

Lindenwood University

Digital Commons@Lindenwood University

Theses

Theses & Dissertations

1996

The Role of Non-Verbal Communication in the Maintenance of Stratification by Gender and Race in America

Barbara Ann Dulaney

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.lindenwood.edu/theses>



Part of the Business Commons

**THE ROLE OF NON-VERBAL
COMMUNICATION IN THE
MAINTENANCE OF STRATIFICATION
BY GENDER AND RACE
IN AMERICA**

Barbara Ann Dulaney
B.A. Anthropology

An Abstract Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Lindenwood College in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Communication
1996

ABSTRACT

The research goal of the following culminating project is to identify the role of non-verbal communication in the maintenance of social stratification based on gender and race in America.

The first chapter seeks to clarify the two main components: social stratification and non-verbal communication. Social stratification is defined and a summary is given of several theories regarding stratification and of how, in various religious, political and social movements, it is a significant factor. The constituents of non-verbal communication are identified.

The second chapter reviews literature on the subject of general social stratification. In order to present a concise look at how various subsistence patterns affect social stratification, Lenski's review of this subject is summarized. Literature that addresses sexual stratification or differences in the way males and females communicate is identified. From Ember's book on cultural anthropology, theories on why the status of women is high or low are reviewed along with comments on these theories from other authors. Also, Ember's chart on worldwide patterns of sexual division of labor and theories about why sexual division of labor exists are presented. Racism, which is a product of stratification by race, is defined, and books regarding this subject are identified. Shipman's book on the evolution of racism is summarized. The main point of this summary is to show how a scientific theory was twisted to promote racism for economic and political gain. Literature regarding socialization is reviewed, establishing how this

process teaches, either consciously or unconsciously, expected roles and who should be dominant or submissive, factors central to stratification. Ways in which our socialization process also includes aspects that affect racism are described. Finally, literature covering non-verbal communication is reviewed. This section provides a general overview of non-verbal communication that may have world-wide significance rather than be used exclusively in America.

The third chapter focuses on literature which specifically ties the topics of racial and gender stratification to non-verbal communication. Non-verbal behavior which signals, monitors or controls others is identified. Literature, which outlines specific behaviors that help to stratify the two genders, such as differential use of touch, space and dominance displays, is reviewed. Although there were no entire books on the subject of non-verbal communication that perpetuates stratification by race, some literature briefly addresses this subject and these sources are reviewed as well. The reader is directed to analyze all non-verbal behavior that is negative or dominating which can be used to keep blacks and others in certain roles or social positions.

Chapter four presents my conclusions regarding social stratification and the impact that non-verbal communication has on stratification by gender and race. Also, various authors' ideas for how to change interaction habits to allow for more social equality are presented in my proposals for combatting sexual and racial inequality.

The final chapter presents discussion about the conclusions and suggestions for further work on the research subject.

**THE ROLE OF NON-VERBAL
COMMUNICATION IN THE
MAINTENANCE OF STRATIFICATION
BY GENDER AND RACE
IN AMERICA**

Barbara Ann Dulaney
B.A. Anthropology

A Culminating Project Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Lindenwood College in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Communication
1996

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF CANDIDACY:

Professor Michael Castro, Chairperson and Advisor

Adjunct Professor John Tieman

Adjunct Professor Hal Zimmerman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION	
	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION	
	History of Ideologies	3
	Modern Theories	6
	NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION	9
II.	REVIEW OF LITERATURE	
	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION LITERATURE	
	Relationship of Subsistence Pattern to Social Stratification	13
	Stratification by Gender	32
	Stratification by Race	37
	Affect of Socialization on Stratification	45
	NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION LITERATURE	49
III.	SELECTIVE REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF RESEARCH	
	SOCIAL CONTROL	
	Affiliation Behavior	57
	Exclusion Behavior	59
	Red, Green and Yellow Interaction Signals	60
	Ordering Speaking and Listening	61
	Stable Behaviors and Environments	62
	Monitors and Assigned Social Roles	66
	Control of Mobility	68
	NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION AND STRATIFICATION BY GENDER	76
	NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION AND STRATIFICATION BY RACE	81

IV. RESULTS	
CONCLUSIONS	83
PROPOSALS FOR COMBATTING SEXUAL AND RACIAL INEQUALITY	84
V. DISCUSSION	94
CHART REFERENCES	107
WORKS CITED	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	110

PREFACE

Before beginning this project, 23 books on non-verbal communication were reviewed. This review was an effort to find some aspect of non-verbal communication that had not been over done in the literature. Many interesting books presented interpretations of what various gestures, behaviors and voice qualities mean. Though some had enjoyable approaches, their information became repetitive. Henley's Body Politics and Schefflen's Body Language and Social Order provided the most intriguing new approach. They exposed the unconscious use of body language to control others including keeping them in assigned social roles. Therefore, these two books provided the main inspiration for connecting non-verbal communication to social stratification. Although stratification may be based on various characteristics, stratification by gender and race seemed to offer the most interesting avenue of pursuit. The task then became combining the information I found in books on stratification, gender, race and non-verbal communication into a cohesive project. I determined my focus would be the role non-verbal communication plays in the maintenance of social stratification based on gender and race in America.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This project explores the role that non-verbal communication plays in maintaining social stratification by gender and race in America.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Webster defines stratify, relative to society, as: to divide or arrange into social strata or classes. Social strata, are the socioeconomic levels of society comprising persons of the same or similar status.

Schlegel claims that debates on the definition of social stratification have generally focused on 3 dimensions of social relations: rewards, prestige and power. Within each of these dimensions hierarchal arrangements exist when access to rewards, prestige or power is differentiated in a systematic way. When sets of statuses and roles are characteristically accompanied by greater rewards, prestige or power than others, and when movement between sets is restricted, inequality (stratification) exists (Schlegel 3).

Relative to rewards, when considering the differences between social classes, reward and property ownership are important because income determines features of life-style that distinguish one class from another (Schlegel 7).

Prestige can be measured behaviorally by the amount of deference granted an individual, a role or a category. However, a particular role may not be given high prestige even though it is highly valued. One example, according to Schlegel,

would be that though motherhood is usually highly valued, mothers may not be given high prestige. In certain societies, wives may be highly valued as objects of marital exchange. However, objects can be valued but are not given prestige (7).

Schlegel explains that power has to do with the ability to control one's own person and activities and the person and activities of others. Those who have more control are dominant and those who have less are subordinate. The power dimension relative to social stratification has to do not only with power but also authority and autonomy. Power is the ability to exert control. Authority is a form of power which is socially recognized and a legitimate right to make decisions concerning others. Autonomy is the freedom from control of others (8).

Knowledge of who gets the most rewards, prestige and power in a society, according to Schlegel, leads us to who has high or low status.

Lenski states that the study of social stratification should really be identified as the study of the distributive process. Most researchers in this area have tried to answer the question "Who gets what and why" (3)?

Lenski listed two laws of distribution:

- 1) Men will share their labors to the extent required to insure the survival and continued productivity of those others whose actions are necessary or beneficial to themselves.
- 2) Power will determine the distribution of nearly all of the surplus possessed by a society (Lenski 44).

Alice Schlegel proposed that a major flaw in many theories regarding stratification is that they ignore the role of ideology in motivating action and initiating change. She defines ideology as the set of beliefs about the natural, supernatural and social worlds (14). Philosophy about the supernatural would be tied to religious ideology. The social world would encompass political and economic activities.

HISTORY OF IDEOLOGIES REGARDING STRATIFICATION

Various religious, political and economic movements shed light on the thought processes that helped to perpetuate the practice of stratification. Some of these raised strong protest against inequality, while others viewed it as natural and necessary.

In India around 200 B.C., Hindu Priests wrote the Laws of Manu which advocated an unequal caste system. This dogma stated that the three highest castes were destined to teach and study, to protect the people and to tend cattle. Those born into the lowest caste, Sudra, were destined to be servants of the other three higher castes (Lenski 4).

Aristotle, who lived in Greece around 380 B.C., defended the institutions of slavery and private property despite the proposals of his contemporaries, Plato and Phaleas, who advocated communal ownership of property (Lenski 5).

In the 12th Century, an English bishop, John of Salisbury, compared society to the human body. The head was the prince, who was subject only to

God. The feet were made up of the common people, who must obey and serve the prince. He saw inequality as necessary for the well-being of society (Lenski 9).

The common people were not sold on this idea of inequality, however, and from the 12th century on, a succession of religious movements criticized wealth and power. However, these critics were condemned by those of the Church, as being part of heretical sects (Lenski 9).

A 17th Century leader of the Leveller sect, Gerrard Winstanley, encouraged the poor to cultivate lands of the wealthy that sat idle. He wrote that the Bible gave man dominion over beasts, birds and fishes but nothing was said about one man having dominion over another. He blamed William the Conqueror for inequality in England which began when William expropriated the land of Englishmen for his officers. Winstanley stated that descendants of these soldiers still controlled England's wealth although their swords had sealed their high status titles (Lenski 10).

Promoting greater equality, Locke and Rousseau of the 17th and 18th Century popularized the theory that sovereignty (supreme power) resides in people as a whole not the King (Lenski 11).

Egalitarian movements of the 19th and 20th Centuries were aimed at eradication of economic inequality. Socialism, which advocated collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods, gained wide support. The Communist Manifesto postulated that the nature of the distributive system is a function of the productive system

(Lenski 11). It stated that the advent of agriculture and private ownership lead to the division of society into classes. However, the Manifesto proposed that the struggles of various classes are prerequisites to all progress and men cannot speed or alter the inevitable course of history. Also, it proposed that rewards should be distributed according to needs and laws are instruments of oppression used by the ruling class to exploit the masses (Lenski 12).

Social Darwinism argued that men were sorted and sifted like plant and animal species with those of greater natural talent faring the best (Lenski 13).

An Italian scholar, Gaetano Mosca, proposed that human societies can never function without political organization and political organization necessarily involves inequality in power. There will always be rulers and those that are ruled. Since men are self-seeking, the ruling class will always be economically privileged (Lenski 13).

All of these theories and movements had various affects on the thinking of people whose descendants came to live in America. However, America is a predominantly Christian country that teaches the Christian Bible. Lenski stated that early Hebrew prophets, from around 800 B.C., denounced not only how wealth and power were used but also how it was acquired. Admonitions of these prophets such as Amos, Micah and Isaiah were recorded in the Old Testament, or first part of the Bible (Lenski 3). However, as far as sexual inequality, the Christian Bible is given from a patriarchal point of view with its main heroes including the biggest hero, Jesus, being male. Specific things written in the Bible

have been used as a basis for denying certain rights and privileges to women through the centuries. Also, in the Bible, though Peter and Paul encouraged masters to treat slaves in kind and fatherly ways, Paul wrote that slaves should obey their masters because this is a legitimate expectation and sanctioned by God (Lenski 7). (As we know slaves were often of other races .) Therefore, the Christian book promotes sexual and racial inequality to some degree.

MODERN THEORIES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Lenski felt that modern theories of social inequality fall into one of two major categories. Functionalists see inequality as a necessary feature of any properly functioning human society. This theory emphasizes common interests and common advantages that accrue from social relationships. Conflict theory sees social inequality as arising out of the struggle for valued goods and services in short supply. This theory emphasizes interests that divide, domination and exploitation (Lenski 15). Regardless of which theory is correct, social inequality does exist.

Mosca sheds light on how upper classes preserve their status or power. He stated that though the ruling class is always a minority as far as numbers, it maintains itself in several ways. It is:

- 1) always highly organized;
- 2) accepts most talented from lower classes into its ranks which drains lower classes of potential leaders;

- 3) through political formulas or social theories, leads the public to accept their fate as rightful and inevitable;
- 4) habit leads the masses to go about daily lives without questioning the injustice of their position (Lenski 14).

Social levels are assigned according to various characteristics. Two characteristics commonly used to classify people in social hierarchies are gender and race. Lenski proposed that in sexual and racial class systems the position of individuals is virtually fixed (82).

Americans assign blacks to a lower social class than whites. Several things affect this assignment. A study done of statistics from 1993 U.S. Bureau of Census data revealed that 12.6% of black males as compared with 8.2% of white males dropped out of high school. Another study from the same data revealed that only 12.2% of blacks compared to 22.6% of whites achieved a Bachelor's Degree or above (Cessna 72).

Studies conducted by Duncan showed that regardless of father's occupation, the typical occupational destination for black men is a low status manual job. White men, on the other hand, tend to move to or remain at high status occupational levels regardless of their father's occupation (Duncan 55).

Some in society might try to explain this lower achievement on inherent inadequacies of the black race. However, facts do not support this assertion. Occupational and economic disadvantages have been found to accrue to black men despite parity with whites in social origins, education and constant I.Q. scores

(Duncan 105). In other words, statistics show that though blacks are not as likely to achieve as high a level of education as whites, if all things including education are equal, blacks will still not achieve the same level of occupation and income as whites.

Some social disadvantages that affect blacks' ability to achieve include poor neighborhoods prone to violence. In a 1990 study, it was found that the firearm death rate of males 15-24 years of age was five times greater for blacks than for whites (Cessna 106). Bureau of Justice statistics from 1991 revealed that 21% of black students as opposed to 13% of white students feared an attack while going to and from school (Cessna 106).

Americans also assign women to a lower social status than men. Schelgel divided theories of sexual inequality into two broad categories. One category considers inequality to be conditioned by relationships of production or distribution that arise historically (not universal). The other category traces inequality to biological differences between the sexes (universal)(Schelgel 10).

The educational achievement of women affects their status in society. The percentage of women and men of all races dropping out of high school was almost equal (10.9% vs 11.2%) in a 1993 Census Bureau study (Cessna 77). However, from the same data 24.8% of men compared to only 19.2% of women went on to finish a Bachelor' degree or higher education (Cessna 72). Bureau of Justice statistics showed women were only 2% more likely than men to fear an attack going to and from school (Cessna 106). These facts seem to indicate that women

are not dropping out of high school more or fearing more problems associated with going to school but something is preventing larger numbers of them from completing a Bachelor's degree or higher. This would also affect their ability to achieve higher level white collar positions. Lenski's study of characteristics of societies relying on different types of subsistence indicates that invariably female maternal role expectations have a large impact on their opportunities. (Subsistence is the source or means of obtaining necessities such as food and shelter).

Characteristics of simple societies that still exist today along with the study of history reveals that inequality to some degree has always been present from primitive Stone Age communities to complex industrial societies (Lenski 3). The review of social ideologies gives insight into the movements that affected stratification. Statistics show us that stratification by gender and race still exists in America, despite assertions by some researchers that industrial societies have many characteristics conducive to more equality. It appears that systems have been set in place in America to insure that blacks and women are kept in low socioeconomic status.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

In order to study the affects of non-verbal communication on stratification, it is important to know what non-verbal communication involves. Non-verbal communication includes posture, gestures, body movements, use of eye contact, space and touch, facial expressions and tone of voice.

Pizer suggests that although words have gotten bigger, they provide less understanding. As an example, in science there are two terms for everything: the common word and the specialized word. Specialized words in any field prevent outsiders from understanding. Many countries are becoming bilingual, putting even more words into use which multiply confusion. Public service agencies find their efforts challenged by problems with words. Political and economic bodies are hampered by words. Consumers and travelers stumble over words. Therefore, Pizer says that impediments of speech are preventing understanding between those who offer speech and those who want to receive information. Pizer quotes Thomas Mann as saying that humans are distinguished from all other living creatures by their ability to reason and by their undeniable need to communicate thoughts and wishes to others (19). However, Walter Lamb's opinion in this regard is: "Words not only fail, or cheat, or prove unnecessary, they sometimes convey so little that it is better to look than to listen and a great deal more interesting" (Lewis 14).

