

Suzana SIMONOVSKA
Stefan VASEV

UDK: 305-055.1:316.7
305-055.2:316.7
Original research paper

THE CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY: THE DIVERGENCE OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE CULTURE

Abstract:

Masculinity and femininity can both be freely defined through the spectrum of certain characteristics, points of view, features, expectations, and explanations linked to the behavioural traits of masculine and feminine individuals. Those are socially constructed dimensions that explain the male and female status, alongside the position of the sexes within societies. The aim of this study is to re-examine the extent to which culture and cultural context impact the shaping of male and female individuals, as well as the ways through which those influences take place. The relationships between the culturally established set of categories, such as those for gender identification in individuals, are referred to as "human taxonomy", or "cultural classification". Hence, the norms, regulations, stances, behaviours, conduct, and, ultimately, the expectations of individuals in a sociocultural environment greatly depend on the relations between man-nature-culture. In that context, this paper elaborates on different socio-anthropological theoretic concepts revolving around the creation of masculinity and femininity while emphasizing the historical and contemporary discourse of "gender conceptions" for masculinity and femininity.

Keywords: femininity; masculinity; nature; culture; hegemony.

Introduction

The terms “masculinity” and “femininity” are both socio cultural constructs, i.e. the conclusions derived that there is no objective “reality” outside of the culturally constructed “reality”, which is the outcome of the symbolic, linguistic, moral, structural, and other cultural processes involved in the construction and standardization of the genders, base the regulations of masculinity and femininity as a sociocultural phenomenon, and not as a biological determinant. Society constructs its points of view in ways that reflect the objective reality, and individuals within communities accept said views. Yet, it is fairly noticeable that, throughout the longstanding history of humankind, biological determinants, as being “projected natural”, have continuously persisted to refer to male and female roles within societies. Therefore, the cultural distinctions of femininity and masculinity, as well as their presumed differences, have shifted from the world of “objective” nature to the world of representations of the natural, i.e., the “culturally envisioned nature” (Papič, 1997). Human taxonomies regarding masculinity and femininity have been built significantly following the biological code of the individual, although there are distinctions between the global cultures, as there are also historical differences (Park, 2012). In essence, in the majority of societies today, the following dichotomies apply regarding the characteristics of masculinity and femininity:

Masculinity ↔ Femininity
Culture ↔ Nature
Public sphere ↔ Private sphere
Dominant (male) ↔ Submissive (female)
Active (male) ↔ Passive (female)
Aggression ↔ Serenity
Brutality ↔ Gentleness
Inside ↔ Outside
Strong (male) ↔ Weak female
Rational (male) ↔ Irrational (female)

The Outcomes of the Socio-Anthropological Conceptions: Hegemony of Masculinity and Segregation of Femininity

The traditional socio-anthropological conceptions about the nature of women reflect the manners through which certain roles, characteristics, and values are accredited to women solely based on the perceived differences, which are biologically determined. These theories follow the nature-culture dichotomy, linking women, due to their biological reproductive abilities (birthing, breastfeeding), are symbolically linked to nature, and men to culture. In the same context, similar characteristics such as being worrisome, emotional, and irrational, are considered “natural”, innate traits of women as opposed

to men whose characteristics include rationality, independence, intellect, and objectivity. As the outcome of these dichotomies, men, and women are assigned different and separate spheres of functioning, positioning women as closer to nature and men as creators and moulders of culture. Hence, being born as a man or a woman, according to Klapisch-Zuber is not solely a biological fact, but a biological fact accompanied by a string of social implications (Klapisch-Zuber, 2013).

One of the sociologists who finds biology as the basis upon which he elaborates on the role of men and women in society is Auguste Comte (1798-1857). He represents the standpoint that biology is what confirms the "*hierarchy of genders*". According to him, women are endowed with "emotions" and men with "intellect", therefore, women, through their maternal functions, represent the "emotional gender" and their place is within the family, i.e., the household. As a daughter, a mother, and a sister, a man perceives a woman as an "angel and a goddess" of mankind. Ultimately, Comte stands by the thesis of gender complementarity, in other words, women are not equal to men but are their companions (Guillin, 2005).

