

ANTH 404: TRANSVESTITE VS. GAY IDENTITY IN SAMOA

Slide #1

Slide Title: ANTH 404. The Self In Culture: Transvestism vs. Gay Identities

Slide Content:

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Hello. Today we are going to talk about transvestite vs. Gay identities. And we are going to talk about it through my experiences in Samoa. You will be reading ethnography on Samoa this week. And you will also be seeing a film about Samoan transvestism.

Slide #2

Slide Title: Transvestism vs. Gay Identities

Slide Content:

Samoa

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right. Here is my story. I am teaching in Samoa at a small college. At first, things don't seem all that different. The President of the college is Samoan. And so is the office staff.

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Margaret Mead in traditional women's garment, the *putalase*

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: People wear sandals and women wear *putalases*. A dress over a sarong that is considered traditional. But so what, things don't seem that different. It is true that the President's secretary is extremely tall and statuesque and she looks good with her *putalase* baring one or both of her shoulders. And she usually does. The student body President.....

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Slide Title:

Slide Content: [picture]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Well admittedly she is one of the strangest women I have ever seen. And she seems to do a sexy Tahitian dance on stage whenever she gets a chance.

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Slide Title: Tranvestism vs. Gay Identities

Slide Content:

?

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Several months later I realize that these women are not exactly women. And furthermore, they were all over the place in my classes. The bars were full of them.

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Slide Title: Transvestism vs. Gay Identities

Slide Content: [picture]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: There are stories of sailors in Tahiti who meet a beautiful and incredibly willing local girl. Only to discover later that she is not what she appears.

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Slide Title: Missionary Journals

Slide Content:

[Portrait]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right, so I am learning about this new dimension (new to me, at any rate) of Samoan society. But during this period, I am also trying to understand Samoa in a more general sense. And to do this, I am reading the journals of missionaries who were some of the people who lived in Samoa after colonialism really began. After contact with the West really began. And I realize that in missionary journals there is virtually no talk about transvestites. There actually is a

term in one dictionary, but no discussion of transvestism at all. So at first I think, well, maybe they were just too embarrassed to talk about it, but then I noticed that they did talk about a lot of sexual things of which they disapproved. Quite graphically, in fact. They wrote reports for church members back home from whom they wanted contributions. And reports of heathen sexual practices were quite popular and generated good contributions to the church. So it wasn't as if the missionaries were too prudish to write about this sort of thing. Further, I started reading reports of 18th and 19th century Eastern Polynesia.

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[Map]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Okay, a little bit of geography here. Samoa and Tonga are in the west of Polynesia. The west side of Polynesia. Hawaii you could think of as in the north central area of Polynesia. Eastern Polynesia, well Tahiti, for instance, is in eastern Polynesia. So are the Marquesas. People did describe transvestism in eastern Polynesia and central Polynesia too actually. So in both Tahiti and Hawaii, Mahus who are transvestites were very important. They were art people. And in early records of these places you find a lot of talk about these kinds of people. So I conclude maybe there wasn't a lot of transvestism in 19th century Samoa. Maybe there was a change and if there was a change towards more transvestism, I wonder what caused it.

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[Photograph]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Okay, let's switch to a slightly different subject here, but one that ultimately helped me to answer my question. I noticed another intriguing cultural difference between the U.S. and Samoa. The U.S., at least at the time when I grew up back in the middle of the 20th century, girls did not make dirty jokes among themselves, but boys did. In Samoa, it was soon obvious to me that the real dirty jokers were the old women. I quote an example here; women of another village committee have a dance which is also performed by the older ladies in which the whole group of them with the precision of Radio City Rockets performs a stylized

dance parodying sexual intercourse. Even those women who had seen it performed, time and time again, laugh until they cry. One of its most humorous aspects is the totally unsmiling, earnest expression of the performers. However, old women did not just joke on stage, they did it among themselves all the time. Young men, I noticed, even avoided groups of older women because they were afraid of becoming objects of these women's jokes themselves.

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Slide Title: Genderlects

Slide Content:

U.S.