When someone meets another person for the first time, some of the first things they focus on are physical characteristics such as color of skin, gender, appearance and age. Next they focus on aspects of body language such as facial expressions, eye contact, movement, personal space and use of touch. This body language conveys 55% of meaning during an interaction. Next, a person focuses on what they hear according to rate of speech, loudness, pitch, tone and articulation. These voice qualities convey as much as 38% of meaning. With

non-verbal body language and voice qualities representing a total of 93% of meaning, only 7% of meaning is conveyed by what is said or words used (Elsa 9).

Because such a large amount of meaning is conveyed by non-verbal communication, any characteristic ideology or behavior learned through socialization should be transmitted to a large extent through non-verbal communication. (Socialization is the process by which someone is trained, both formally and informally, for a particular social environment). In American culture, men and women are socialized to have certain distinct behavioral characteristics. There are various verbal and non-verbal incentives used to insure that everyone acts according to these behavioral expectations. The institutions Americans belong to, including the family, schools and churches, also convey in various ways which groups are acceptable to associate with or be a part of. This often includes preferred ethnic or racial groups.

The specific target of this project is to look at the role non-verbal communication plays in the maintenance of social stratification based on gender and race in America. Some research questions include: Why does stratification exist? Is stratification harmful to our society as a whole? Which specific non-verbal behaviors promote inequality? Is there a way to change these behaviors so that access to rewards, prestige and power are more equitable?

Chapter Two presents a review of some of the literature on stratification and non-verbal communication.

Chapter Three identifies specific non-verbal behavior that controls people socially and stratifies them by gender and race.

Chapter Four presents conclusions from the research and proposes ways to combat sexual and racial inequality through understanding and insightful use of non-verbal communication skills.

Chapter Five provides a discussion of the conclusions and proposals in Chapter Four, along with suggestions for further research. It also suggests situations that may arise where a clearer understanding of non-verbal communication would have been helpful.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION LITERATURE

Literature on social stratification was reviewed in an effort to understand this subject before researching the role non-verbal communication plays in maintaining it. The Review of literature regarding stratification is divided into four sections below: The Relationship of Subsistence Patterns to Social Stratification, Stratification by Gender, Stratification by Race, and the Affect of Socialization on Stratification.

RELATIONSHIP OF SUBSISTENCE PATTERN TO SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

All Anthropology textbooks discuss characteristics of societies with different subsistence patterns. Lenski offered a detailed look at characteristics of these societies relative to stratification. Therefore, only Lenski's book, Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification was summarized for this topic.

Empirical evidence suggests that prestige or status is largely, though not solely, a function of power and privilege, at least in those societies where there is a substantial surplus (Lenski 45). According to Lenski, if the form of subsistence does not allow producers to attain more than is needed to sustain them (economic surplus), there should be equality at least with respect to the distribution of goods and services (Lenski 102).

Lenski studied different forms of subsistence in an effort to determine their impact on social stratification. Following is an outline of characteristics of four major types of subsistence. The four types of subsistence patterns are Hunting and Gathering, Horticulture, Agriculture and Industrial Societies. Studying which types of societies were more or less stratified may help to identify characteristics conducive to equality and inequality.

In societies practicing hunting and gathering subsistence, the people depend on wild plants and animals that they have gathered or hunted for food. In these societies, power, privilege and prestige or high status are largely a function of personal skills and ability. Even if someone is born into a family that has acquired high status, they must also demonstrate good personal qualities (Lenski 109). A man can become more powerful in this society than the official headman, if his abilities warrant it (Lenski, 110). The reason you must earn respect, instead of inherit it like you might in other societies, is because hunting and gathering societies lack things that would facilitate transmission of advantages from one generation to the next. There is little wealth. There are no hereditary roles with established benefits that go to the incumbent regardless of ability. These societies are too small to develop differentiated class-based subcultures like those in more advanced societies. Communities average no more than 50 people. Government standing armies, political parties and business enterprises do not exist (Lenski 110).

Some variations in the distributive process in hunting and gathering

societies are: Usually there is a headman with limited influence over his band. A medicine man or shaman occupies a position of influence and prestige equal or nearly equal to that of the headman. There is communal ownership of land by bands. Also, redistributive techniques are a major feature of the economy (Lenski 110). Honor or status is accorded to those who generously share their possessions. This helps insure equality (Lenski 102).

Though women may enjoy higher status than those in societies with other subsistence patterns, women in hunting and gathering societies invariably occupy a position inferior to men. This appears to be true because of status granted to proficient hunters or warriors. It seems women are unable to become skilled at these things because of childbearing and nurturing roles (Lenski 111). Therefore, even when subsistence allows for more equality, certain activities highly prized by the group are more available to the men. Some women are granted higher status due to marriage to a good hunter and having several children. These of higher status seem to exercise influence over other women. Edwin Thompson Denig reported that a Crow Indian woman had become an outstanding warrior and chief but never married a man or was a mother (Lenski 111). Because of the percentage of time spent in subsistence, warfare and the taking of captives (who would represent a lower social class) are not as prevalent in hunting and gathering subsistence societies as in other societies (Lenski 122).

In conclusion, hunting and gathering societies do not produce surplus and they have institutionalized redistributive processes which create equality in

distribution of goods and services. The women enjoy higher status than in societies with other types of subsistence. Because hunting and gathering is labor intensive leaving little time for conflict with outside groups and sharing is mutually beneficial within this society, interaction does not lend itself to appreciable social stratification.

When horticulture subsistence is practiced, the society is built upon a gardening economy (Lenski 117). Simple horticulturalist societies use simple gardening tools such as digging sticks or metal hoes. If advanced horticulturalists, they use one or more of the following advanced gardening techniques: terracing and irrigation, fertilization other than simple burning or natural flooding, and/or metallurgy used for metal cultivation tools (Lenski, 118).

In simple horticultural societies there is plenty of land for food production for anyone willing to work. There are special land rights given to the person cultivating a piece of land. In advanced horticultural societies, large areas are owned by the Chief but there is the concept of private property including land, wives and slaves (Lenski 182).

In simple horticultural societies the headman may be the custodian over dispensing surplus (Lenski 164). He acts as a trustee, not owner of the surplus, and generosity is a prerequisite for leadership. In advanced societies, the chief is the owner of all surplus. There is no clear distinction between the chief's possessions and the community surplus. By rewarding supporters with portions of this surplus he can silence potential critics. Through conquest, the chief is able

to enlarge his surplus and following (Lenski 167). As the horticultural technology went from simple to advanced, the institutionalized distributive process, which began as a functional necessity, seems to have developed into an instrument employed primarily for self-aggrandizement and exploitation (Lenski 168).

Inequality is definite in advanced horticultural societies. There are Political rulers, which may be considered divine, and subordinates. Wealth is not equally distributed. This is often measured in wives, animals and ornaments. The difference between rich and poor is very pronounced. Special magical or religious powers give status. Military prowess is prized. Slavery is practiced. Skill in oratory gives status. This skill is used for entertainment, inspiration, ideas, history or to dignify certain occasions (Lenski 128&131).

Under comparable environmental conditions, horticultural societies are usually larger, more productive and less egalitarian than hunting and gathering societies. Simple horticulturalist populations range from 100 to 15,000 people and in advanced groups the populations can be 15,000 to 4,000,000 people (Lenski 119).

Though much of the greater economic productivity is consumed by the larger populations of these societies, part of it takes the form of economic surplus (Lenski 121). Because horticulturalists stay in one place longer, it is easier to accumulate material possessions than it is in hunting and gathering societies. This includes utilitarian, as well as ceremonial objects (Lenski 123). There is more leisure time which is used for production of non-essential goods such as superior

houses and buildings (Lenski 121). There is also more time for ceremonial activities often organized around secret societies or clubs (Lenski 122).

In horticulturalist groups there is much more specialization of political, economic, and religious roles in society. Diversification of roles is conducive to social stratification because there are different levels of skill and demand. In the political arena there is the creation of a staff of subordinates to aid the head man or chief. Economically there are specialists for making boats, weapons, artwork and scarification (Lenski 124). An increase in the number of religious ceremonies necessitates priestly specialists. Some citizens become specialists in trading and business. Also, various offices are created within the secret societies and clubs (Lenski, 125).

Regarding mobility, in most simple horticultural societies, men of good qualifications are allowed to advance themselves. There are high rates of inter and intragenerational mobility. Success is not solely limited to a few fortunate families (Lenski 133). In advanced horticultural societies, however, the leaders may be treated as gods. It becomes possible in these societies to enjoy reward for other than personal attributes (Lenski 131). There are heirs to leadership and offices. Although, these more complex societies would be chaotic without offices, this practice of inheritance becomes a disadvantage. The correlation between ability and status and performance and reward is likely to be lower than when offices are open to free competition (Lenski 132).

More leisure time in these societies makes more warfare possible. In some

horticultural societies food production and other pursuits are secondary to warfare (Lenski 122). Taking captives is more frequent than among hunters and gatherers. Simple horticulturalists may torture, slay or even eat male captives. Women are often used as slave wives (Lenski 123). The king in advanced groups usually takes all captives to be his slaves. These slaves have no legal rights and the majority of them work on the king's plantations. In the past, some captives served as human sacrifices (Lenski 155). Lenski quotes Serrano as stating, based on his broadly comparative study of primitive peoples, that war or intertribal conflict has been one of the major factors strengthening the authority of leaders and promoting social inequality (114).

In advanced horticultural societies, the king may have thousands of tax collectors. He is regarded as the owner of all property in the land. He can have any woman for his harem, whether married or not. He has the power to kill or enslave anyone who provokes his displeasure (Lenski 155). A privileged class, which is set apart from commoners, sees that the slightest order of the king is carried out (Lenski 159). These practices are not only conducive to stratification but make everyone's place in society tedious and according to the whims of the king.

Further, regarding the social status of women in simple horticultural societies, women enjoy near equality with men. Higher status of men in some areas has to do with political and military accomplishments rather than material possessions. Higher status of some women may be due to their link with a high

status man (Lenski 136). In advanced horticultural societies there were more births than needed to satisfy the demand for labor because of slave labor (Lenski 281). In some of these, female infanticide was widely practiced. Also, pretty peasant girls were often sold by poor families to be used as prostitutes. Masters often used wives of their peasants for their own lusts (Lenski 271). So, it seems as horticultural technology advanced, the status of women declined.

In conclusion, horticulturalists accumulated surplus which was under a centralized control. This led to abuses of power and distribution, especially in advanced groups. There were many conditions conducive to more pronounced stratification such as taking of more captives for slaves and accumulation of material possessions by some. Such things as magical powers and military prowess gained more status.

Compared to the other two less advanced types of societies, the agrarian societies enjoyed greater technology and production. These societies were able to support a greater population size (sometimes in the millions)(Lenski 194). They achieved vast irrigation, road, aqueduct and wall systems. They also built great cathedrals, pyramids, palaces and temples. They developed new tools, skills and crafts, domesticated new kinds of animals and cultivated new varieties of plants. Due to countless scientific and technological advances these societies were able to substantially enlarge their economic surplus (Lenski 193)

Along with advances in production technology there were advances in military technology. For example, invention of the wheel and domestication of the

horse made chariot and cavalry warfare possible (Lenski 193). Castles, protective armor and improved weapons were also used. Military and production technology had the following impact: New military technology favored those able to control enough manpower to produce and build fortifications and weaponry and to provide slaves and serfs. Opportunities for exploitation of surplus and manpower greatly increased. The power of the state increased because of a more efficient organization, which was more permanent with impressive accomplishments and controlled a wider range of activities and larger territories. Along with the increased power of the state came an increase in internal struggles within the government (Lenski 194).

These great agrarian states were social units formed through forcible subjugation of one group by another (Lenski 195). Often these units were comprised of various ethnic groups associated in cultural clusters within the larger community. Only occasionally did cultural differences disappear (Lenski 196).

The specialization of production greatly increased and commerce and trade were much greater than in horticultural societies. A distinct merchant class arose (Lenski 201). To control the flow of goods and services from villages to urban centers and back, money and writing were invented (Lenski 206). Accessibility to money and knowledge of writing could be used as another way to stratify people.

Efforts were made to harness the power of religion in service of the state. Certain religious leaders held political favor. These religious leaders enjoyed a share of the economic surplus and defense of their interests by coercive powers of

the state. This resulted in a weakening of the family and local cults and strengthening of the national faith. There were increased religious conflicts because of tension between ethnic groups, classes, and country versus city dwellers. These conflicts usually involved coercive force by the state because of intimate relations between church and state (Lenski 209).

Distinct classes that developed in the agrarian states were:

- a) Retainer Class (small army of officials, professional soldiers, household servants, personal retainers.)
- b) Merchant Class
- c) Priestly Class
- d) Peasant Class
- e) Artisan Class
- f) Unclean and Degraded Class
- g) Expendables (These included criminals, outlaws and beggars.)
- h) Status Groups (Lenski 243-285)

Regarding the status of women, the wars, famine, plagues, prostitution, monasticism and celibacy did not curb the populations enough to irradicate the practice of female infanticide (Lenski 290). Agrarian societies never discovered effective ways of birth control which added to the problem. By relegating a considerable portion of society to the expendable class and denying them basic necessities they were marked for early demise. This practice also helped insure that wealth remained in the hands of a few (Lenski 295).

According to Lenski, examination of historical records make it clear that there was considerable vertical mobility in agrarian societies. Mostly because there was more population than was needed for positions available, there was more downward than upward mobility. Three conditions allowed occasional upward mobility:

- 1) New positions in merchant class during time of expanding trade
 - 2) Positions vacated by men who left no heirs
 - 3) Positions vacated by those lacking skill or luck to hold them
- (Lenski 290-291).

The composition of the upper classes was very unstable (Lenski 293).

Regarding the distribution process, the rulers and governing classes were very exploitative and parasitic in relations with the common people. However, they did provide a valuable service of law and order for them. This was important because in a society where survival was dependent on crops, anarchy could be fatal (Lenski 296).

In conclusion, in agrarian societies specialization in production, greater military technology and religious conflict were conducive to stratification. Also, assigning people to the expendable class meant that they would have a hard time surviving and there would be more for those of higher classes. By making survival difficult for some, stratification served the purpose of eliminating excessive numbers in the population.

Advanced industrial societies of today differ from agrarian societies in having more diversified raw materials, different sources of energy and more complex and efficient tools. In Agrarian societies, men and animals were the chief sources of energy. Wind, water and wood were also employed. Fossil fuels, hydroelectric and atomic power are used in the industrial societies of today. There has been a great increase in consumption of energy per person (Lenski 299).

The substantial increase in production of today is matched by an increase in consumption of raw materials. The technological advances have destroyed economic self-sufficiency. Exchange relationships are becoming essential for all members of society. Money is an integral element in daily routine (Lenski 300).

Advances in transportation and communication have all but destroyed local market systems in favor of larger and more inclusive market systems. International markets exist for most major commodities (Lenski 300).

Industrialization has brought the capacity to maintain larger communities and a larger portion of people are living in urban communities (Lenski 302). Organizations have grown to where several employ 100,000 workers. Intensive specialization has followed this growth. Currently there are 20,000 different kinds of jobs in the United States. Entire communities often specialize in one industry such as automobile or textile manufacturing or in education or government (Lenski 301).

Before the technological age, increased birth rates offset any economic gain. Numbers tended to increase up to the carrying capacity of the economy.

Safe and efficient birth control has been developed which has drastically lowered the birth rate and allowed for more per capita gain (Lenski 315). Today the birthrate more closely reflects the wishes and desires of society. This reduces the competitive pressure between different social classes. However, new medical technology has brought a lowered death rate and greater life expectancy (Lenski 301).