Similarly, the idea of gender complementarity is evident in the works of Talcott Parsons (1902-1979). According to him, the woman's role is biologically connected to two functions, the first being the socialization of the children, and the second being the stabilization of the adult members of the family. Parsons bases the fundamental explanation of the division of genders upon the biological reproductive ability of women, i.e., the birthing. This natural fact is what brings women and child care together, due to the strong, predetermined connective bond in the mother-child relationship. Hence, the role of a woman in the family is "*expressive*", which translates to being caring, and nurturing, while upbringing and supporting children, unlike a man, whose role is "*instrumental*" and entails conveying discipline and earning money. To Parsons, the expressive (female) and instrumental (male) roles are, indeed, complementary and enable the existence of mankind while also fruitfully conveying social cohesion within a family (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Georg Simmel (1859-1918) analysed gender asymmetry and hierarchy in the context of power, according to which the males are superior and the representatives of mankind. Simmel stated there are two genders but only one culture, the "*male*" one, in which the women can only participate but not have their own "*female*" culture. The asymmetry of power yields from the aspects through which Simmel defined "the male" and "the female". According to him, the role of a woman is entirely embedded in her femininity and her behaviour towards her own gender is "*centripetal*" and "*internal*", ultimately non-dependent on her relationship with a man, whereas the role of a man is "*centrifugal*", defining himself through external objectification, i.e. through his relationship with a woman. And while a woman is feminine within herself, a man is only masculine through his sexual relations with a woman. In a woman, individuality, and femininity are intertwined, whereas in a man — masculinity

and individuality are separated, hence, in an amorous context, a woman seeks an individual, and a man seeks femininity (a female, as a neutral category, who will fulfil his sexual needs). Therefore, Simmel's view of sexual intercourse is problematic, and prostitution is a means to resolve male issues by using certain types of women as expedients to confirm their own masculinity and individuality (Simmel, 1984).

As a reaction to the plethora of traditional, socio-anthropological standpoints on gender roles, identities, and male-female characteristics, which are, in fact, aimed to "scientifically" attest to and sustain the second-rate, submissive role of women, the birth of feminist theories becomes evident. The goal of such theories is to challenge and deconstruct the already established binary frameworks of the male and the female, indented into the nature-culture opposition, offering a more layered understanding of masculinity and femininity, and the distinctions between the gender experiences.

One of the female authors who attempted to prove that male dominance is not something that is predetermined is Ernestine Friedl (1920-2015). According to her, masculinity and femininity are not fixed or universal categories, but rather socially constructed and succumbing to cultural variations. Furthermore, the specific gender roles, values, and statuses adhered to by men and women, also vary from one society to another, hence, male-female relations are not innate or genetically predisposed, but rather an outcome of different social engagements. Friedl defines male dominance as a situation in which men have privileged access to the most appreciated values in society, enabling them to attain certain control over the rest, but the extent and degree of dominance differ from society to society. In fact, Friedl's aim is to prove that male dominance is not inevitable and does not have to be a permanent occurrence (Friedl, 1975).

Raewyn Connell (1944) uses the concept of "*hegemony*" with the goal to identify the cultural elevation of manhood. Hegemonic masculinity is being defined as a configuration of the gender practice which embodies the momentarily accepted answer to the problem regarding the legitimacy of the patriarch, which justifies (or is considered to justify) the dominant position of men and the submission of women in culture. According to Connell, the manifestations of masculinity are not entirely rigid characteristics of specific acceptations by men but are behavioural models available through hegemonic symbols and representations of masculinity. Hence, hegemony is becoming established through distinct correspondence between the cultural ideal and institutional power, which is subsequently establishing a collective, but also individual, male power, and such correspondence attest to the perseverance of male hegemony (Connell, 2005).