- Males: playful (or not) one-upmanship
- Females: troubles talk (one-downmanship)

Samoa

- ceremonial speech (one-downmanship)
- joking speech (one-upmanship)
 - *faipona* (lampooning, caricature: "ears like sails")
 - *ula* ("teasing," usually sexual or scatological in character)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All of this contrasted sharply with what an American linguist called Deborah Tannen had described as a universal feature of what she called male and female genderlects. By genderlects, she meant gendered modes of talking. She writes that men genderlects were competitive although sometimes playful and sometimes not. Men's genderlect was a kind of one-upmanship. In contrast, Tannen thought that women's genderlect was trouble sharing, talking about problems as girls and women do often in the U.S. in which they actually practice a kind of one-downmanship by suggesting that their problems are even worse than those of their friend. I realize that while Tannen thought she was describing a universal human truth like so many other U.S. theorists, she was describing U.S. genderlects and not what went on in Samoa.

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Slide Title: Pre-Christian Genderlects and Samoan Social Organization

Slide Content:

Men

Ceremonial speech: one downsmanship

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Okay, what did go on? Here I kept reading 19th century reports and discovered that genderlects in Samoa were not confined to one gender, but each gender specialized in one genderlect. It was, however, in a certain sense the reverse of what went on in the United States. Male's special kind of talk was ceremonial speech, giving speeches in ceremonies and in these speeches males played a kind of one downsmanship game. The representative of one group would praise the other group to the skies and say how undeserving of the great privilege of meeting with them, his own group was. And then the other group would do the same thing.

Slide #12

Slide Title: Pre-Christian Genderlects and Samoan Social Organization

Slide Content:

Women: alliances and entertainments

Poula nights = joking nights

Faipona = lampooning, caricature

Ula = "teasing," usually sexual or scatological in character

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Ceremonies were very important in Samoa. For one thing they were the way Samoans would greet a traveling group. But of equal importance were parties that Samoans staged often to greet a traveling group too. Parties that were called *Poula*. *Poula* meant joking nights. And women specialized in the joking. There were two important kinds of joking in Samoa. One was called *faipona* and that meant to point out what was not smooth. And it referred to lampooning some funny feature that stuck out about another person. So kids would often lampoon, *faipona* one another by giving another kid a nickname like "ears like sails" or "splash bows." The other important form of joking was called *ula*. And *ula* meant teasing usually of a sexual or scatological variety. This kind of joking was

made much easier by the fact that the word *mahai* meant thing but also both men's and women's genitals. And to make the thing meant to have sex. So, for instance, let me give you an example of this kind of joking. At the college where I worked in Samoa there was a special reproduction area and there was a reproduction man who handled making all the copies. And I went in there once and asked him if he had anything for me meaning the various papers I had given him to copy. And he said, "I don't have anything for you, but your husband has something for you" (laugh). So you can see how it would contribute to sexual joking to have *thing* mean those kinds of things. *Ula* this kind of teasing, joking that tended to be sexual or scatological could also be choreographic. That is it could be a kind of bodily joke and this is the kind of joking that went on at *Poula* at joking nights.

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Slide Title: Gender and Samoan Social Organization

Slide Content:

Ceremonial speech = giving respect; no references to the body

Joking speech = poking fun, physical references, especially on "Joking Nights"

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So ceremonial speech was aimed at giving respect to another and avoided reference to the body. So this kind of speech had a special vocabulary, so you didn't have to use bodily terms. You never said blood for instance. There was a synonym, an indirect way of referring to things bodily. Joking in a sense was the opposite of giving respect. It often involved exposing the body in an absurd, ungainly and amusing ways often in a state of undress. Here I give you another example from a 19th century source: A respectful man who had been residing among them, meaning Samoans, for some time informed me that when he went on shore among the females in great number gathered around him. And some took off their masks before him exposing their person as much as possible to his view. Perceiving him to be bashful, the whole of the women old and young did the same and began dancing in that state. So they were teasing him, This was *ula*. It was a joke and it wasn't confined to the old women, the young women did it too. And this was also true at joking nights. Joking nights were staged by the women's association. They were the *ula* specialists. And they usually broke the ice by doing some salacious and absurd dancing. So I asked myself, why the change? And again, what might it have to do with increasing number of transvestites in Samoa.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Old Samoa: Ritualized events

- Birth of a child (rather than marriage)
- Defloration of a high status girl when presented to a titled partner

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: In old Samoa, there was no word for marriage. When the missionaries came to Samoa, they imported a word for marriage from a neighboring island group, Rarotongan. We think of marriage as a universal category, but actually marriage ritualizes the sexual union of a man and a woman. Different cultures choose to ritualize different events. In Samoa they did not ritualize sexual union; they ritualized the birth of a child. They also in the case of high status people ritualized the defloration of a virgin of a high status girl when she was presented to a titled partner. In other words, there was a big ceremony in the middle of the village in which the girl was publicly deflowered. This was an important ceremonial event, but marriage itself was not. In fact, Samoans tended to practice either polygamy or serial monogamy.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Old Samoa: Why was the birth of a child ritualized? Status.