"The appearance of mature industrial societies marks the first significant reversal in the age old evolutionary trend toward ever increasing inequality." In agrarian societies, the power of the government was vested in a few. In industrial societies, the entire population has voting rights and the right to organize politically. In agrarian societies, the top 1 or 2% received not less than 1/2 of the total income of the nation. In industrial societies the top 2% receive 10% of the total personal income (Lenski 308).

Lenski presented an approximation of the relationship between subsistence patterns and inequality in graphic form (Lenski 437).

CHART A

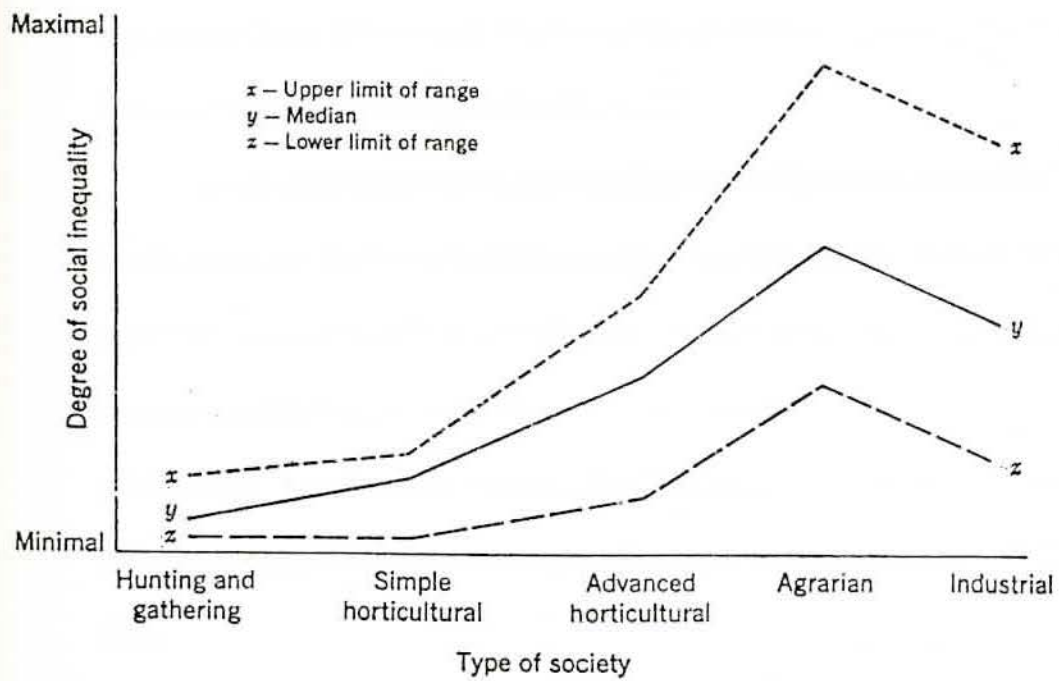


Figure 1 Degree of social inequality by type of society.

One reason there has been a decline in political and economic inequality with the emergence of industrial societies, is that the technology and culture are more complex. This means that leaders are not able to understand the work of all of those beneath them. Therefore, those in authority are masters of a smaller proportion of what they need to know to maintain effective control and are often forced to leave matters to the discretion of subordinates (Lenski 313). The need for skilled labor prevents the dominant class from driving down wages to the subsistence level. This would adversely affect production by its negative affect on health and alertness for the job (Lenski 316).

To the degree political leaders delegate authority or rely on market mechanisms they facilitate the diffusion of power and privilege. Indeed, political power is more widely diffused in industrial societies than in the three other types. Greater equality is also affected by rapidity and magnitude of increase in productivity. The elite can reduce worker hostility including strikers slowdown and sabotage by sharing more of economic surplus with lower classes (Lenski 314).

In technological societies, monarchies have been replaced by republican types of government (Lenski 303). In the U.S. the overthrow of the English Monarch led to our present democracy. Our federal government performs a large number of varied functions for society. Military power of the government has increased (Lenski 304). New innovations in warfare have created the capability of annihilation of human beings through advanced weapons (Lenski 432).

Industrialization creates conditions favorable to democracy. The spread of literacy and extension of education allow middle and working classes more access to information. The raised standard of living allows more political activity and leisure and money to devote to it. Military activities involve the entire population rather than being a means of power for a few. There is evidence that the rise and spread of the democratic ideology, that the state belongs to the people, contributed to the emergence of industrial societies (Lenski 317).

In industrial societies there are the following social classes: There are education classes. Illiteracy and ignorance are handicaps for the rest of society in industrial societies. Privileged classes have a vested interest in providing education for all (Lenski 390). Therefore, literacy and the general level of knowledge is much higher in industrial societies. With the decrease in the need for child labor and increase in the need for training, the educational institutions expand (Lenski 305).

There are racial classes. Actually the racial class is often considered part of the class which includes various ethnic and religious groups. These are considered classes because membership in them affects access to the distributive process (Lenski 396). Despite great strides towards greater racial equality, as a group, the whites have greater income, have completed more education and have access to better housing. The blacks in America are still denied admission, often covertly, to certain clubs, churches and interracial marriages. They are still underrepresented in political offices (Lenski 397).

In America, ownership of property gives economic and political power to the owners creating property classes (Lenski 338).

Sexual classes exist. The power, privilege and prestige of a woman in agrarian societies was largely determined by the man on whom she was dependent (Lenski 403). Greater freedom for women has followed the rise in industrial societies. There are fewer children to raise which helps to increase the occupational options for women. There are more opportunities outside the traditional dependent role of wife or daughter. Women have the right to vote and seek political offices. There are more legal rights for women. They have the right to attend nearly all educational institutions. However, women are still unequally represented in higher paying occupations and in the circles of the politically elite (Lenski 404).

Occupational classes that exist in industrial societies include:

Entrepreneurial class, Party functionaries, Managerial class, Military class, Professional class, Clerical class, Sales class, Working class, and Farming class. Unemployed and slave labor classes also exist (the former in democratic and the latter in totalitarian governments) (Lenski 347-386).

In conclusion, advanced industrial societies do not use slave labor classes for achievement of economic goals. Slave labor is best suited for work requiring unskilled or semi-skilled workers. According to Lenski, people living at the subsistence level and motivated by fear do not perform well in more demanding occupational roles (Lenski 388). Along with the great increase in productivity has

come a drastic decrease in the need for human labor (Lenski 432). It is beneficial in these societies to educate the masses so they may provide skilled labor. Lenski states that productivity of the economy is closely related to the level of education of the labor force. Changes have destroyed self-sufficiency and local markets. The society is very dependent on exchange relationships (Lenski 432).

The chart on the following page provides a summary of the characteristics affecting stratification in societies with the different types of subsistence patterns. Comparing this Chart B with Chart A, when inequality was the highest on Chart A for agrarian societies there were many things shown on Chart B conducive to this. The practice of female infanticide showed low value placed on females. Forceable subjugation of other ethnic groups fueled racism. Also, because of different degrees of skill and demand, the high degree of specialization of tasks lent itself to social stratification. According to Chart A, industrial societies, such as ours, should enjoy more equality. Reasons why this is not occurring to the degree Lenski proposed are discussed in Chapter Five of this project.

CHART B

COMPARISON OF SOCIETIES WITH DIFFERENT TYPES OF SUBSISTENCE

Type of Subsistence	Method of Production	Distribution Process	Status Determinants	Status of Women	Racism	Mobility	Stratification in General
Hunting & Gathering	Hunting animals & Gathering plants	Communal ownership Institutionalized redistribution process	Demonstrate good personal qualities and abilities	Near equals to men	No captives or slaves	Vertical mobility high. Ability merits power.	Sharing beneficial & conducive to equality.
Horticulture (simple)	Gardening	Ruler is custodian of surplus.	Fairness	Near equals to men	Taking of captives for torture, sacrifice or slaves.	Good qualifications promote.	Equality high.
Horticulture (advanced)	Gardening with terracing, irrigation, fertilizer or metal tools	Ruler is owner of surplus.	Through conquest enlarge surplus	Female infanticide, prostitution - status declined	Taking of captives for sacrifice & slaves.	Correlation between ability & status lower.	Inequality pronounced.
Agrarian	Domesticated plants and animals	Rulers exploitative and parasitic to masses	Military, merchants, priests and rulers use exchange of power for favors.	Female infanticide still practiced	Forceable subjugation of one ethnic group by another	Upward & downward mobility. Composition of upper classes very unstable.	Specialization, increased military technology and religious conflict conducive to stratification.
Industrial	Fossil fuel Hydro-electricity, atomic power	Exchange relationships essential. Important to share surplus to keep skilled labor.	Education, wealth, property, race, occupation	More equality in opportunity & status. High pay & political activity limited.	Despite great strides toward equality, blacks still have less access than whites to higher education, quality housing, certain clubs, churches, etc.	Exchange relationships. Less competition between social classes. Education of masses beneficial to society so mobility accelerated.	Need for skilled labor & availability of childcare should lend itself to more equality. Yet inequality still exists.

STRATIFICATION BY GENDER

In order to delve into stratification by gender, Ember's thoughts on the subject in his Cultural Anthropology book were reviewed. Schlegel's and Lenski's offerings relative to Ember's theories were noted. Schlegel wrote an entire book on sexual stratification around the world: Sexual Stratification - A Cross-Cultural View. Lenski's book was reviewed in detail in the previous chapter. Because some researchers believe stratification by gender is related to inherent differences between the sexes, some books outlining these differences were reviewed. Elgin developed a book, Genderspeak, which looks at the differences in the way men and women communicate and offers ways to overcome problems in this area. Deborah Tannen, Ph.D., wrote You Just Don't Understand regarding differences between men and women in conversation. She discusses asymmetry, different mind sets, different agendas and attitudes in different sex interactions. This book has been required reading for college courses to promote understanding in gender relations in organizational settings. Charlton's book, The Handbook offers information on interpreting handshakes, gestures, power signals and sexual signs. This book, like all others on non-verbal communication offers various amounts of information on male/female behavior. Other books which cover this subject are reviewed in more detail in the Non-Verbal Communication Section of this Chapter.

Status of Women

Ember discusses theories about why women have relatively high or low status in various societies:

- 1) One of Ember's theories is that the status of women is high when they make substantial contributions to subsistence. Sanday agreed that the degree of involvement in subsistence or the division of labor affected sexual equality (Schlegel 13). According to Ember, women should have low status, if subsistence depends on hunting, herding or intensive agriculture because these are largely handled by men. Studies do verify that in intensive agriculture societies the status of women is low (Ember 146). However, in contradiction to this theory, in hunting groups where women do little hunting, women have higher status (Ember 146) & (Lenski 111).
- 2) Where warfare is important, men will have higher status than women (Ember 146) In 88% of the 93 preindustrial societies studied by Whyte, women never actively participated in war (Ember 144). Studies reported by Whyte also showed no consistent evidence that high frequency of warfare lowers women's status (Ember 146). However, Lenski reported that when horticultural societies went from simple to advanced there was more time for warfare and inequality became more pronounced for women (Lenski 271). Friedl explained that men in these groups cleared land near territory of other people where war was a threat. Men's control over warfare then gave them control over property which was the basis for power in these societies (Schlegel 13).
- 3) Since men play a dominant role in politics, if there is a centralized political hierarchy, men will have higher status (Ember 145). According to Whyte's

study, in 85% of the societies studied, only men were leaders. If women were in leadership positions, they were outnumbered by male leaders and less powerful. Ember suggested that men may dominate politics because they are better able than women to get around in the world outside the family (Ember 144). Schlegel supported this by asserting that political power is derived from ability to give and receive goods in exchange. Therefore, the more women are removed from these social labors the less power they exert (Schlegel 12).

- 4) Women will have higher status where kin groups and a couple's place of residence after marriage is organized around women (Ember 145). Whyte's studies do show that women have considerable authority in these groups even if they cannot hold political office (Ember 146).

Sexual Division of Labor

Some social scientists feel that sexual stratification followed the transition to more elaborate forms of subsistence which coincided with a sexual division of production tasks (Ember 145). Ember presented a chart of worldwide patterns of division of labor by sex (Ember 138). (See Chart C following).

CHART C

TABLE 1 WORLDWIDE PATTERNS IN THE DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

	Males almost always	Males usually	Either sex or both	Females usually	Females almost always
Basic subsistence activities	Hunt <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • large land animals • large sea animals • game birds Trap small animals	Fish <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Herd large animals Collect wild honey Clear land Prepare soil for planting 	Collect shellfish <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Care for small animals Plant crops Tend crops Harvest crops Milk animals 	Gather wild plants	
Food preparation and household activities		Butcher animals	Preserve meat or fish	Care for children* <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cook Prepare <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vegetable food • Drinks • Dairy products Launder Fetch water Collect fuel 	
Other	Work with wood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lumbering • make boats • make musical instruments Work with minerals and stone <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mine and quarry stone • Smelt ore Working with bone, horn, shell <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Warfare* Exercise political leadership* 	Build houses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Make nets Make rope 	Prepare skins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Make <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leather products • baskets • mats • clothing • pottery 	Spin yarn	

With the exception of the asterisked () items, the information in this table is adapted from George P. Murdock and Caterina Provost, "Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," Ethnology, 12 (1973): 203-225. The information on political leadership and warfare comes from Martin K. Whyte, "Cross-Cultural Codes Dealing With the Relative Status of Women," Ethnology, 17 (1978): 217, and the information on child care comes from Thomas S. Weisner and Ronald Galimore, "My Brother's Keeper: Child and Sibling Caretaking," Current Anthropology, 18 (1977): 169-80.*

Ember presented theories about why there is sexual division of labor:

- 1) The Superior Male Strength Theory says that males have greater strength and superior capacity to mobilize strength in quick bursts of energy, which is to say greater aerobic work capacity. However, some reports suggest that males acquire superior strength because they are trained for certain roles rather than being assigned roles on the basis of genetically superior strength. Also, in some societies women engaged in activities requiring great strength and men performed some activities that did not require strength. Some of these male activities were trapping small animals and collecting wild honey.
- 2) The Compatibility with Child Care Theory proposes that women may not engage in activities taking them far from home for long periods, that might endanger the child or cannot be easily interrupted with child care duties. This may explain why no activities are listed in the "almost always" section for female tasks in Chart C because they must spend part of their time caring for children. This theory explains why men do certain things. Dangerous tasks are not easily interrupted with child care. But this does not explain why men usually prepare the soil, make boats, houses and musical instruments. These are not dangerous and could be interrupted.
- 3) The proposition of The Economy of Effort Theory is that it may be more advantageous for men to do tasks like make musical instruments because they also collect the hard materials involved. Also, it may be more

advantageous for one sex to perform tasks located near each other.

Therefore, it is easier for a woman to perform tasks closest to home while taking care of children (Ember 137).

Sexual division of labor seems to disappear when machines replace humans and child care can be delegated to others outside the home while mothers work. (Ember 140).

After review of literature on stratification by gender, it appears that role expectations and what is valued in a society greatly affect this type of stratification.

STRATIFICATION BY RACE

Racism is defined in the Webster Dictionary as a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race. The literature on racism presents various approaches to the subject. Blauner's Black Lives, White Lives presents personal essays from blacks divided into two sections: Surviving the 60s and Growing Older in the 70s and 80s. The first section covers such subjects as the white's fear of a black majority, black youth and ghettos and black workers with new opportunities but old problems. Essays in the second section cover black activists, the limits of integration, the worsening crisis of black youth, blue collar men in a tight economy and the opportunities for black men and black women. Speaking of Race: Speaking of Sex" by Gates, et al. discusses hate speech, civil rights and civil liberties. Delgado and Lederer edited The Price We

Pay which addresses the ramifications of racism. Duncan and Featherman in Socioeconomic Background and Achievement support other authors in the assertion that black men find it harder than white men to achieve occupational success regardless of whether their father was successful and their education and measured intelligence is equal to a white candidate for the same position.