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) developed the concept of *habitus*¹, perceiving gender creation as a "*gender habitus*". He emphasizes that masculine

¹ "*Habitus*" is a term that Pierre Bourdieu introduced with the intent to explain the socialization of a person. The term "*habitus*" is defined as a mental or cognitive structure through which people include themselves in societies. People possess a string of inter-

dominance is reflected in social practices and discourses as objective realities which appear entirely natural. In that context, masculinity is in possession of symbolic power, concerning the constellations of power that are the result of the naturalization of masculinity, as a supposedly entirely natural trait sublimed by men as their own habitus. In addition, men themselves become victims of their own dominance and feel the pressure of the traditional social ideas of dominance and power (Burdje, 2001).

A Brief Historical Approach toward the Objectification of Masculinity and Femininity

By approaching the objectification of masculinity and femininity through historical aspects, it becomes apparent how different concepts have been constructed, fortified, and eternalized during different historical periods and social discourses. It is of great importance to note that the understanding and expression of both masculinity and femininity differ in different cultures and historical contexts.

The ancient representation of femininity and masculinity is illustrated through a broad spectrum of artefacts (tombstones, floor plans, stone encryptions, papyrus scrolls, and vase drawings), literary works, and a large number of Hellenic and Roman philosophical works. The status and role of women during the ancient period were greatly determined according to their marital status - married/unmarried. The separation of the roles can also be detected in the drawings in which men are always depicted as warriors, whereas women are represented as men's supporters, and their main role was to support the men and prepare them for battle (represented in images holding men's spears, shields, and helmets). This is one of the ways that depicted women's "heroic" values and mythic paradigms regarding women in ancient times (Lisarag, 2011). Although Greek mythology is abundant in female characters as goddesses (which contributes to the notion that women were respected and appreciated), women in ancient cities were constrained to domestic environments (*oikia*), transformed into house slaves, responsible for giving birth, raising children, and doing housework. Compared to Greece (or Rome), there's an apparent cultural diversity of the male-female roles in Egypt, with Herod's writings attesting to it: *"According to their habits and customs, it appears that the Egyptians have upturned the usual human practices, so, for example, women go to the farmer's market and engage in trade, while the men stay at home and weave"* (In: Lisarag, 2011:191).

In ancient Greece, the norms of sexual conduct were also different for men and women. Engaging in intercourse with the wife served as a means for reproduction (to birth children), so men did not fall constrained to limitations as to how and with whom they were to satisfy their sexual urges. As a sign of

nalized schemas through which they conceptualize, understand, evaluate, and assess societies. Through such schemas, people simultaneously create, conceptualize, and evaluate their practices (Burdje, 2001).

manhood, boys were allowed to engage in intercourse with house slaves whose task was to be at their disposal, and boys were also allowed to pay a visit to prostitutes. There's an interesting piece of information stating that in Rome, a man who had more than the obligatory three children with his wife, was considered "*henpecked*". Unlike men, women pertaining to higher classes were taught to resist sexual desires to become protected against multiple pregnancies (Rusel, 2011).

The Middle-age representation of women's nature, bearing many contradictions, and with the spread of collective misogyny, persisted in the years after (Tomase, 2013). During the Middle Ages, women have been placed under the guardianship of the man, to be humble, gentle, and obedient, characteristics that were considered genuine traits to be possessed by a woman. In addition, there's a set of moralistic principles aimed at women: to be moderate eaters, to control gesticulation, to sound mild, to renounce adorning and beautification, to limit body movements, and to minimize out-of-home contacts (Kazagrande, 2013). Women were brought up obedient, so they passed down the same principles to their daughters, to be good women and wives. Therefore, the hierarchy of the dominant masculine-patriarchy culture was maintained by the women themselves, not resisting such a regime.

According to information gathered from the available literature of the Middle Ages, women were typically a legitimate target of male sexual submission. A female's body was not considered mature until around the girl became 12 years old, a particular age that was deemed appropriate for marital relations. During this period, if a father did not marry, i.e., "*give*" his daughter, he had to turn to a religious profession (Lermit-Lekler, 2013). Regarding the understanding of masculinity, it varies depending on the different classifications of the individuals within a society (being a serfdom peasant or a noble). Court men exhibited signs of respect and appreciation toward women, and the women possessed a certain level of influence on their male partners (Dibi, 2013). In fact, the masculinist culture in European societies during the Middle Ages reflects the dominance, the struggle for power, and the prejudice by men toward women (Opic, 2013). Usually, the Middle Ages is a period of worship of the biblical myth of the Creation, the belief that women were created inferior to men. God created the male body first, which is part of what made men superior to women, who were created later, from parts of the male body. That is why women are God's gift to men, or a divine instrument for reproduction (Kazagrande, 2013; Smale, 2011).