- Boys: titles and wars to defend or procure and speak in ceremonies
- Hypergamy: marrying up
- Samoan “begetting up”
- Girls: children with high genealogies that entitle the family or village to titles (associated with land rights)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So, why did Samoans ceremonialize the birth of a child? Why was the child the thing? Boys and girls contributed to the status of their families in different ways in pre-Christian Samoa. Boys could participate in wars to defend or increase the status of their families. And boys learned ceremonial

talk and speaking in ceremonies was also an important way to potentially increase the status of one's family. When each group gave respect to the other group they also acknowledged the other group's lineage claims. And in this way validated the status of that family. Girls could forward family status in another way. By something in anthropology that we call hypergamy. Hypergamy means marrying up. This word is not precisely applicable to Samoan girls, however, because rather than marrying up what they did was "beget up." A baby was supposed to be a genealogical step forward. It was suppose to promote the status of your family.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Old Samoa: Girls' Strategy

1. High status girls produce *tama'aiga*

- children who combine several elevated bloodlines in their genealogy
- candidate for high titles

2. Common status girls = elopement (*avaga*)

serial elopements

to an extent, marriage = intercourse

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: There were two different ways that girls could "beget up." On one hand, a high born girl, a girl who was wed to a high title would produce something called a *tama'aiga*; a child who combined several combined several elevated bloodlines in his or her genealogy. And was there for a candidate for high titles. The other ways girls could forward the status of their family was by eloping with a high status male. At *Poula* traveling parties would come to a village and among them might be the sons of chiefs and should a girl get pregnant by the son of a chief her baby would have a very elevated genealogy at least on one side. After the child was born, she could go to the father's family and ask for land. If the boy was charming and serviceable he might ultimately gain a minor title in his father's family and by the next generation, his child would have a good genealogy on both sides.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Missionaries' message

Discredits marriages outside of the church

- no more profit to family through Samoan church or wedding
- monogamy disrupts high-status marriage system
- marriage in church = “high-status” available to all

Elopement labeled “marriage of darkness”

- child of such a marriage “child of darkness”
- new category called “illegitimacy” (formerly no such category)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Missionaries forbade declaration ceremonies and tried to substitute marrying in church for everybody. They told people that elopements, the old out of church unions were not legitimate. And gradually these kinds of unions became discredited. They came to be called “marriages of the night.” And the children that came from them “children of the night.” Marriage in church became kind of a high status kind of union available to everybody.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Old Samoa: Ritualized events

Toupou: ceremonial princess

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: There was a great change in Samoan ways of thinking about sexuality. So when the missionaries first came to Samoa, every village had a ceremonial virgin or a ceremonial princess called a *Toupou* who was carefully chaperoned and whose virginity was preserved for union with a highly titled chief. When the missionaries first came they asked Samoans the word for virgin and Samoans said, “*Toupou*” indicating that this young woman was a virgin. But obviously the concept did not extend broadly to all. A hundred years later, a

new dictionary in Samoa was published and it translated the word virgin as girl. In other words by then according to the dictionary all girls were supposed to be virginal.

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Slide Title: Change and the Missionaries

Slide Content:

Effects

Culture splits

- Old Samoan vs. Christian
- Bush vs. Villages centers

Missionaries try to ban dancing

- dancing becomes *siva* (*non-sexualized*).

Joking nights became “spirit house” nights

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Joking nights began to move out into the bush. And the culture split between a central village culture that was Christian and an older Samoan culture that was relegated to the forest. Missionaries tried to ban joking nights which they thought was all about dirty dancing. Samoans refused to ban dancing, but they changed dancing to what became known as *siva* which was a more formal and stylized non-sexual kind of dancing. But *Poula* seemed to live on for quite awhile, but more secretly out in the bush. Then came WWII.