Sniderman and Piazza in the Scar of Race present various charts and data on the attitudes of whites towards blacks regarding affirmative action, welfare, etc. They also discuss ways to change attitudes. This book supports the conclusion that blacks face many types of obstacles in improving their socioeconomic status.

As was discussed in an earlier section, throughout the course of human history when the type of subsistence required more labor than a group could provide and allowed time for warfare in which captives were taken, captives were often used as slaves. When captives were of another race than the ruling class, the conditions were ripe for racism. In Cultural Anthropology Ember stated that slavery may have developed not only where there was a shortage of labor but also where this existed along with an abundance of resources, such as land (133). This was the case in the history of the American south when plantation owners were trying to maintain large tobacco and cotton plantations with manual labor. Slave traders seized the opportunity for profit by forcefully bringing blacks from Africa to America to be sold to plantation owners as slave laborers. Besides the racism which developed due to characteristics of societies with certain subsistence patterns and beyond the ideologies throughout history that promoted inequality as

natural and necessary, some theories proposed by the scientific community in the 1800s also had a large impact on racism.

Shipman in The Evolution of Racism: Human Differences and the Use and Abuse of Science provides an excellent overview of ways that scientific theories regarding humans have been manipulated for political and economic purposes and how this affects racism. Shipman writes about arguments waged for and against Darwin's evolution theories set forth in his The Origins of Species. This was the work in which Darwin proposed that man had evolved from lower primates. Darwin and Huxley championed the monogenists, who believed all men had a common apelike ancestor. Owen and Virchow led the polygenists, who believed the races had been created (or had arisen) separately and were as different as, for example, robins and pelicans (Shipman 76).

The polygenist, Virchow, became very powerful in Germany as the head of their School of Science. Even when the first discovered Neanderthal skeleton, which supported Darwin's theory, was presented to the scientific community in 1857, Virchow refused to accept the theory (Shipman 88-90). Virchow held the view that this skeleton either represented pathological cell production or modern humans represented a pathological derivation from this primitive form (Shipman 91). Haeckel, who was a past student of Virchow's, wholeheartedly embraced Darwin's theory and became one of Virchow's most outspoken opponents on this issue. Haeckel was a charming and compelling speaker and persuasive writer. He offered an evolutionary tree which started with a single cell organism and ended

with modern humans. His speeches were highly political and anti-church. He proposed that Darwinism showed that change was necessary for progress and it was time to overthrow tyrants and priests (Shipman 93). In a speech he gave in 1877, Haeckel urged the Germans to change the school curriculums to focus on evolutionary theory. He wanted to unify Germans to rid themselves of human degeneracy and contamination of the Christian beliefs that led to weakness. He stated that Germans must purify themselves and assume their rightful superior place in the world. By the late 1870's, Haeckel's views held enormous power over the German cultural attitudes (Shipman 95).

Virchow formed an alliance with his one time political opponent, the militant Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck, against the Catholic Church. Virchow's only aim was to separate church and state. However, Bismarck's goal was to subjugate the Church to his version of the state. He felt Papal authority was a threat to his goals. He had already subjugated vast territories and fused them into the German Reich. Bismarck used anti-Semitism as a means of manipulating the laboring masses into a pliable reactionary group (Shipman 96).

Perhaps sensing the vicious turn that racism (particularly anti-Semitism) was beginning to take under Bismarck's encouragement, and Haeckel's growing "scientific" justification for same, Virchow began an anthropological survey of 6,760,000 German school children in an effort to disprove the Aryan myth. The Aryan myth held that the true and superior Germans were tall, blond and blue-eyed (Shipman 99). Virchow was short and dark headed but Haeckel's physical

characteristics fit the Aryan ideal. Virchow's survey, published in 1886, proved his point that Germans were neither predominantly fair of hair or blue-eyed, although Jewish children were darker than Christian Germans (Shipman 100). Despite these results, however, Virchow's work failed to have an impact on the prevailing Aryan ideal and he died in 1902.

Haeckel who still enjoyed wide support, and was regarded as god-like by some, wrote a book, The Riddle of the Universe in which he proposed the science of nature offered a basis for faith just as compelling as traditional religion (Shipman 101). In 1906 he founded the German Monist League which warped Darwin's theory in an effort to achieve its aims. Haeckel offered what seemed to be scientific support for racism. He explained that because some lower races were psychologically closer to lower mammals, a totally different value must be assigned to their lives (Shipman 102). He gained advocates for the idea of the importance of German racial purity and even proposed destruction of abnormal newborns for the benefit of the community. According to Shipman, Haeckel's ideas offered new and potent scientific "truth" to ease the pains of a troubled nation (Shipman 103).

The English-speaking world was not immune to the intellectual and economic forces that made Haeckel's ideas so appealing in Germany. Herbert Spencer, born in 1820, whose work had influenced the theories of Darwin, although native to Britain, was more popular in the United States. He suggested that "survival of the fittest" influenced every aspect of reality which should be seen

as progressive development. Worldly success should be seen as evidence of goodness or divine approval. The poor suffered because they were made inferior. Only a minimum of charity should be extended to them in order to not interfere with natural selection. God had set a world in motion with divine laws and allowed it to run without intervention (Shipman 108-109).

In the 1870s and 80s America, after the Civil War, had a troubled society with keen awareness of differences among races (Shipman 109). Lenski in Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification, writes that racial inequality in America was perpetuated when as disenfranchised slaves, many blacks were illiterate and did not pose a serious social, political or economic challenge to the traditionally most privileged group-northern white Protestants. Other social groups were ranked by similarity to this privileged group. Blacks seemed the most dissimilar in background and tradition. Therefore, they were assigned the lowest social status (Lenski 398).

Men such as Galton (Darwin's cousin) and Pearson promoted the idea of eugenics or selective breeding to insure that undesirable breeding was curbed in the interest of society (Shipman 120). In the early 1900s, America experienced what to some was an alarming rise in immigration and there was fear that interbreeding with these people would cause a decline of the dominant American white race. Men such as Davenport made it their goal in life to protect and preserve the "national protoplasm" from threats of degradation and deterioration (Shipman 123). In America due to these fears, immigration quotas were assigned.

Sterilization laws for certain unfit individuals (insane, drug addicts, etc.) were enacted in 16 states. Also, a record office for the compilation of hereditary information for the use in eugenics or selective breeding was established (Shipman 128). At the same time eugenics and The Society for Racial Hygiene were thriving in Germany. This Society's journal became a scientific showcase for Nazi views when the Nazi party rose to power in the 1930s (Shipman 132). Legislation dealing with Eugenics and racial hygiene increased dramatically. It was believed dangerous for Jews to be physicians because this would give them power over the health and breeding of the Aryan race. Consequently, they were expelled from the medical profession (Shipman 136). A Euthanasia policy was passed in 1939 to eliminate retarded or handicapped people. Jews were said to be associated with a certain disease and propaganda from the medical profession justified eliminating them along with other undesirables (Shipman 138). Jews began being confined to Ghettos for "hygienic reasons". Diseases became rampant in the crowded unsanitary conditions and the medical profession was pressed by the government to find a solution. The solution was to gas Jews, if they were ill or mentally handicapped, or to ship them to camps to work. No distinction was made between those killed who were infirm or just killed for racial or political reasons. All were regarded as contaminated (Shipman 139).

When the world realized the genocide that had taken place in the name of racial purity and eugenics, the study of eugenics and the practice of forced sterilization fell to the wayside. Biologists in America and elsewhere, who still felt

the study of human evolution might benefit mankind, took up the study of human genetics (Shipman 141).

The history presented by Shipman shows that highly regarded men of science have presented ideas and programs that, largely through mishandling, have advanced racism in the world. Thus a seemingly harmless theory proposed by Darwin was distorted for use by political and scientific rivals and became the basis for the horrendous cruelty against Jews and other races during Nazi Germany.

In America, certain interpretations of Darwin's theory and the resulting practices and studies did not lead to the extent of abuse of science that occurred in Nazi German. However, there is still the deduction by many, that if the earliest homo erectus came out of Africa, that black people (from Africa) must represent a less evolved type of human (Shipman 267). The reality is that a more evolved form of human left Africa and eventually replaced the less evolved in other parts of the world. Work done since the 1960's on measuring the genetic distance among living species has shown that 99% of human genes in all races are held in common with the chimpanzee. This leaves only 1% of our genes to account for differences between races (Shipman 269). Just as statistical data compiled by Virchow failed to stop the Aryan myth, racism against blacks in America still exists despite results of research including that which shows commonalities in biological composition of all races.

Review of literature on stratification by race reveals that various personal, economic, and political agendas rather than biological differences have been the

basis for promotion of stratification based on race.

AFFECT OF SOCIALIZATION ON STRATIFICATION

In an effort to understand how socialization might promote social stratification by gender and race, four books covering this subject were reviewed. Dr. Peter Marsh's book, Eye to Eye: How People Interact, is full of pictures and information on non-verbal communication. It includes a lot of material about expected social roles at home, in groups, in the work place and in romance. It addresses differences in socialization for males and females. Such things as how eye contact affects status are discussed.

In Henley's book, Body Politics, she wrote that power is unevenly distributed between the sexes not because of uneven biological distribution but because of uneven social distribution of same. She stated that this ideology of male dominance is laid in our minds by a hierarchal social system (Henley 123).

Few would argue that males and females are socialized differently in American society. To socialize means to train to fit into a certain social environment. Americans believe that males and females should have certain behavioral characteristics. Schefflen in Body Language and Social Order wrote that our myths perpetuate the idea that males should be dominant, strong and unexpressive and that females should be passive, soft and emotional. Different expectations placed upon males and females involve the way they sit, walk, variations in tone of voice and various gestures including eye cues, facial

expressions and hand, leg and general body movements (148).

At birth, a child becomes a member of an institution within the society. This institution may be the family or some organization charged with caring for the child (Schefflen 146). Through this institution a child picks up the basis for indoctrination to the rules and norms of this society. This process begins as the child bonds to his caretaker (Schefflen 147). Then involvement with the family and others increases. Because of infantile dependency and the inability to understand or produce verbal communication, the child first learns non-verbal cues such as gestures, tone of voice, postures, and expressions. These learned cues and the child's ability to mimic or reproduce them begins to enable the child to get needs met in ways other than basic crying. It also enables the child to better understand his caretaker and others and, until approximately the age of three, be better than adults at interpreting and displaying non-verbal communication (Lewis 12). Marsh wrote that parents, relatives and peers are the role models for appropriate behavior. Parent's unconscious reactions, as well as explicit praise and criticism of the child's behavior, provide important social feedback on how to act. By simply watching other children of their age and sex, they learn on what terms they will be accepted as a boy or girl (Marsh 122). When a child plays "grown up", he copies verbal and non-verbal examples he has seen (Schefflen 148).

As the child grows, emphasis is placed on verbal ability and non-verbal communication, though still used, is performed more on an unconscious level. As the child develops, his intelligence is constantly tested through verbally based I.Q.

tests. Through verbal stories and myths, he learns the fundamentals of his culture including the beliefs, doctrines and ethnocentrism (Schefflen 147). (Ethnocentrism is the attitude that one's own group or race is superior).

In Sniderman's The Scar of Race he states that according to Adorno, ethnocentrism also represents a tendency on the part of a prejudiced individual to dislike and derogate other ethnic groups across the board (Sniderman 52).

Some aspects of socialization and differences, that have been determined to be biological, that perpetuate differential treatment of the sexes are: By the age of six months, girls have already been identified as looking at faces more than boys. This may reflect the fact that females are more interested in people and their reactions than men. An inferior person tends to look and glance away more times than a superior person. On the other hand, males use visual dominance behavior which involves looking with lengthy glances at someone and away from them for long periods. Looking at someone with a lengthy glance gives the affect of staring and puts the other person on the defensive. Women's natural tendency to look towards and away more, puts them in an inferior defensive position (Marsh 75). It is often hard to determine whether a particular reported fact or tendency of males or females is due to behavior learned during socialization or biologically determined.

Though the expressions of preschool boys are as recognizable as preschool girls, later this changes. Socialization teaches males to control and hide their emotions except for anger, which can be used to exert dominance. Girls are taught

to control anger (Marsh 84).

Males and females smile differently. Women smile more than men, but not because they are happier. They are expected to appear more pleasant and may smile when uncomfortable or tense. Men, who do smile more than others, describe themselves as sociable. Women, who smile a lot, describe themselves as feminine. This implies that females are taught that, in order to be feminine, they should use smiles to appear pleasant (Marsh 87).

Part of acknowledging that someone is superior is allowing them greater liberties than you allow yourself (Marsh 91). During socialization, girls and boys learn different uses of personal space and touch. Parents serve as role models for touch behavior. Boys are touched vigorously and encouraged in rough and tumble play. Mothers touch sons more than fathers. Mothers touch for soothing and grooming of children. As children grow, girls are touched more than boys. However, boys may learn to use the liberty to touch to achieve power. They also learn to give each other more physical space than girls do. As stated before, allowing touch and accepting intrusion into space, which girls learn to do, are characteristics of subordinates (Marsh 95).

Literature on socialization reveals that expectations that males will be dominant and aggressive helps them achieve leadership positions with females being subordinate. Modeling of ethnocentric attitudes during socialization promotes racism.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION LITERATURE

The literature on non-verbal communication ranges from diagrams of what each gesture means either universally or locally to practice guides for improving our non-verbal behavior reading skills. Aylesworth's Understanding Body Talk and Beier's People Reading are about improving our non-verbal communication interpretation skills. Michael Brooks wrote Instant Rapport on establishing rapport through an understanding of whether others view the world with a visual, auditory, or kinesthetic focus. Kinesthetic focus means concentrating on sensations, feelings and emotions. Samy Molcho's Body Speech covers such topics as early stimuli, conditioned reflex, self assurance and hierarchal symbols. This book is mainly pictures of the author posed in various postures with an explanation of what they mean. Axtell in Gestures: Do's and Taboos of Body Language around the World did a study of worldwide gestures and their meanings. Julius Fast, who wrote the popular book entitled Body Language, with lots of helpful insights, also wrote The Body Language of Sex, Power and Aggression. In the latter, he answers a list of questions about how to recognize the use of body language for courting, power and aggression and use these same techniques yourself. This is of limited use, unless your specific research question happens to be one of the one's he answered.

Non-Verbal Communication edited by Robert A. Hinde presents the work of several people presenting an analysis of the communication process, a

comparison of vocal communication in man and animals and information available through the study of animal displays. First Impression/Best Impression by Janet G. Elsea is full of good information about the types of things we notice about others and how to improve our presentation through not only body language, but voice, clothing and listening skills.

How to Read a Person Like a Book by Nierenberg and Calero is used by salesmen. This book gives clues on how to perceive certain characteristics such as defensiveness, suspicion, boredom, etc. through correct interpretation of non-verbal cues. Gschwandtner's book, Non-Verbal Selling Power presents a lot of helpful information for salesmen and others. His main premise is that we must become familiar with the messages being sent through the five body channels of non-verbal communication: body angle, face, arms, hands and feet. Some of his information is given in the social control section of Chapter III of this project.

Allan Pease wrote Signals: How to Use Body Language for Power, Success and Love. Pease proposed that like other animals, humans are dominated by biological rules that control our actions, reactions, body language and gestures. However, humans rarely are aware that words may be saying something different than body language (Pease 7). Also, Pease stated that most researchers agree that verbal communication is used for conveying information and non-verbal communication is used for negotiating interpersonal attitudes (6).

Pease listed various types of non-verbal language that if we understand and use properly can help us have power, success and love. He recommended learning

about territories and zones, appropriate use of palm, hand and arm gestures, leg movements and barriers, eye signals and courtship signals. He also stated that the arrangement of our furniture such as chairs and desks can be used to convey our status to others. He addressed various non-verbal communication that can be used to exert power (24-204).

