined as good and desirable (and characteristically masculine), and to lack such power or to be reluctant to use it is seen as weak if not contemptible (and characteristically feminine).

[...]

The main use of any culture is to provide symbols and ideas out of which to construct a sense of what is real. Thus, language mirrors social reality in sometimes startling ways. In contemporary usage, for example, the words "crone," "bitch," and "virgin" describe women as threatening or heterosexually inexperienced and thus incomplete. In their original meanings, however, these words evoked far different images.<sup>4</sup> The crone was the old woman whose life experience gave her insight, wisdom, respect, and the power to enrich people's lives. The bitch was Artemis-Diana, goddess of the hunt, most often associated with the dogs who accompanied her. And the virgin was merely a woman who was unattached, unclaimed, and unowned by any man and therefore independent and autonomous. Notice how each word has been transformed from a positive cultural image of female power, independence, and dignity to an insult or a shadow of its former self, leaving few words to identify women in ways both positive and powerful.

Going deeper into patriarchal culture, we find a complex web of ideas that define reality and what is considered good and desirable. To see the world through patriarchal eyes is to believe that women and men are profoundly different in their basic natures, that hierarchy is the only alternative to chaos,

and that men were made in the image of a masculine God with whom they enjoy a special relationship. It is to take as obvious the ideas that there are two and only two distinct sexes and genders; that patriarchal heterosexuality is natural and same-sex attraction is not; that because men neither bear nor breastfeed children, they cannot feel a compelling bodily connection to them; that on some level every woman, whether heterosexual, lesbian, or bisexual, wants a "real man" who knows how to take charge of things, including her; and that females cannot be trusted, especially when they're menstruating or accusing men of abuse.

In spite of all the media hype to the contrary, to embrace patriarchy still is to believe that mothers should stay home and that fathers should work outside the home, regardless of men's and women's actual abilities or needs.<sup>5</sup> It is to buy into the notion that women are weak and men are strong and that women and children need men to support and protect them, despite the fact that in many ways men are not the physically stronger sex, that women perform a huge share of hard physical labor in many societies (often larger than men's), that women's physical endurance tends to be greater than men's over the long haul, and that women tend to be more capable of enduring pain and emotional stress.<sup>6</sup>

[...]

To live in a patriarchal culture is to learn what is expected of men and women—to learn the rules that regulate punishment and reward based on how individuals behave and appear. These rules range from laws that require men to fight in wars not of their own choosing to the expectation that mothers will provide child care. Or that when a woman shows sexual interest in a man or merely smiles or acts friendly, she gives up her right to say no and to control her own body from that point on. And to live under patriarchy is to take into ourselves ways of feeling—the hostile contempt for women that forms the core of misogyny and presumptions of male superiority, the ridicule that men direct at other men who show signs of vulnerability or weakness, or the fear and insecurity that every woman

must deal with when she exercises the right to move freely in the world, especially at night and by herself in public places.

[...]

The prominent place of misogyny in patriarchal culture, for example, doesn't mean that every man and woman consciously hates all things that are culturally associated with being female. But it does mean that to the extent that we do not feel such hatred, it is *in spite of* prevailing paths of least resistance. Complete freedom from such feelings and judgments is all but impossible. It is certainly possible for heterosexual men to love women without mentally fragmenting them into breasts, buttocks, genitals, and other variously desirable parts. It is possible for women to feel good about their bodies, to not judge themselves as being too big, to not abuse themselves to one degree or another in pursuit of impossible male-identified standards of beauty and sexual attractiveness.

All of this is possible, but to live in patriarchy is to breathe in misogynist images of women as objectified sexual property valued primarily for their usefulness to men. This finds its way into everyone who grows up breathing and swimming in it, and once inside us it remains, however unaware of it we may be. When we hear or express sexist jokes and other forms of misogyny, we may not recognize it, and even if we do, we may say nothing rather than risk other people thinking we're too sensitive or, especially in the case of men, not one of the guys. In either case, we are involved, if only by our silence.