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Slide Title: Change and WWII

Slide Content:

Many illegitimate children resulted from western military presence

Resentment ensued

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: In WWII many Samoan girls became involved with American boys. The war did not come to Samoa, but Samoa was a major depot for the war that was farther west in the Pacific. There were a lot of American bases in Samoa and there were so many American military men in the

main island in American Samoa that there were more of them than every Samoan including man, women and children. There were also an overwhelming number of American military men in western Samoa and the result of this was a lot of illegitimate children. Why? Well, the Marines seemed to be high status like Chiefs. They had nice uniforms. They had money to distribute. They were wealthy. And there was an old Samoan way of controlling the sexuality of kids that certainly didn't work with American servicemen. Samoans calculate genealogy backwards along both maternal and paternal line.

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Slide Title: Change and WWII

Slide Content:

Effects

Joking nights continue

- minus “dirty” dancing
- men and women no longer appear on stage together
 - men play both male and female parts
- acting like a transvestite becomes the default joke

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The result was that after WWII there was a splintering of the performing arts in Samoa. I told you that joking nights lived on in the bush in Samoa as secret events, but there was a way that joking nights lived on in the village center as well. Before missionization when Samoans used to have these parties, they took place at a special house that for that night of the party was called a spirit house. Because Samoans thought of wild parties as similar to being carried away or possessed by spirits. After missionaries banned joking nights, *Poula*, Samoans started a new kind of comedy theatre that they called spirit house. In other words, it had the same name as the place that *Poula* took place. But in this comedy theatre there was only joking and skits. There was no dancing. So, it was like they said to the missionaries, “well, fine, we won't have *Poula* any more.” Which to missionaries meant dirty dancing, “we will just have the joking,” which what these evenings were really about for Samoans any way. But after WWII, the girls went off stage. Women and men could not appear on stage together any more. Why not? Well, because in the past girls' sexuality was something that could

enhance the status of the family, but after WWII Samoans came to feel, no, girl sexuality really has to be controlled along Christian lines, because it is not going to enhance the status of the family. So spirit house became an all male comedy theatre. Boys, hence, had to play girls' parts. And in this sense, they started acting like transvestites. And, indeed, acting like a transvestite became the default joke of this kind of comedy theatre.

Slide #22

Slide Title: New Entertainment Adopted

Slide Content:

Carries on joking tradition ("girls" joke)

- loved *fa'af* figure
- perfect vehicle to joke about changes in gender issues

Longer term effects

- more social permission to be transvestite
- becomes central entertainment figure in all entertainment contexts
- arose out of the gender troubles these contexts created
- public support for a new role, the transvestite

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So in a sense the theatre carried on Samoan traditions. Girls, but now "girls" in quotation marks, transvestites were the ones who were the special jokers. Samoans loved the figure of *fa'afini* in this kind of comedy. It was a perfect vehicle to joke about the radical changes and understandings of gender that missionaries had brought about. And this, I believe, created more social permission for people to become transvestites. Transvestites became a central figure in all entertainments. Possibly because of the gender troubles these new entertainment contexts created. So for instance, I was at a bar one night with my Samoan husband and there was a band, an electric band, and then all of a sudden the lights went out. The island main generator had gone out as it often did in those days. And people set around in the dark for awhile and they lit a few lanterns and then everybody began singing, because the electric band couldn't sing any more. And they began singing the song which actually used to be sung at joking nights. The song is called "Pass the Fire." It is called "Pass the Fire" because at joking nights performers used to perform in front of a torch, so when it

was the other side's turn to perform they would pass the torch. So the song was called "Pass the Fire." Any way then they began singing another song, but they started changing its words in a way that was scatological, and a fight broke out. Why? Because a boy was sitting there next to his cousin. In a Samoan kinship system, all cousins, male and female, no matter how distant are considered brothers and sisters. And any mention of anything dirty in the presence of your brother or sister is almost like incest. It has incestuous implications and so that makes a Samoan boy really mad. Well, a boy had started singing a dirty version of this song that they made up at the bar next to another boy who was there with his female cousin. So this was very insulting and the result was the beginning of a fight. Now that as you can see makes public joking which Samoans like to do, a very difficult sort of thing. But a transvestite could joke, because a transvestite was nobody's sister. She was a girl, the kind of person that was suppose to joke, but she was kind of outside the traditional gender categories and so she averted many of the dangers that came with new culture contexts. All right, so I am suggesting that there was support for a new role, the transvestite, but there are other reasons why there might have been a rise in transvestism in Samoa and we are going to review them briefly here.