In The Secret Language of Success, Lewis wrote that body language is a secret language because messages are sent and received unconsciously, people tend to filter out any incoming communication that is not needed for their goals and its importance is often overlooked (9-13).

Lewis outlines what he considers to be the four basic categories of body language: Emblems are the signals which may be directly translated into a word or words within a particular culture, i.e. thumbs up or thumb to index finger for O.K. (20). Lewis reported that the USA has 100 recorded emblems, Israeli students have 250 in use. Emblems are often incorporated into specialized systems like T.V. production. The correct use of an emblem can serve as an identity badge for a culture. Emblems can also help diffuse anxiety and remove confusion (Lewis 22).

Illustrators are linked to speech and can be used to emphasize a word or phrase, indicate relationships, draw a picture in the air, pace an event and impose rhythm on the spoken word. These are often made with hands and arms but any sort of body movement which plays a role in verbal communication can be an illustrator (Lewis 23).

Regulators are turn-taking signals which play an important role in starting or ending an exchange, like handshakes, head nods, or use of gaze. When yielding a turn, a speaker often drops his voice, slows the tempo of his speech, possibly draws the final syllable and glances down lowering his eyes or head or both (Lewis 26). Thus all of these things can be used as regulators.

Adapters are movements, gestures and other actions used to manage our feelings or control our responses. These usually occur in stressful situations and reflect earlier coping methods, i.e. pulling on one ear, rubbing hands, massaging the throat (Lewis 27).

Desmond Morris did extensive research on body language and wrote, Manwatching: A Field Guide to Human Behavior. This book has hundreds of photos with explanations about the meaning of various postures and gestures. The information in this book supports that given in other books. Its large coffee table book appearance makes the study of non-verbal communication more enjoyable. Another large book with many pictures is Eye to Eye by Peter Marsh. He gives information about smiling and touching differences, interruptions, humor and social stereotypes.

Desmond Morris also wrote Bodytalk: The Meaning of Human Gestures.

Along with illustrations, he listed hundreds of gestures and their meanings. Some of these presented below are thought to have the same meaning worldwide:

CHART D

GESTURE	MEANING
Arms folded	Person feels defensive.
Body Leaning Forward	Person is paying attention.
Cheek Pinch	Playful affection (May imply "You are a child in my hands.")
Foot lock	Discomfort
Hand cupped to ear	Speak up!
Hand with spread fingers across face	I am shocked.
Hands throttle as if choking someone	I could choke you!
Hand swings up and clamps itself to back of neck	I am angry.
Mouth smile	Pleasure
Nose wrinkle	Disgust
Palm up with thumbs up stiffly to the side	Pay up
Pupils dilate	I like what I see.
Pat on the back	You did well.

(Morris 5-199)

Henley's Body Politics and Schefflen's Body Language and Social Order: Communication as Behavioral Control both tied body language together with social control and are outlined extensively in Chapter Three.

In How to Expand Your Social Intelligence Quotient, Archer wrote about social intelligence quotient (S.I.Q.) which is the ability to form accurate interpretations about people. A lot of our S.I.Q. ability stems from our unconscious grasp of body language cues that tell us such things as if someone wants to interact, the distance we should give someone, how to decode and anticipate movements of others and determine if someone is attracted to us or has more power than us. Our S.I.Q. can help us recognize intimacy between others, kinship ties and competition. Archer indicates that a problem that arises in proper interpretations of social interactions is our tendency to concentrate on the verbal rather than the non-verbal clues. His book is full of photos with accompanying questions about the relationship between people in the pictures. Because there are no spoken words, readers must rely completely on non-verbal cues. He recommends experimenting with trying to determine relationships by observation and then asking those we observe if we are right. Through this practice we should become better able to assess non-verbal clues and thereby improve our S.I.Q. (Archer 1-101).

Besides body language, voice qualities convey a lot of non-verbal meaning. Elsea reported that voice qualities convey as much as 38% of meaning in communication (Elsea 9). Albert Mehrabian's research shows that the intonation, resonance or auditory delivery of your message counts for as much as 84% of your emotional impact and believability when people cannot see you but can hear your voice (Decker 126). The qualities of the human voice can also affect another's

physiology. For example, a loud obnoxious voice could raise the listener's blood pressure.

Decker recommends working on the four basic components of your voice in order to be more effective in communication. These components are relaxation, breathing, projection and resonance (Decker 127).

This review of literature section covered literature on social stratification in general, stratification by gender and race and non-verbal communication. The next chapter is an effort to combine all of these aspects to show how non-verbal communication, as a means of social control, perpetuates the social hierarchies in place in our society.

CHAPTER III

SELECTIVE REVIEW & EVALUATION OF RESEARCH

This chapter focuses on literature and research that directly addresses this project's subject of how non-verbal communication serves to maintain stratification by gender and race. First, there is a review of non-verbal behavior that is used in social control including monitors and signals. Next, specific non-verbal behavior that differentiates males from females and puts males in a dominant position are outlined. Finally, non-verbal behavior that affects racial relations is discussed.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Non-verbal behavior can provide social control. Ethologist, those who study animal behavior scientifically under natural conditions, have documented behaviors that occur in all primates that serve to bond them together and sustain their power structures. One way human societies maintain levels of hierarchy is through communicating approval or disapproval for straying from the norm (Schefflen xii). Affiliation behavior serves to bond people together. Exclusionary behavior can help maintain power for some by excluding undesirables from powerful positions. Affiliation and exclusionary behavior convey to others who we want to interact with. Certain non-verbal signals tell us if a person is feeling open, mediocre or closed towards interaction with us. Our actions also control speaking and listening transactions through various cues. Behavior may be predictable when environments remain stable. Unexpected behavior will trigger

social monitoring. Lateral and vertical mobility within a society is controlled by the interplay of non-verbal behavior and verbal communication in groups and institutions.

AFFILIATION BEHAVIORS

By indicating who we want to interact with, non-verbal affiliative behavior can promote expected sexual or racial relations. These behaviors include kinesic reciprocal, bond servicing and dominance and submission reciprocals. Reciprocal behavior is that which constitutes a mutual exchange of privileges.

Kinesic reciprocal behavior can serve to maintain social bonds, hierarchal order and territorial boundaries (Schefflen 15). Social bonds are maintained through face-to-face framing of posture and kinesic and tactile interchanges that are affiliative (Schefflen 16).

Social bonds are also maintained through courting and quasi-courting which are types of affiliative behaviors. During courting behavior there are female and male characteristics. Women, perhaps due to their being more emotionally expressive, have a wide array of behaviors they use for showing attraction to a man. They may hold their head high and cocked, push their chest out and up, extend their foot, or let a shoe dangle from a foot, tighten calf musculature, stroke a thigh, sit very close, sit on one leg and point a knee towards a man, adjust a skirt, or display a palm while preening or smoking. Men have less of a repertoire of courting behaviors including preening, straightening their tie or clothes, pulling

in their abdomen, squaring their shoulders or just getting into a state of high overall muscular tonus, standing close or protruding their jaw (Schefflen 21). Using these courting behaviors selectively, besides showing personal preferences, *can also serve to exclude those of other races that are not socially acceptable companions. Thus, courting can serve to reinforce stratification.*

Quasi-courting involves the same behaviors as in courting but there are certain verbal and non-verbal qualifiers. For example, a person gives a compliment but does not make eye contact or walks away immediately after. Or a person may flirt with a member of the opposite sex but mention their spouse or sweetheart (Schefflen 21). Psychotherapists may use quasi-courting to entice their patients to become more involved in their sessions (McGough 74). This implies that male or female therapists use quasi-courting with their opposite sex patients in an effort to manipulate them into being more expressive.

Bond servicing is a behavior carried out in order to service the bond between two people. This may involve things like helping with grooming. For example, a woman may straighten her husband's tie or flick lint off of his jacket. (Schefflen, 20) Sometimes this is interpreted as a way of "staking your claim" to another individual in public. Bond servicing can therefore serve as a means of social control by signaling to others that there is a personal bond between a couple.

Dominance and submission reciprocals are interchanges of display or representations of dominance and submission behavior (often unconscious) to obtain rights to speak or establish status (Schefflen 23). Men use dominance

displays to indicate that they want to be regarded as a status or authority figure or to hold the floor when making a point. Examples include setting erect, standing tall, putting hands on hips, jutting out chest or jaw. They may lean close and poke someone in the shoulder or point their finger and raise the volume of their voice (Schefflen 115). Smiling, joking or laughing during these interchanges signals that they are of a quasi nature (Schefflen 25).

Affiliative behaviors such as courting, quasi-courting and bond servicing can help maintain social bonds or serve to exclude certain groups. Our culture teaches certain uses of postural and tactile interchange for these affiliative behaviors as well as for dominance and submission displays. All of these behaviors can interact to keep women and blacks bound in their social positions.

EXCLUSION BEHAVIORS

Certain non-verbal behaviors serve to exclude undesirables from transactions. Persons in a transaction may sit close to each other and maintain contact to show alliance while leaning away from undesirables. By turning their backs to certain ones or placing their arms and hands on their faces they can form barriers between factions in a group (Schefflen 81). Those of status in a group may become very involved in a transaction ignoring the fact that they are excluding and taxing the patience of those who are not allowed to become meaningfully involved (Schefflen 82). Women and blacks must constantly combat these exclusion behaviors used by the dominant faction in our society: white males.

RED, GREEN AND YELLOW INTERACTION SIGNALS

By becoming aware of non-verbal cues taught to salesmen to help them perceive when a sales encounter is going well, we can better determine the quality of a transaction between the sexes or different races. Gschwandtner talks about green, yellow and red signals as to whether to proceed based on whether non-verbal clues say that the other party is being open and receptive.

Green signals such as the following indicate a person is open to a transaction: The person's body angle is upright or directed toward speaker, their face is friendly, smiling and enthusiastic, their arms and legs are open and relaxed and their legs are uncrossed or crossed towards the speaker (Gschwandtner 58). Yellow signals which mean the speaker should exercise caution are a face that is tense, displeased, skeptical, superior, doubtful, guarded or frustrated, crossed tense arms, legs crossed or body angle leaning away from speaker and hands clasped or fidgeting with object. Red signals in which withdrawal or rejection is displayed means speaker should stop what he is doing and redirect his efforts. Some red signals are leaning the body far back or thrusting it out, or an angry, determined or flushed face that may be shaking "no". The arms may be tightly crossed or thrust out, hands made into fists or pointing a finger or legs tightly crossed away from speaker or foot stomping (Gschwandtner 58-60). Learning the conditions and behavior necessary to elicit green signals in interactions can help facilitate interaction between genders and different races.

ORDERING SPEAKING AND LISTENING

Schefflen discusses non-verbal ways people order speaking and listening arrangements. These can also be used as ways of control or dominance of women or various racial groups. One way we order interactions is to turn attention to the person we want to hear. Sometimes during a program when everyone knows the program order - postural and attention shifts indicate the next part is starting. In these cases, announcement of the next steps is unnecessary. A second way, is for a supportive listener to cup their ear, if someone tries to interrupt, and refuse to acknowledge interrupter. Signs that show a person is continuing to listen may be: brief comments, uh-uh, or gestures such as knit brow for "don't understand" - also dropped jaw and shrugged shoulders. A third way to order interactions is to use continuous body language signals, such as gestures and facial expressions, during a conversation to provide feedback about the speakers clarity, listener's level of interest, agreement and comfort. Lastly, synchrony of movements between two communicators helps establish rapport. This seems to be facilitated by the visible metronomic use of a body part like a foot keeping time to a speaker (Schefflen 67).

By showing attention, support, feedback and synchrony a person can show they want to interact. By not giving attention, refusing to be interrupted, and not giving feedback or not using synchronized movements a person can show refusal to interact. For instance, it is hard to convince someone of your point of view, if they will not pay attention to you. Also, a common way of showing respect in our culture is to look at someone when they are speaking. By refusing to look at

someone who is speaking you show disrespect. These ways of ordering interaction can certainly be used by white males to relegate women or those of other races to lower status powerless positions.

STABLE BEHAVIORS AND ENVIRONMENTS

Schefflen discusses how forms of behavior are highly stable because they are genetically and culturally coded. American cultural coding includes traditional sexual and racial hierarchies. Social order can be seen as a system of relations between forms of behavior, including non-verbal behavior, and contexts (Schefflen 122).

If the contexts are stable and congruent, customary events will occur. If contexts are not stable, variations and changes will occur (Schefflen 122). Transactions between people usually occur in highly stable physical environments or contexts. Places, people and groupings are all environments that tend to be stable (Schefflen 122).

As far as places, they are usually laid out, equipped and decorated in given ways. Furniture is arranged in conventional ways that control interpersonal distances. Boundaries control egress and ingress. Activities in these places may be guided by customs and laws or guarded by locks or even patrolmen. All of these places are located in particular territories, regions, cities, states and nations whose laws and mores further govern activities (Schefflen 123).

The different people who are a part of transactions can be considered

environments because each person has his own personality and repertoire of possible performances. However, in each transaction, a person is expected to take on a particular role and to carry this out in customary and predictable ways. The talents, styles, inclinations and affiliations of a particular person tend to be constant for years or perhaps a lifetime. Besides consistent features of his role, a person will also show characteristics of his race, ethnic group, social class, gender, etc. He will also have a state of health, condition and mood (Schefflen 126).

Groups provide various things for their members. The family group provides nourishment, income, physical affection, status, and self-esteem. This is therefore a very important group because some of these necessities may be withheld if the individual defies cultural expectations (Schefflen 122). These expectations are taught through family transactions. This small social group, a nuclear family, is part of a larger extended family with peer groups, friends, neighbors, etc. Customary activities such as baptisms, weddings and funerals bring the members of these larger networks together. Within these activities relationships are shown through touching, space and body movements. This behavior embeds again and again the values, beliefs, dogmas and standards of the society's traditions (Schefflen 124). Gestures of attention, approval or disapproval, unity or discord are constantly being displayed within these groups (Schefflen 125).

The physical environments of places, people and groups last a shorter time than cultural and genetic systems that transmit behavioral forms. Cultural systems

include beliefs, values, rationalizations and prescriptions of style that are repeated and passed on to the next generation. There are specialized transactions held in the society for the elaboration and perpetuation of these concepts. Novels, plays and songs about the human experience and values are written and enacted. Policies and lessons are given in speeches, games, etc. Doctrines and values are repeated in schools and churches (Schefflen 125).

Various transactions are used to punish, reindoctrinate and treat deviants. Other transactions channel participation of undesirables, foreigners and the unattractive or unskilled so that they do not enter and disrupt the everyday transactions of mainstream society. All of these keep traditional mores, laws, rules, values and beliefs before the people at all times to insure their transmission to posterity (Schefflen 127).

If there was congruence between all contexts such as people, places and groups then the following would occur:

- 1) The place would fit the activity.
- 2) The people would have congruent body movements, facial sets and cognitive processes.
- 3) Groups would have common cultural backgrounds (Schefflen 128).

It would be expected there would be a high degree of stability in transactions with the above factors (Schefflen 129). Few cues, signals and monitors would be needed. But in a usual transaction changes occur continually. People from different backgrounds bring various different concepts of goal and

purpose. They may find each others behavior unacceptable. Changes in the larger social order, such as population growth, famine or migration, can also affect transactions. So, it may be that aberrations in a transaction are actually responses to much larger contextual events. They may represent adaptations upon which the survival of a group depends (Schefflen 301). Because these changes may be beneficial, Schefflen outlines two Western practices that may be unwarranted and maladaptive. First, there is a Western society habit of searching for someone or an object to attach blame to. Often a person or faction from a different culture is blamed. Second, there is a habit of fixing causation by looking selectively and prejudicially at elements of context and exaggerating human power. It is believed human behavior is caused by thoughts and feelings as if people decide on everything they do. Schefflen proposes that human behavior is usually an automatic fulfillment of traditional programs or unconscious response to contextual change (Schefflen 130).