The symbols and ideas that make up patriarchal culture are important to understand because they have such powerful effects on the structure of social life. By "structure," I mean the ways privilege and oppression are organized through social relationships and unequal distributions of power, rewards, opportunities, and resources. This appears in countless patterns of everyday life in family and work, religion and politics, community and education. It is found in family divisions of labor that exempt fathers from most domestic work even when both parents

work outside the home, and in the concentration of women in lower-level pink-collar jobs and male predominance almost everywhere else. It is in the unequal distribution of income and all that goes with it, from access to health care to the availability of leisure time. It is in patterns of male violence and harassment that can turn a simple walk in the park or a typical day at work or a lovers' quarrel into a life-threatening nightmare. More than anything, the structure of patriarchy is found in the unequal distribution of power that makes male privilege possible, in patterns of male dominance in every facet of human life, from everyday conversation to global politics. By its nature, patriarchy puts issues of power, dominance, and control at the center of human existence, not only in relationships between men and women but among men as they compete and struggle to gain status, maintain control, and protect themselves from what other men might do to them.

[...]

## THE SYSTEM IN US IN THE SYSTEM

One way to see how people connect with systems is to think of us as occupying social positions that locate us in relation to people in other positions. We connect, for example, to families through positions such as mother, daughter, and cousin; to economic systems through positions such as vice president, secretary, or unemployed; to political systems through positions such as citizen, registered voter, and mayor; and to religious systems through positions such as believer and clergy.

How we perceive the people who occupy such positions and what we expect of them depend on cultural ideas—such as the belief that mothers are naturally better than fathers at child care. Such ideas are powerful because we use them to construct a sense of who we and other people are. When a woman marries a man, for example, how people (including her) perceive and think about her will change as cultural ideas about what it means to be a wife come into play—ideas about how wives feel about their husbands, what is most important to

wives, what is expected of them, and what they may expect of others.

From this perspective, *who* we and other people think we are has a lot to do with *where* we are in relation to social systems and all the positions we occupy in them. We would not exist as social beings without our participation in one social system or another. It is hard to imagine just who we would be and what our existence would consist of if we took away all of our connections to the symbols, ideas, and relationships that make up social systems. Take away language and all that it allows us to imagine and think, starting with our names. Take away all the positions that we occupy and the roles that go with them—from daughter and son to occupation and nationality—and with these all the complex ways our lives are connected to other people. Not much would be left over that we would recognize as ourselves.<sup>7</sup>

We can think of a society as a network of interconnected systems within systems, each made up of social positions and their relations to one another. To say, then, that I am white, male, college educated, non-disabled, and a nonfiction author, novelist, sociologist, U.S. citizen, heterosexual, husband, father, grandfather, brother, and son identifies me in relation to positions which are themselves related to positions in various systems, from the entire world to the family of my birth.

In another sense, the day-to-day reality of a society exists only through what people actually do as they participate in it. Patriarchal culture, for example, places a high value on control and manhood. By themselves, these are just abstractions. But when men and women actually talk and men interrupt women more than women interrupt men, or men ignore topics introduced by women in favor of their own or in other ways control conversation,<sup>8</sup> or when men use their authority to harass women in the workplace, then the reality of patriarchy as a kind of society and people's sense of themselves as gendered beings within it actually happen in a concrete way.

In this sense, like all social systems, patriarchy exists only through people's lives. Through this dynamic relationship, patriarchy's various aspects are there for us to see over and over again. This has two

important implications for how we understand the system. First, to some extent people will experience patriarchy as external to them. This does not mean the system is a distinct and separate thing, like a house in which we live. Instead, by participating in patriarchy we are *of* patriarchy and it is *of* us. Both exist *through* the other, and neither exists without the other.

Second, patriarchy is not static. It is an ongoing *process* that is continually shaped and reshaped. Since the thing we are participating in is patriarchal, we tend to behave in ways that create a patriarchal world from one moment to the next. But we have some freedom to break the rules and construct everyday life in different ways, which means the paths we choose to follow can do as much to change patriarchy as they can to perpetuate it.