Slide #23

Slide Title: Tranvestism and Family

Slide Content:

Three family factors worldwide favor making gender differentials unstable

1. No role model: males not part of family life (*Levy*)
2. Role aversion adolescent: adolescent and adult males contribute more to subsistence or have kind of difficult, unattractive role (*Hoebel*)
3. Intense mom-son relation = identification (*Nanda*)

Which of these factors did or did not pertain in Samoa?

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: There are several factors worldwide that tend to make transvestism more likely by making gender differentials insecure. An anthropologist called Levy says that when no adult males are present in early family life there is an increased tendency for transvestism. Okay, let's see if this is true in Samoa. In Samoa, traditionally, kids care for other kids. And in Christian times, girls, adolescent girls that is, were most likely to be the boss in the family.

Why? Well, parents wanted to keep girls virginal which means they had to keep them in full view. They had to keep an eye on them. They had to practice some greater surveillance, so they tended to keep girls around the house. Samoans had an age grade system which means the older you are the more status and power you have, well then girls tended to be the oldest children around the house and so they would be kind of be the household chief. The household manager, because they were the oldest of the children.

A second factor that has been shown to increase transvestism, cross-culturally, is aversion to the male role. So anything that makes the male role unattractive increases the chances of transvestism. So for instance if the male role is to fight wars, sometimes in some cultures you see more transvestism. Or if men have to contribute more to subsistence working in the fields then you see an increased tendency towards transvestism. Well, so I told you that girls were more likely to be virginal in Christian Samoa and before Christianization, the person who was the very definition of virginity was the *Toupou*, the ceremonial virgin, or village princess. In suggesting to Samoans that all their daughters should be like *Toupou* that is virgins, Samoans were suggesting that their girls were special and girls' status went up. So girls had to be kept around the house. That means they couldn't work in the fields as much. That means they couldn't contribute as much to subsistence. What that meant is someone had to do it. Boys had to begin contributing more to subsistence. There were probably other factors that meant boys work in the fields was heavier too. Money began to become increasingly important. Elders wanted to buy things at bush stores. That meant they had to extract more resources out of their plantations. And soils began to erode, so farming became more difficult. It was mainly the boys who did this. The result was an increased burden and more work for them. So this is another reason why transvestism may have increased.

Another factor that an anthropologist called Serena Nanda mentions is an intense mother/son relationship. This was probably not a factor in Samoa.

All right, so these factors increase instability in a gender system. Missionization probably contributed to this as well in the sense that as we saw a little while ago missionaries in effect reversed many Samoan gender roles.

Slide #24

Slide Title: Transvestism and Self

Slide Content:

Egocentric

- Self inside, hence gender inside
- Biology is inside (the skin), hence gender is biological
- given by nature, unchanging (except by intervention = surgery)
- so sex/gender deviation understood as atypical sexuality
- prototype is homosexuality --- which does not necessarily contradict one's biological gender identity
- temperamental/biological gender

Sociocentric

- Self in social role
- social role is symbolic not biological
 - example: doctor role, made and not born
 - role signified by white coat, bedside manner
 - role-based symbolic differences

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Okay, so we have addressed why transvestism may have developed in Samoa. But why might Samoans be transvestites versus gay. Traditionally, in Samoa there is no word for homosexuality. You cannot call a person homosexual. There is a word for doing things with men, but it is a normal kind of word that refers to any sort of activity that men might do together. So again, why? This has to do with transvestism and the self. Different kinds of sex, gender differences are related to different kinds of self differences. And now I am referring back to our egocentric and sociocentric continuum. In egocentric cultures like the U.S., we conceive of the self as inside the person. Hence, we also conceive of gender as inside the person. Well, what else is inside of you, inside of your skin that is? Your biology. Hence, people tend to biologize gender. They see it as a biological variate given by nature and unchanging, except, of course, surgically which is a biological kind of intervention. Any sex/gender deviation is understood as atypical sexuality. The prototype of which is homosexuality which doesn't necessarily contradict one's biological gender. In other words, most gay people see themselves as of their biological gender. We see gender not only as biological, but also as temperamental. That is as

rooted temperament is also rooted inside the self. Right? So at least until recently we thought of women as having a more empathetic temperament and men as having a braver, bolder sort of temperament. In sociocentric societies on the other hand, the self as you remember is a social role. Social roles are symbolic versus biological. What do I mean? Well, if you were going to think of a symbol of a doctor's role, a doctor is a role in this society. Right? You might think of a white coat. Right? The coat is a symbol of a doctor's role. Roles can easily be symbolized and role-based differences are symbolic.