So, within a set of socialized patterns, behavior may be changed almost unconsciously when the context of health, condition or mood changes. Blame may be laid on a different cultural group, race or gender when actually there is something that has changed in the larger community that necessitates adaptations within transactions. Therefore, according to Schefflen these western habits of blaming and assigning causation may be maladaptive (Schefflen 130).

MONITORS AND ASSIGNED SOCIAL ROLES

Monitors are behaviors that maintain order (Schefflen 104). Schefflen explains that we all use social monitors to regulate or extinguish a deviancy and thus maintain the status quo. (The status quo in our society includes the levels of social hierarchy.) Monitors may take the form of simple responses such as not giving someone your attention to culturally evolved monitors such as narrowing eyelids to show suspicion. There are also self monitors for example rubbing your eyes if caught staring at someone (Schefflen 106-113). It is easy to see how these body language cues, such as not giving someone attention or looking as if you are suspicious of them, could serve to make the person feel that they are of a lesser status than you. Unacceptable behavior that does not disappear with a monitor may be met with discussion, negotiation or punishment (Schefflen 105). Thus monitors can certainly be used to keep women and other races in assigned roles.

Schefflen outlined examples of the different types of monitors used in our society: Simple Responses which are probably universal in man include:

- a) Glancing towards someone and then away.
- b) Looking through someone who is trying to gain access to an interaction to signal he is not invited.
- c) Turning away from someone who is initiating an action to indicate he will not receive support (Schefflen 106).

- d) Recoiling or flinching due to an unexpected loudness, aggressiveness or exhibitionistic display. (May show startled look and step back.)
- e) Bringing up an arm or leg or leaning back, if someone gets too close.
- f) Pulling head back, covering mouth, narrowing eyelids and turning away when an offender speaks too loud (Schefflen 107).

Culturally evolved monitors include:

- a) Frown accompanied by glare or dominance display (may be used as disapproval).
- b) Wiping index finger across nostrils used to monitor sexual exhibitions, violation of space, obscenities and lies.
- c) Performing actions usually used to groom or clean oneself when you disapprove of statements but are constrained from saying so.
- d) Narrowing of eyelids to indicate suspicion.
- e) Looking askance, raising eyebrows and saying "oohh?" to show suspicion (Schefflen 110).
- f) Glancing at someone for an instant while sitting upright in alerted position to signal to them to behave with care.

Self Monitoring includes:

- a) Nose wiping when exaggerating or lying.

- b) Rubbing your eyes as if they are not working properly when caught looking at something you shouldn't.
- c) Hanging your head and smiling sheepishly or blushing if you have said the wrong thing (Scheflen 113).
- d) Stepping back and scratching your head to signal you are thinking, if not ready to answer.

These self-monitors serve to confess a deviancy but show that they are not a direct challenge to rules of order. While verbal remarks may only evoke rebellion or determination to be independent and act however the person wants, these kinesic monitors may automatically stop deviant behavior (Scheflen 114).

Overt censure behavior may be used if a gross deviancy in behavior is displayed. These censures may include shaking the head from side to side while extending the arm and palm in a stop gesture. Also shaking the index finger at someone is used. If kinesic signs and verbal threats are ignored, the offender may be ostracized from the group or turned over to a regulatory agency (Scheflen 117).

CONTROL OF MOBILITY

Scheflen outlines different ways a person's mobility is controlled by non-verbal communication within an institution of society. (Mobility is defined as having the opportunity for a shift in status within the hierarchal social levels of a society). A number of face-to-face groupings meet within the institutional territory and carry out various transactions such as ceremonies, work activities,

committee meetings, etc. Each meeting is governed by certain programming and behaviors. The proceedings are usually presided over by a dominant member of the group. Strong sanctions may be used to enforce customs and procedures. Order preserved in each subgroup helps to maintain order of the general institution (Schefflen 135).

There is always a measure of control of lateral mobility across institutional borders. Complete control would be that exercised on prisoners, soldiers and small children. Partial control may be used in religions, corporations and government (Schefflen 136). Laterally, people are held together and institutionalized by mutual affiliation, legal procedures and the myth of romantic love. Non-verbal cues that people are partners include sitting or standing together in public, side-by-side relations, postural parallelism and synchronous movements (Schefflen 136). Schefflen proposes that monogamy (being married to only one person) is a phenomenon of our Western culture, and romantic love, is an invention of the Middle Ages. Both notions help control lateral mobility. Our myths promote the idea that lovers want to be close because of instinct and jealousy is a basic drive. However, affiliative behaviors such as these seem to have been learned rather than inherent. Some believe lovers and marital partners touch a lot as a monitoring gesture rather than for bonding (Schefflen 137). Thus many learned affiliative behaviors serve to constrict lateral mobility in our society.

Though a child has increasing lateral mobility as he gets older, he also learns the rudiments of territorial limits. First, he is confined to the house, then his

yard, block and neighborhood. There are various institutional and ethnic restrictions he learns. He may be taught to not play with children of certain ethnic groups. Restrictions could be enforced not only by the family but also the neighborhood, church, gangs, etc. Enforcement may take the form of denial of privileges, or other kinds of punishment. Kinesic monitors such as facial expressions and withdrawal of closeness are also used to make it very uncomfortable to not conform (Schefflen 138).

Four major circles of constraint exist in human development:

The twosome consists of a child confined to a one-on-one relationship with its mother or primary caretaker. The family serves to essentially confine an infant to its immediate family. Although family ties may be maintained throughout life, as an adult a person is not constrained to stay within his nuclear family. The child's circle of involvement usually grows to include children of like age, peer group. Peer relationships seem to be important for support and learning the transition from one's nuclear family to other relationships, marriage and employment (Schefflen 139). As children become adults, various institutions besides the family play a greater role. First schools and clubs and later such entities as businesses, churches, government, and perhaps unions become important. Some of these institutions may demand exclusive membership. Some people may become exclusively bonded to a parent, peer group or be devoted to one particular institution, although belonging to or moving in and out of various institutions is usually possible (Schefflen 139).

Various non-verbal behaviors may be used to make a member feel bad or uncomfortable if they try to leave one of the above circles of constraint. Such behaviors might be feigning illness, showing shock or disapproval by facial expressions, withdrawing closeness, or refusing touch such as a hug. There may be institutional doctrines about loyalty and desertion that put pressure on the member. The member trying to leave may be made to feel he will harm the group if he leaves, he may not be able to survive without them, or outsiders may not like him or be trustworthy (Schefflen 140). By using the above attachments and reinforcing dependency, groups can encourage prejudice and exclusion of women and blacks.

The American dream has always been that if a person worked hard they could succeed. A poor child might even aspire to be president. The reality, according to Schefflen, is that vertical mobility is controlled by the existing hierarchy and the population at large (Schefflen 140). There can only be a few at the top of the hierarchy and those who are loyal, show ability and para-communicative qualities are likely to ascend. Those who are not allowed to move vertically may not have sufficient charisma, be of correct socio-economic class or be sufficiently dedicated to upward mobility or loyal to the institution (Schefflen 140). Schefflen stated that some may lack the educational background or training and minorities have difficulty obtaining these.

Women are bound laterally by promotion of the ideas of monogamy and romantic love. Along with blacks, they are bound vertically by the same verbal

and non-verbal devices used to keep undesirables from top positions.

Schefflen explains how the political exploitation of mechanisms such as blaming, scapegoating and reductionistic evaluations can be used to keep blacks in America in a no-win situation. Although these three mechanisms are part of our conscious system of language they supplement our non-verbal behaviors of control (Schefflen 133). The no-win situation blacks find themselves in, due to use of these three mechanisms, is one in which not only vertical mobility is blocked but also choices are limited.

Two contextual situations will induce blaming. One, there are always problems in any social organization regarding roles, responsibility and power. Promised rewards of promotions, bonuses and admiration never materialize to a sufficient degree. Increased populations clog access to desired housing, territories and advancement. Undesirables move into institutional territory. Second, Americans were raised with a hero vs villain philosophy. The in-group blames minority out-groups for problems (Schefflen 160). In an institution, when a problem arises, the question "Who did it?" initiates the scapegoating mechanism:

- a. Blame is assigned.
- b. Sometimes overt accusations are made (Rare because accused may reveal something unsavory about accuser.)
- c. Accusations are often covert. The villain may be talked about and rejection behaviors used against him.

- d. Members often blame themselves by revealing certain unacceptable behavior.
- e. Members can be counted on to enact the scapegoating drama even though it is rarely initiated by officials (Schefflen 161).

Some will play the roles of accuser and judge. When the institution has a troubling problem, morale becomes low, performance suffers and leadership is not sure what to do so scapegoating is needed.

The faction or person cast as a scapegoat, often a minority, may have shown negative behavior but did not cause the problem and their censure is not likely to solve the problem (Schefflen 163). However, their upward mobility is blocked.

The transgression of the scapegoat is often attributed to a trait or characteristic of the offender. So, an evaluation is made not only of the behavior but of the offender as well. Evaluations are often made in advance (as in prejudice) to be brought out when a scapegoat is needed (Schefflen 163).

Reductionistic evaluations employ a particular variant or deviant performance thought of as regular trait of person who performs it. These evaluations may condemn by local standards a trait that is highly prized in another setting. Certain traits or mannerisms may be judged as deviancies which are actually due to different experiences or ethnic background. Evaluations may be backed by pseudo-scientific explanations and theories. One of these is biologization which is the belief that behavioral patterns are inherited.

Another is psychologization which involves seeing a nonconformity in psychological or developmental terms. Examples of this are when a "hunger for love" or "rejection of parents" is blamed for a person's behavior.

These labels imply that the undesirable behavior represents mental illness. Often these labels become self-fulfilling prophecies (Schefflen 165). Thus by labeling someone you are exercising a political maneuver which serves to adversely affect him socially. This process of blaming, scapegoating and negative evaluations including labels can be an effective means of maintaining certain factions of society, including women and blacks, in a low social status.

Exploitation of scapegoating and reductionistic evaluations is useful in the following ways: A person who has been accused can be managed by throwing him out of the institution and/or blackballing. If retained, he can be controlled more easily. Conditional status is an excuse for demanding inordinately high standards of performance without a commensurate increase in rewards (Schefflen 166).

Blacks and other minorities are ripe for scapegoating. Because of situations of poverty and discriminating attitudes of most institutions, incidents of aggression and failure will occur and be widely noted. Discrimination is hid while these incidents serve to promote the idea that minorities based on inherent characteristics threaten morality, cause crime and drain the economy of welfare benefits. Politicians fail to improve adverse conditions, aggression occurs, it is widely publicized, and suppressive measures appear justified. The cycle continues causing blacks to stay in lower social status (Schefflen 167).

Schefflen discusses the role communication plays in creating deviancy. When a person or group has been scapegoated or evaluated reductionistically, upward mobility may be severely limited in an institution or society. When a person is over bounded by an institution, he can be readily made powerless by a limitation in mobility and become defenseless against scapegoating. His helplessness in this situation increases over-bonding to the institution and his increasing dependency makes it harder to demand greater rewards (Schefflen 171). When he reaches a position where he can neither leave nor maintain a progression of greater rewards, and he is limited both in vertical and lateral mobility, Schefflen says the person is bound. Blacks often find themselves in this dilemma. Some may escape by alienating themselves from corporations or living on the fringes of society (Schefflen 169). They may develop a system of rationalizations to maintain their self esteem. If a person or group is blamed or shamed for acceptance of the situation, or their already limited social niche is taken away, they are considered in a double bind and violence or psychosis may occur (Schefflen 170).

Schefflen proposes we should take a holistic view of how society is able to put people in a bind that limits them. He says there is not one cause or villain. You must search yourself and the behavior of your associates. You must also examine the nature of the social structure and cultural ideation (Schefflen 201).

Various classical conceptions of Americans comprise their cultural ideation such as the Protestant ethic which emphasizes a one-to-one relationship

with God. This idea is conducive to binding a person to a set of beliefs and possible behaviors. Leaving the family, and attached support, is believed to be conducive to maturation and mental health. This may leave the person more susceptible to binding within an outside institution. There is the widespread notion of innate evil that necessitates control that further confines a person. A common practice of blaming an individual or group prevents solving of the real problems in institutions (Schefflen 201).

In conclusion, after a review of literature on social control it appears that the interplay of environments, with non-verbal behavior such as monitors and signals provides a means of social control of mobility and interactions that effectively work to maintain levels of hierarchy.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION AND STRATIFICATION BY GENDER

The unconscious non-verbal system of behaviors that reinforces the inequality between the sexes in America is the same as that used by anyone to portray dominance. Henley reports that research reveals that body language associated with those of higher status is used to a greater degree by males than females (29).

Higher status persons and males are also more likely than females to have greater freedom to move around, be granted larger territory, be afforded greater personal space, and occupy a position controlling desired resources (Henley 29).

In regard to having greater freedom to move around, there are many things thought to be characteristically female that serve to restrict the movements of females. Female fashions play a big part in this. The purse is a female item that must constantly be kept in sight and carried. (Picture a couple going through a cafeteria line. The man is unencumbered and the woman is trying to juggle her purse and tray.) Women's clothing tends to be more delicate and hard to clean than a man's. For example, a woman must be careful how she sits with a pleated skirt and it must be cleaned and ironed carefully (Schefflen 90). Women's short and long skirts prevent them from doing certain activities. For instance, a woman may be offered a ride on a motorcycle but refuse because she is wearing a short skirt. Stylish women's shoes can be hard to walk in and cause foot and leg deformities (Schefflen 91). Fashions, such as the above promoted in advertisements as the feminine ideal, serve to send a non-verbal message of societal expectations. These expectations necessitate a limitation of female freedom of movement.

Higher status individuals are often granted larger territory. In our society because of systems in place that allow more men to achieve high titles they are more likely to have the larger offices, desks, etc. Having larger territory, then constantly sends a non-verbal message to females that males are of higher status.

Regarding greater personal space, people are known to be more hesitant to invade the personal space of a high status individual. Women are more hesitant to invade the space of men than men are to invade the space of women. Also, Henley commented that in the animal kingdom a subordinate is more likely to move out of

the way of a dominant individual. Henley's observations revealed that females are more likely to yield space to males (37). The tendency for females to yield in this way shows a non-verbal willingness to be dominated.

As far as controlling desired resources, historically men have been the predominant breadwinners and therefore allocated certain amounts of their resources to their female companion. Although there are now more women earning their own money, men still hold more high level positions, affording them more resources to control. Males having more control over resources can perpetuate inequality by making females more likely to try to appease males.

Assertive behavior from those of higher status is more socially accepted. American society says it is o.k. for men but women who are assertive are labeled negatively (Henley 113). People of higher status and men tend to touch more than be touched. Men can use dominant non-verbal behaviors such as greater touch, staring and closeness (Henley 197). A woman who does these things is interpreted sexually. This behavior from a woman is seen as complimenting the man and pushing the woman into the role of an unthreatening sex object (Henley 197). Other dominant behaviors men might use include sitting with one leg over the arm of a chair, putting a foot on their desk, leaving their jacket unbuttoned and sticking hands in pockets with thumbs out. Women are more likely to portray submissive behaviors like keeping their coat buttoned and their body contracted. According to Morris, the most important aspect of submission is making oneself appear small by stooping or lowering the body. Women may develop a permanent

slumped posture from submissive habits. They have a physical disadvantage in looking dominant because they are often smaller in stature than men. (Morris, 142).