We are involved in patriarchy and its consequences because we occupy social positions in it, which is all it takes. Because patriarchy is, by definition, a system of inequality organized around culturally created gender categories, we cannot avoid being involved in it. *All* men and *all* women are therefore involved in this oppressive system, and none of us can control *whether* we participate, only *how*. As Harry Brod argues, this is especially important in relation to men and male privilege:

We need to be clear that there is no such thing as giving up one's privilege to be "outside" the system. One is always *in* the system. The only question is whether one is part of the system in a way which challenges or strengthens the status quo. Privilege is not something I *take* and which I therefore have the option of *not* taking. It is something that society *gives* me, and unless I change the institutions which give it to me, they will continue to give it, and I will continue to *have* it, however noble and egalitarian my intentions.<sup>9</sup>

Because privilege is conferred by social systems, people do not have to *feel* privileged to *be* privileged. When I do presentations, for example, I usually come away feeling good about how it went and, therefore, about myself and my work. If anyone were to ask me to explain why things went so well, I

would probably mention my ability, my years of experience in public speaking, the quality of my ideas, and the interest and contributions of the audience. The last thing that would occur to me, however, would be that my success was aided by my gender, that if I had performed in exactly the same way but was perceived to be a woman, research shows quite clearly that I would have been taken less seriously, evaluated less positively along many dimensions, and have less of my success attributed to my own efforts and ability.

The difference between the two outcomes is a measure of male privilege, and there is little I can do to get rid of it, because its authority rests not in me but in society itself, especially in cultural images of gender. The audience does not know it is conferring male privilege on me, and I may not be aware that I'm receiving it. But the privilege is there nonetheless. That all of this may feel natural and non-privileged only deepens the system's hold on all who participate in it.

[...]

## NOTES

1. Sam Keen, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (New York: Bantam Books, 1991), 207.
2. For a history of American fatherhood, see Robert L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).
3. For a thorough discussion of this distinction, see Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Men, Women, and Morals* (New York: Summit Books, 1985).
4. For discussions of language and gender, see Jane Caputi, *Gossips, Gorgons, and Crones* (Santa Fe, NM: Bear, 1993); Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978); Margaret Gibbon, *Feminist Perspectives on Language* (New York: Longman, 1999); Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London: Pandora, 1980); Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 2004); Barbara G. Walker, *The Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983); and Barbara G. Walker, *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988). For a very different slant on gender and language, see Mary Daly (in cahoots with Jane Caputi), *Webster's First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987).
5. See Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*, rev. ed. (New York: Viking/Penguin, 2012).
6. See, for example, Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby, eds., *America's Working Women: A Documentary History—1600 to the Present*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1995); Ashley Montagu, *The Natural Superiority of Women* (New York: Collier, 1974); Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Global* (New York: Feminist Press, 1996); and Marilyn Waring, *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990).
7. Some would no doubt argue, with good reason, that our social selves mask more essential selves, but that's another argument for another place.
8. There is a substantial research literature documenting such genderized patterns of conversation. See, for example, Laurie P. Arliss, *Women and Men Communicating: Challenges and Changes*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000); N. Henley, M. Hamilton, and B. Thorne, "Womanspeak and Manspeak: Sex Differences and Sexism in Communication," in *Beyond Sex Roles*, edited by A. G. Sargent (New York: West, 1985), 168–85; P. Kollock, P. Blumstein, and P. Schwartz, "Sex and Power in Interaction," *American Sociological Review* 50, no. 1 (1985): 34–46; L. Smith-Lovin and C. Brody, "Interruptions in Group Discussions: The Effect of Gender and Group Composition," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 3 (1989): 424–35; and Mary M. Talbot, *Language and Gender. An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010).
9. Harry Brod, "Work Clothes and Leisure Suits: The Class Basis and Bias of the Men's Movement," in *Men's Lives*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel and Michael A. Messner (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 280.