Slide #25

Slide Title: Symbolic behaviors

Slide Content:

The external, social, and symbolic is easy to imitate

“Acting like” a woman: symbolic behavior

Adopting social signs of womanhood

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So you can easily symbolize the behavior of a woman whether you are a man or a woman by acting like a woman. By hamming it up, or caricaturing a woman. And to some extent, this is what some transvestites do. Although sometimes they are very convincing. They don't ham it up at all. They are very convincing female imitators. But what transvestites do, is they adopt the social signs, or the social symbols of womanhood.

Slide #26

Slide Title: Gender as symbolic vs. biological fact

Slide Content:

The external, social, and symbolic is easy to imitate

Like Chinese concept of yin and yang

Individual may be symbolically masculine and feminine; everybody has both masculine and feminine sides, energies

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: In sociocentric societies then gender is a role and gender is symbolic vs. a biological fact. So what is important about gender in a sociocentric society is not so much the biological facts as the social symbols of gender. That's what is most important and that's kind of the defining element of

behavior. So if you think about, for instance the film on Samoa that you just saw, you will notice a female transvestite in the woman's bathroom. Now we probably wouldn't do this, because for us the defining element of gender is biology. We say, but that's not a woman and she shouldn't be in a woman's bathroom. But that is not so for Samoans. The more defining element of gender is the symbols, the behavior, the signing that you are a woman, and therefore female transvestites do go to the woman's bathroom. Let me give you some other examples of gender as symbolic. You all heard of yin and yang in Chinese medicine. Yin is symbolic of women, or the feminine. And yang is symbolic of the masculine, but in Chinese medicine everybody has yin and yang. And in fact good health is a balance between the yin energy and the yang energy in everyone's bodies. These concepts are symbolic; they are not necessarily attached to anyone's biology.

Slide #27

Slide Title: Migratory properties of symbols

Slide Content:

Men may symbolized as feminine

Samoa = talking chief/ high chief

Transvestite capitalizes on migratory properties of symbols

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Symbols as opposed to biologies have migratory properties. In other words, a symbol can mean one thing at one time and it can mean another thing at another. For instance, the word bad like "that's really bad!" Well, a century ago bad meant bad. But now it means something quite different. It can mean "cool" or "good." So symbols, their meanings migrate. They don't stay the same. And transvestism capitalizes on the migratory properties of symbols.

Slide #28

Slide Title:

Slide Content:

Where people treat gender as symbolic, as in sociocentric culture, deviation tends to be expressed as *atypical gender*: prototype male transvestism is tantamount to a third gender.

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: When people treat gender as symbolic, as they do in sociocentric cultures, deviation tends to be expressed, not as atypical

sexuality, but as a typical gender. And the prototype for atypical gender is male transvestism.

Slide #29

Slide Title: Colonialism and Cultural Psychology

Slide Content:

- Historical Trauma
- Reaction: synthesizing colonial and indigenous cultures
 - Samoan dreams
 - Haitian religious practices
 - Dreams

Photos: [Missionary stone church (c. 1908) (bottom photo) built according to traditional village architecture (top)]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So one thing we have seen in this lesson is that colonialism, a foreign culture, coming into a smaller and indigenous culture had a large effect on gender roles changing what was expected of girls and boys. You can think of this as kind of historical trauma. Colonized cultures often react to this kind of trauma by synthesizing elements of colonial and indigenous cultures. Your next reading is on Samoan dreams. And in that you will see how this historical trauma felt to young Samoan men and women. And how it impacted their gender roles. You will also see what we call cultural hybridity that is combining pieces of indigenous culture and a colonizing culture in response to this historical trauma. As we go forward into the next lesson you will see another example of historical trauma and resulting cultural hybridity in Haitian religious practices. Until then.