Though touch has been found to be a basic human need, it has become a tool in the hands of a male dominant society to be used to keep women in their place. This misuse of touch has promoted the idea that women's bodies are free property for anyone to touch (Henley 123).

Henley writes that the overwhelming aspect of male-female gestural relations is one of male physical control over women (Henley 149). Various maneuvers are so subtle and so accepted they almost go unnoticed. Males in couples literally push and steer a woman everywhere she is to go. An arm from behind steers her around corners, into elevators and through doorways. Henley states that this may not be done in an abusive or threatening way but more like a confident equestrian with a well-trained horse (Henley 149).

Beyond this public herding, there are still thousands of reports of women being beaten daily by their husbands (Henley 149). A new song, just released by a popular singer, portrays a man saying he is sorry for hitting his woman and asks for another chance. That this song is even being played putting the perpetrator in a conciliatory light makes a commentary about acceptance in our society.

Women, who failed to respond to a male dominance display in the past, may have been physically attacked. After that, all that is needed is a threatening glance to control her behavior (Henley 198).

Hid behind the guise of play is the pretending to twist a female's arm, hit her buttocks hard, punch her on the arm or pick her up. All of these can be seen as male dominance displays (Henley 150). Some of the same activities used to control children are used by males on females such as chasing women to lift and spank them or throwing them in water. Hid behind the guise of affection are the cheek and hair patting, chin chucking and bottom patting directed toward women and children. Even an activity as seemingly jointly enjoyable as a square dance can become an arena for male competition as to who can lift and spin the women partners the hardest. Displays such as this send the signal that women can be used like toys (Henley 150).

At times, explanations for men's greater use of touch with females has been attributed to greater sexual attraction. However, years of research by Masters and Johnson show there is just as great a sexual drive in women as there is in men. Given that there is greater touching by the dominant figure in other situations, inequality of touching between the sexes cannot be attributed to difference in the sex drive but is more likely attributable to general male superiority in society (Henley 117). Additionally, touch is not likely to suggest sex unless in a sexual area and sexual areas are not as sensitive to touch as folklore portrays (Henley 118).

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION AND STRATIFICATION BY RACE

Henley proposes that the first thing you notice about a person is their sex (Henley 92). Elsea, on the other hand, says that we notice the color of their skin and then the sex of the person (Elsea 1-5). Regardless of which is noticed first, you immediately search your social programming to find appropriate behavior for each. As discussed previously, there are negative stereotypes of blacks carried over from American history. Blacks were former slaves that were often illiterate and though this is no longer the case, this prejudice has been slow to die in America. So, when we search for the appropriate socialized behavior with blacks negative stereotypes are likely to be a part of it. This may have been promoted in our childhood by verbal joking or non-verbal modeling.

Blacks have especially been victims of social blocking in their attempts at vertical mobility. Various social and economic disadvantages play a part in this blocking.

What part does non-verbal communication play in maintaining blacks in America in a low social status? Henley discussed research regarding blacks and social interaction. It was determined that blacks along with other minorities often show behavior that indicates inadequacy or weakness because it is cued by others in the interactive process (Henley 12). Any of the types of negative social monitoring, ways of ordering transactions and affiliative or exclusion behaviors could play a part here. For instance, a white person talking to a black person could lean away, refuse eye contact or mumble causing the black person to feel not

only put down but unable to grasp what was said. If the black asks for clarification, the white person might repeat the words with a harsh tone of voice and facial glare. These actions signal to anyone who might hear that there is a deficit on the part of the black listener which is not only unfair but insulting.

When whites use non-verbal negative behavior towards blacks, it can generate a negative response which will serve to reinforce the negative stereotype the white person had (Henley 10). All of this could take place on an unconscious level. The black may not be conscious of exactly what behavior from the white is irritating him. The white might use his body to block an interruption from the black or make him wait. He might intrude on his space. All of these behaviors are indicative of dominance.

In this chapter, the specific literature regarding non-verbal behavior that serves as social control has been identified. The non-verbal behavior that is assertive and dominant has been found to be used more by males than females, designed to put females in a submissive role. All of the affiliative and exclusionary behavior used to keep undesirables out of roles and groups is used against blacks to insure that they are kept in a lower social status. The next chapter addresses conclusions from the research and proposals for change.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

CONCLUSIONS

Research on the role non-verbal communication plays in the maintenance of social stratification based on gender and race in America has generated the following conclusions. (Data from the research that led to these conclusions is discussed in the next chapter).

The history of stratification reveals that whenever it was advantageous to a person or group, they instigated or promoted social inequality.

Despite Lenski's assertion that industrial societies such as ours have many characteristics conducive to greater equality, to a large degree, inequality still exists for women and blacks in American society.

The characteristics Mosca presented that allow upper classes to maintain their status are firmly in place in our society.

Though previous less advanced societies valued personal skills and abilities for the assignment of status, Americans assign status to the wealthy and powerful regardless of personal characteristics.

There are many reasons why inequality is harmful to our society.

Because non-verbal communication comprises 55-93% of meaning in communication, non-verbal communication plays a large part in our socialization process which includes conveying to the next generation the expected roles and behavior for women and blacks.

A lack of understanding of the impact of non-verbal communication can cause many problems with social interaction.

Because non-verbal communication is largely learned and practiced unconsciously, people often promote inequality without being aware of it. Becoming more consciously informed users of non-verbal communication should help aid efforts towards more equality in social situations.

Following is an outline of suggestions for changing our non-verbal behavior in ways that will allow more equal access to rewards, power and prestige for women and blacks.

PROPOSALS FOR COMBATING SEXUAL AND RACIAL INEQUALITY

Becoming familiar with and practicing the use of non-verbal behaviors, that researchers have assigned particular meanings to, should allow greater control of the use of these behaviors. By learning non-verbal cues that signal such things as dominance, superiority and power we can be careful with our use of these when interacting with members of the opposite sex or other races. Gaining expertise in non-verbal communication should help women and blacks to counter behaviors by dominant members of our society designed to maintain dominance. Specific behaviors are offered by Henley to use as part of our socialization process so that there is more equitable access to rewards, power and prestige. Perhaps through a greater awareness of the part non-verbal communication plays in maintaining social

stratification, Americans can learn to break this cycle and truly have more social equality.

Some of the power and dominance signals are:

Long pause before answering a door knock

Large desk with owner's chair larger and higher than guest's

Hands on hips

Fingers hooked in belt

Steepling of fingertips

Hands behind neck

Leg over chair

Sitting astride chair

Exaggerated leaning over table or desk

Piercing eye contact

Standing while other is seated

Offering your palm down when shaking hands

Feet on desk (Gschwandtner 14)

You can watch for the following kinesics signs of submission, apprehension and nervousness from a female or black (or other race) visitor and then try to put them at ease:

Hand wringing

Fidgeting

Fingers clasped

Hands to face, groin, hair

Head down

Minimum eye contact

Self-beating (rubbing back of neck)

Shifting from side to side

Briefcase guarding body

Constant blinking

Throat clearing

Offering your palm up when shaking hands

Twitching

Whistling (Gschwandtner 15)

You can combat feelings of inequality on the part of your visitor by using the following body language cues that signal not only your confidence but honesty and cooperation:

Palms toward other person, open hands

Lean forward in seat

Sit far up in chair

Good eye contact

Legs uncrossed

Jacket open

Hands to chest

Move with speaker's rhythm

Free, spontaneous movement of arms, wrists, hands

Vertical handshake

Back and forth movements of body

Feet flat on floor

Slight blinking

Smiling (Gschwandtner, 16)

In order to change inequality in the use of touch between the sexes, Henley suggests that men should try to become aware of their tactile transactions with women and guard against using touch to assert authority . They should also be careful to teach sons not to do this. Henley proposes that women have the responsibility to themselves to refuse to accept tactile assertion of authority by removing their hand from the grasp of a man who has held it too long. They should also remove hands from their person when such touch is unsolicited and unwanted. Women should train themselves not to submit to a man's will just because of subtle implications of his touch. Finally, women should start touching, if the situation is appropriate, to break through sexist patterns of tactile interaction (Henley 123).

Gschwandtner in his book for training sales people, gives pointers on how to interact with people of other races (Gschwandtner 101). He recommends trying to understand the differences and bridge the gaps. He states that blacks use eye contact less frequently. He recommends that someone of another race try to present a relaxed demeanor and try to increase eye contact with the black person.

He bases this on studies that show that charisma is associated with slower movements and increased eye contact. He recommends using open postures and paying attention to all of what he calls the five channels of non-verbal communication. These are communication through body angle, facial expressions, and arm, hand and leg gestures. His suggestions for positive and negative use of these channels are:

Channel One - Body Angle

Positive

Upright posture
Body movement toward you
Sits closer to you
Leans body towards you if he likes what he hears
Back and forth movements indicate drive and positive attitude
Match rhythm of body movements of other person

Negative

Leans back
Leans away
(This may show superiority or boredom—depends on other clues)
Side to side movements indicate insecurity and doubt
Too much motion or stiffness
(probably tension or nervousness)
(Gschwandtner 36-55)

Channel Two - Face

Positive

Increased eye contact
(shows honesty & interest)
Relaxed facial and neck muscles
(will make you feel more relaxed)

Negative

Avoid eye contact & gaze past you
(hides true emotions)
Sudden flush or reddening of face
(something wrong)
Skin tautness around cheeks, jaw line & neck
(Gschwandtner 39)

Channel Three - Arms

Positive

Arms well on desk - leaning forward in chair
Broad and vigorous arm movements to make emphatic point

Negative

Upper arms and elbows far back on & hands raised in stop gesture
Forearms barely on desk - ready for quick retreat
One arm over back of chair to lean further away from you
(Gschwandtner 41)

Channel Four - Hands

Positive

Open, relaxed hands, palms facing you

Negative

Self-touching indicate tension (hands on chin, ear, nose, arm or clothing)
Tight, clasped hands or fists
(Gschwandtner 44)

Channel Five - Legs

Positive

Feet on desk - ownership confidence
Uncrossed, open - cooperation confidence, friendly interest
Legs crossed toward you - acceptable in early stage of interaction

Negative

Legs crossed - closed attitude
Figure four, ankle on top of opposite knee. -
Not completely open mind.
Ankles crossed, feet back - defensive, reserved, uncooperative
Legs crossed away from you - interaction not going well
(Gschwandtner 48)

Gschwandtner recommends modeling open and friendly behavior, using techniques such as handing a person something to get him to uncross his arms. Once more open behaviors are received, synchronizing movements with person of the other race will help establish rapport (Gschwandtner 95).

In order to break what Henley calls the body power barrier in sexual inequality, she suggests that women should stop:

- 1) Smiling unless they are happy
- 2) Lowering or averting their eyes when stared at
- 3) Getting out of men's way in public
- 4) Allowing interruption
- 5) Restraining their body postures
- 6) Accepting unwanted touch (Henley 203)

Henley proposes that women should start:

- 1) Staring people in the eye
- 2) Addressing people by their first name
- 3) Being more relaxed in demeanor
- 4) Touching when it feels appropriate
- 5) Supporting other women non-verbally by:
 - a) gravitating towards each other at gatherings
 - b) listening with interest to women, asking questions
 - c) leaning forward and showing attention and support to women through nodding, smiling and touching

- d) synchronizing movements when interacting with other women
- e) not interrupting other women
- f) according them space and defending their space

In order to break the body power barrier in sexual relations, Henley suggests that men should start:

- 1) Smiling more
- 2) Losing their cool when appropriate
- 3) Displaying emotion
- 4) Confiding in other men
- 5) Sending gestures of support
- 6) Being honest when unsure
- 7) Condensing their bodies

Men should also stop:

- 1) Invading women's personal space
- 2) Touching women excessively
- 3) Interrupting women
- 4) Taking up extra space
- 5) Sending dominance signals
- 6) Staring (Henley 203)

Regarding the way parents and teachers socialize boys and girls, Henley suggests to stop teaching boys to:

- 1) charge through the world like they own it
- 2) get what they want by pushing others around
- 3) interrupt, over touch and crowd females or males
- 4) withhold their smiles
- 5) suppress emotional expression

Parents and teachers should also stop teaching girls to:

- 1) take up little space
- 2) drop their eyes
- 3) back down in conversations
- 4) move out of everyone's way
- 5) hesitate to touch others
- 6) smile at everything even when nervous or upset (Henley 204)

Henley also suggests that parents and teachers can start helping boys to limit their spatial, verbal and visual territories that impinge on others, express tender and positive emotions and accept assertiveness, expansiveness and anger from girls. They should also model for boys and girls self-respect and respect for others non-verbally with neither subservience or dominance (Henley 204).

Henley proposes that knowledge of non-verbal communication is meaningless without application. Conservatives may recommend waiting to apply knowledge until more research is done. Henley suggests, however, that we take

the following approach with what is currently known while body politic research continues:

- 1) Test ideas against own experience to see if they ring true.
- 2) Apply ideas in daily life and see if they work.
- 3) If they don't work, ask yourself why.
- 4) Look at what else needs to be learned.

Henley's ideas seem insightful and she invites experimentation with them.

Just as years of programming have established our unconscious behavior, it would seem that changing this behavior would take more than a casual glance at her recommendations. I would recommend keeping a list of do's and don'ts for your own sex and practicing them each day. Notice how others react to you. Keep another list of do's and don'ts for the opposite sex and try to spot these behaviors during the day. Become well versed in behaviors that imply superiority and relegate others to a lower status in gender and race relations. Through awareness and practice of revised behaviors you will help others become aware of the affect of their behaviors. It will also serve as a model for more equality in social relations for the younger generations.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The following is a discussion of the material that led to the conclusions proposed in Chapter IV.

Conclusion #1

The history of stratification reveals that whenever it was advantageous to a person or group, they instigated or promoted social inequality.

Stratification based on race was upheld or fought based on personal gain. Virchow fought the Aryan ideal in Germany because he did not fit the physical stereotype and in the scientific community he was losing clout to the more charismatic Haeckel. Haeckel fit the physical stereotype of the Aryan ideal and enjoyed considerable power in the community from his theories promoting racial hatred. Prime Minister Bismarck used anti-semitism as a common enemy for his subjugated groups to unite against. Hitler used racial hatred and fear to exterminate those he considered a threat. In America the acceptance and promotion of forced sterilization and selective breeding was based on the same interpretation of Darwin's theory of evolution that the Nazi's used to promote murder. Though American society during that time did not reach the level of abuse achieved in Nazi Germany, Americans cannot wash their hands of the horrible consequences of racism. Blacks were forcibly brought here to be used as slave labor and treated like they were sub-human. American plantation owners used racism to accrue wealth and the accompanying power and status. Blacks are

still fighting the stigma of lower class citizenship in America.

Religious leaders and royal families have also reaped benefits from social stratification. They have enjoyed wealth and favor at the expense of the masses. Large cathedrals and temples have often been built in areas of poverty and hunger. Royal families such as those in England enjoy luxury while the masses struggle with widespread unemployment and poverty. It is a mystery why society as a whole accepts inequality and is even willing to pay tribute to maintain it. The number of those who benefit from inequality is always much smaller than the number of those who must endure it.

Conclusion #2

Despite Lenski's assertion that industrial societies such as ours have many characteristics conducive to greater equality, to a large degree inequality still exists for women and blacks in American society. Americans pride themselves in a democratic government for the people, by the people and yet continue to submit to exorbitant taxes which help to maintain a small segment of society in inequitable wealth. We fought to disengage ourselves from a monarchy. Yet, our behaviors pay homage to what equals a royal family and their courtiers. Our behavior includes deferential treatment towards our rulers, granting them a large home, entourage of staffers and guards, large salary and pension. We buy into a proposed need to balance a governmental budget and submit to personal sacrifices to correct a deficit in funds that was caused by our rulers. The masses in society,

for years have been speaking out against foreign spending and playing patrolmen for other countries. Yet, our government continues to do so. Our government tells us the only way we can turn our financial situation around is for the citizens to sacrifice more.

Lenski felt the following characteristics of industrial societies were conducive to more equality:

1. We do not use slave labor to accomplish economic goals.
However, our government fights against increasing the minimum wage. Rather than working to solve poverty and crime in neighborhoods that help bind the poor, the government suggests cutting welfare.
2. Lenski felt that skilled labor was necessary for industrial society and therefore more of the surplus would be shared with them.
However, CEOs continue to make huge salaries while employees are told their wages are frozen. Though some companies pay bonus checks to their employees when the company has enjoyed a prosperous year, many companies are downsizing, reengineering and using skill mix. (Skill mix means lay offs and using less experienced and less trained people in order to save money on salaries).
3. Lenski felt that self-sufficiency was no longer possible in industrial societies active in a global economy. However, businesses are

very lax in training their representatives how to best communicate with people of other races and ethnic groups, including non-verbal communication skills.

4. Lenski suggested that industrial societies have a vested interest in educating the masses. However, there are still systems in place to only give whites and the wealthy easy access to quality education.
5. Industrial society with their childcare systems should allow women greater access to career opportunities. However, socialization continues to put pressure on women to stay home to provide quality childcare. Some women try to be students, super moms, wives and career women. Being spread so thin, they may do poorly in school, feel guilty about lack of time with children, their marriage may suffer or fail, or they may never achieve their occupational goals. They may even burn out or suffer mental illness.

Lenski also proposed that sexual stratification coincides with sexual division of labor. However, though our industrialized society has a reduced need for sexual division of labor, sexual stratification persists without noticeable reduction. Therefore, the correlation between sexual stratification and sexual division of labor is not as strong as Lenski suggested.

Conclusion #3

The characteristics Mosca presented that allow upper classes in society to

maintain their status, are firmly in place in American society. Mosca stated that the ruling classes were always highly organized. American organizations have means established for screening those allowed to join. Ruling classes want team players who can provide economic and political support. Mosca also proposed that by accepting the most talented from the lower classes into its ranks the upper class is able to drain the lower classes of potential leaders who might lead a rebellion against the rulers. Affiliative and exclusionary non-verbal behaviors are used by our organized ruling group seeking to win the most talented to its ranks.

Through political formulas and social theories, Mosca proposed that lower classes could be lead to accept their fate. This took place in history when the socially acceptable theories of evolution became distorted to support racism. Once racism was established, those who were privileged with education, wealth and status had negative expectations of blacks. Blacks irritated by verbal and non-verbal negative actions towards them responded with outrage which served to reinforce the negative stereotypes about them. Society then felt justified in using what Schefflen called transactions to punish blacks, leaving them to feel bound in a no-win situation. As far as political formulas, people respected by certain ethnic groups may be used by candidates to stand beside them to imply there is cohesiveness to win votes.

The last postulate from Mosca was that habit causes the lower class masses to go about daily lives without questioning the injustice of their position. Though they may realize inequities, they may unconsciously promote the status quo of their

situation. A family, or other culturally or religiously cohesive group, may use various kinds of non-verbal sanctions to keep its members and even prevent them from bettering themselves. An example could be a neighborhood gang that tries to prevent a member from going straight. Exclusionary behaviors may be used to frighten rebellious members with withdrawal of support and respect. Physical fights or actions suggesting bodily harm may be used.

Conclusion #4

Though previous less advanced societies valued personal skills and abilities for the assignment of status, Americans assign status to the wealthy and powerful regardless of personal characteristics. In Hunting and Gathering societies generosity and personal skills were a means to achieve social status. In simple Horticultural societies generosity was a prerequisite for leadership. In our Industrial society generosity is used for good public relations but does not merit status. American society needs to find ways to assign value to wisdom, skill, generosity, perserverance and other good personal qualities. Instead of arbitrarily awarding status to those who are wealthy we should look at how that wealth was acquired and if it is being generously used to help mankind. By our actions towards the wealthy, it appears that we believe that giving deferential treatment to them will somehow reap benefits for ourselves. This is rarely the case, however, unless one is only concerned about gaining status from association with the wealthy. Philanthropy of the rich is often tied to some accrued advantage for the

rich, such as tax write offs, political support, etc. If there is no benefit for the poor to grant high status to the wealthy, it is curious that this continues. The wealthy benefit from inequality more than others and these others represent a larger percentage of the population.

Conclusion #5

There are many reasons why inequality is harmful to our society. An unwillingness to share company surplus forces skilled employees to go elsewhere. Allowing only a few to achieve success discourages the masses from spending time and money on higher education. Social situations prevent many from achieving financial success. Frustration regarding social and financial position leads to crime. Rather than fixing society's problems our government proposes stiffer fines for crime. Crime statistics are used to justify inequality. Politicians are too busy catering to special interest groups and working on their own personal status to work on correcting problems regarding housing, education and opportunities. Limiting certain roles to only men or only women prevents them from both experiencing the full array of responsibilities and rewards of parenthood, higher education and occupational success. Our socialization patterns serve to promote prejudice among our children generation after generation. Non-verbal communication as part of the socialization process continues to bolster the values of society, including inequality. Because wealth gains status, the upper classes continue to have a vested interest in maintaining social stratification and

not sharing substantial amounts of the surplus.

Conclusion #6

Because non-verbal communication comprises 55-93% of meaning in communication, non-verbal communication plays a large part in our socialization process which includes conveying to the next generation the expected roles and behavior for women and blacks.

Even though changing the way boys and girls are socialized could have a positive impact on equality, we cannot put all the blame for the past on males. Mothers who have bought into our socialization system have played a great part in promoting stereotypical gender roles through verbal and non-verbal means. These gender roles have included acceptance of aggression, anger and dominance from males. For females, passivity and submission are the norm. However, all of the non-verbal behaviors typical of females are not bad. Henley warns that we should be careful not to over-value male behavior and under-value female behavior (Henley 205). All typical female behaviors should not be changed to that expected of males just because they are allowed to be more successful. For example, women can continue to be emotionally expressive and encourage men to be more expressive in order to raise the quality of communication in society.

Conclusion #7

A lack of understanding of the impact of non-verbal communication can

cause many problems with social interaction. Some examples of problems that could arise from lack of knowledge about non-verbal communication are as follows:

A husband who has a nervous habit of touching his finger to the side of his nose or rubbing it after he speaks may not understand that he is constantly giving his wife a non-verbal signal that he is being deceitful. Gschwandtner's tips on positive and negative channels of communication indicate that touching the chin, ear, arm or nose are all signs of tension. Also, Schefflen gives touching the side of the nose as a culturally evolved monitor for lies.

A business woman may not understand why she doesn't seem to be able to take control of a committee of which she is chairman. She is unaware of her submissive behavior which includes breaking glances downward and not holding eye contact. By learning Henley's hints on breaking sexual inequality barriers, she would know that she should stop lowering and averting her eyes when looked at, start looking people in the eye and trying to be more relaxed in demeanor. A very important suggestion given by Henley was that women need to support each other in their attempts to be taken more seriously. They should give them undivided attention and stop letting men monopolize interactions.

A business man may not understand why his female business partner protests that she doesn't feel that she has equal power in the company. When she visits his office, out of respect she stands across the desk from him. When he visits her office, he always invades her personal space by standing next to her behind her

desk as if he is giving her an assignment. If this businessman was aware of Henley's hints for breaking the body power barrier in sexual inequality he would know that men should stop invading women's personal space and sending dominance signals. He could study Gschwandtner's outline of signals for power and dominance and try to not use them to intimidate subordinates or make associates uncomfortable.

A white interviewer of a black job candidate may not realize he is giving negative non-verbal responses. The candidate becomes irritated and interviews poorly. The interviewer gets a bad impression. A large part of the tension in this scenario was created unconsciously and the candidate was not only qualified but very interested in the position. If the interviewer had known and followed Gschwandtner's tips for interaction with blacks, he would have used more eye contact and relaxed demeanor to draw the interviewee in to positive interaction. He might have also used the forward body lean, uncrossed hands, open palm gestures and warm smiles to put the interviewee at ease.

Conclusion #8

Because non-verbal communication is largely learned and practiced unconsciously, people often promote inequality without being aware of it. They also may be sending confusing contradictory messages. Pease said that humans are rarely aware that their words may be saying something different than their body language(7). It follows from this that a person may be verbally skilled

but, if portraying contradictory non-verbal body language, may find himself mysteriously handicapped in achieving his daily and lifetime goals. An awareness of unconscious body language cannot only help someone reach their goals but could possibly help in achieving more equality in society. The reason this follows is because it is hard to change behavior that is not part of your conscious knowledge. Studying proposed changes in behavior presented in Chapter Four should raise awareness.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

Because Anthropology is the study of every aspect of mankind including physical and social characteristics and language, the study of non-verbal communication differences should be a part of each Anthropology curriculum. Many colleges are requiring students to take one course regarding different cultures and it would be helpful to include a unit on ethnic differences in non-verbal communication.

More classes and seminars need to be available in schools and businesses for not only appreciating diversity among different ethnic groups but also between the sexes.

Research and experiments need to be done on alternative ways to educate children so that prejudice is not promoted in the schools.

More research needs to be done on the impact of non-verbal communication on socialization. Specifically, how socialization perpetuates stratification

by gender and race. One of Oprah Winfrey's talk shows addressed the issue of how prejudice might be created in a room full of strangers just by putting blue collars on some and white collars on others. By creating special privileges for the blue collars, they were able to create agitation in the white collar group. During the experiment, both groups began feeling opposition to each other.

Children should be given training in non-verbal communication in grade school while their self image and social skills are being developed. This suggestion came from an ex-policeman who now teaches interrogation at the police academy. Much of what he teaches has to do with identifying non-verbal clues to a suspect's state of mind and guilt or innocence. He further suggested that because the DARE program conducted by police works with kids on their self image and learning to say no, the schools could offer as a supplement to this, training in non-verbal skills. I agreed with his idea because learning that you don't have to fit a certain stereotype to be o.k. and how to counter attempts by others to dominate you could be very helpful with self-image and surviving in society.

A young black man, I interviewed, agreed with me that more books need to *be available on non-verbal communication specific to blacks* to encourage more understanding of this. Though linguistic books cover black english, only a couple of books on non-verbal communication made reference to specific black behaviors. This interviewee was interested in knowing how to counter dominant and intimidating non-verbal behavior from non-blacks. He explained that when he tried to use this behavior with whites, he perceived irritation from them. He also

offered the suggestion that black mothers still teach their black sons behaviors carried over from slave days. For example, not making direct eye contact with others and not looking at white girls. He suggested that having common goals may be part of the answer to greater equality despite racial or gender differences.

In conclusion, this project has addressed its target and research questions. The target was to look at the role non-verbal communication plays in the maintenance of social stratification based on gender and race in America. Specific behaviors have been identified that perpetuate this stratification. It has been determined that non-verbal communication plays a very large part in maintaining stratification because it is part of our huge depository of unconscious programming learned in our socialization process. American socialization includes expected and acceptable behavior including those affecting status and guidelines to our affiliations. This elaborate unconscious system keeps masses of society accepting stratification as normal, perhaps even necessary.

The question of why stratification exists was explored in the research about societies using various types of subsistence along with a look at various theories. Basically, if a person or group benefits from stratification, they will instigate or promote it by whatever means works. The specific non-verbal behaviors that promote inequality are addressed in Chapter Three.

Suggestions for ways to change non-verbal behaviors so that access to rewards, prestige and power are more equitable were outlined in this final chapter.

I hope that those reading this project find clues in the text for how to alter

their behavior in order to promote more equality for women and blacks. I present this culminating project as my contribution towards a more equitable society.

CHARTS

CHART A	26
Comparison of amount of inequality in societies with different types of subsistence (Lenski 437)	
CHART B	31
Comparison of various characteristics affecting stratification in societies with different types of subsistence (Lenski 109-432)	
CHART C	35
Sexual Division of Labor (Ember 138)	
CHART D	53
Desmond Morris' Gestures with Meanings (Morris 5-199)	

WORKS CITED

- Archer, Dane. How to Expand Your Social Intelligence Quotient. New York: Evans, 1979.
- Cessna, Cornelia, B., Jacquelyn Quiram and Nancy R. Jacobs, editors. Information Plus. Wylie, Texas: 1995.
- Decker, Bert and James Denney. You've Got to Be Believed to Be Heard. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Duncan, Otis D. and David L. Featherman. Socioeconomic Background and Achievement. New York : Seminar Press, 1972.
- Elsea, Janet G. First Impression/Best Impression. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.
- Ember, Carol R. and Melvin Ember, Cultural Anthropology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1985.
- Gschwandtner, G. Non-verbal Selling Power. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1985.
- Henley, Nancy M. Body Politics. New Jersey: Simon Prentice, 1977.
- Lenski, Gerhard. Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966.
- Lewis, David. The Secret Language of Success. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1989.
- Marsh, Peter, Dr., Editor. Eye to Eye: How People Interact. Topsfield, Massachusetts: Salem House Publishers, 1988.
- McGough, Elizabeth. Your Silent Language. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1974.
- Morris, Desmond. Bodytalk: The Meaning of Human Gestures. New York: Crown Publishers, 1994.
- Morris, Desmond. Manwatching: A Field Guide to Human Behavior. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977.

Pease, Allan. Signals: How to Use Body Language for Power, Success, and Love. New York: Bantam, 1984.

Pizer, Vernon. You Don't Say. New York: GP Putnam's Sons: 1978.

Schlegel, Alice. Sexual Stratification - A Cross Cultural View. Columbia, 1977.

Schefflen, Albert E. and Alice Schefflen. Body Language and Social Order: Communication as Behavioral Control. New Jersey: Prentice- Hall, Inc., 1972.

Shipman, Pat. The Evolution of Racism: Human Differences and the Use and Abuse of Science. New York: Simon & Schuster. 1994.

Sniderman, Paul M. and Thomas Piazza. The Scar of Race. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Howard University. 1993.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Axtell, R.E. Gestures: Do's and Taboos of Body Language Around the World. New York: Wiley, 1991.
- Aylesworth, T.G. Understanding Body Talk. New York:Watts, 1979.
- Beier, Ernst G., Dr. and Evans G. Valens. People Reading. Stein & Day, 1973.
- Birdwhistell Ray L. Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.
- Blauner, Bob. Black Lives: White Lives -Three Decades of Race Relations in America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Bonvillian, Gary and William A. Nowlin. "Cultural Awareness: An Essential Element of Doing Business". Business Horizons, Nov-Dec, 1994: V36N6, 44-51.
- Brooks, Michael. Instant Rapport. New York: Warner Books, 1989.
- Charlton, Linda L. and James Charlton. The Handbook: Interpreting Handshakes, Gestures, Power Signals and Sexual Signs. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- Delgado, R. and Laura Lederer, Editors. The Price We Pay. New York: Hill & Wang, 1995.
- Elgin, Suzette Haden, Ph.D. Genderspeak. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.
- Fast, Julius. The Body Language of Sex, Power and Aggression. Evans, 1977.
- Fast, Julius. Body Language. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. and Anthony P. Griffin, Donald E. Lively, Robert C. Post, William B. Rubenstein and Nadine Strossen. Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex: Hate Speech, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. New York: N.Y. University Press, 1994.
- Hinde, Robert A. Non-Verbal Communication. Cambridge, 1972.
- McClelland, David C. Power: The Inner Experience. Halstead, 1975.

Molcho, Samy. Body Speech. New York: St. Martins, 1985.

Nierenberg, Gerald I. and Henry H. Clero. How to Read a Person Like a Book.
New York: Pocket, 1971.

Tannen, Deborah, Ph.D. You Just Don't Understand. New York: Ballantine
Books, 1990.