The Renaissance period is a period bearing the birth of new ideals of female beauty, appearance, and demeanour. The middle-aged ideal of women as gracious aristocrats with cinched waistlines and humble breasts is replaced with curvaceous female beauty, bearing wide hips and a full bosom, an ideal that persisted until the late 18th century. The "*healthy*" curves and purity, as beauty norms, were only attainable for the wealthy, while being slim was considered ugly, unhealthy, and a sign of poverty. Within the discussions about family

relationships, as in the books about fine demeanour, it was insisted upon the frailty of women and the obligation of men to protect women from their “innate weaknesses”, by controlling them with a “gentle, yet firm hand” (Metjuz -Griko, 2015). For instance, Baldassare Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier* emphasized “I believe that a woman should, in no way, reminisce a man in her behaviour, manners, words, gesticulations, and posture; Therefore, as it is fairly becoming for a man to stress his rugged and tough masculinity, it is also becoming for a woman to possess a certain soft and sophisticated gentleness, with a hint of feminine gracefulness in every move” (In: Metjuz -Griko, 2015:62).

During the early contemporary period, the age limit for marriage was shifted upward (on average, between the ages of 25 and 28), but men and women were considered sexually mature much sooner than what was considered the legal age for becoming married. Despite the normative suggestions of theologians, doctors, and institutions to refrain from premarital intercourse, young people were sexually active and experimenting with their erotic pleasures, but it is considered that such experiences pertained to men and women from the lower layers of society (Metjuz -Griko, 2015).

What the male ideas consisted of, regarding what the female nature is, had a lot to do with the creation of the normative principle of womanhood in the 18th century. Female roles were still predetermined and were linked to the biological and physical characteristics of women: the frailty of the bones, the width of the pelvis, the suppleness of the muscle tissue, the smaller size of the brain, and the overpopulation of nerves. Those were also the tell-tale signs that motherhood was a natural vocation for women, therefore women were “destined” to spend their lives in a domestic/private sphere. This natural determination defined the ideal of women — “a happy and healthy” wife is, by definition, “a mother, a keeper of the virtues and eternal values” (Berio -Salvadore, 2015: 409).

Contemporary Viewpoints: Is Masculine Hegemony Becoming Abandoned?

Is the hegemony of masculinity becoming abandoned and are men in contemporary societies accepting new ideals of masculinity, or are contemporary societies contributing to the “feminine masculinity” oxymoron that’s evident in men within modern societies? The massive changes between the genders are the prelude to novel representations of masculinity and femininity in the majority of Western cultures. Those changes also entail changes in the redistribution of power, so a question arises, are men to be involved in the surpassing of the male hegemony, since traditional forms of masculinity can be repressing to men, not only to women?

It is noticeable that from the second half of the 20th century to date, there is a significant change in the understanding of manhood/masculinity (Dzordan & Vedon, 1999). Therefore, the traditional stereotype of boys being “the leaders” or “knowing” how to court, show interest in girls, and “know” how to lead in the act of sex, is partially overcome (Davcev, 2016). Taking initiative

and switching partners is also a trait of girls, but that does not mean that the double standards about male/female relations are overcome. Still, when boys change partners, it's acceptable, "valued", and a testament to their masculinity (they are "rock stars"), whereas girls that do the same are still subject to public condemnation (they are "easy"). Hence, one of the dimensions of masculinity is showing their sexual power, "the skill", accompanied by attributes of powerful sexual interest toward girls, which is proven by the "conquests" (the number of partners), who are allowing them to be dominant and "sexually awakened men" (Davcev, 2016). Such an overwhelming burden, which is the outcome of the culture of dominant, traditional, patriarchal masculinity, places boys/men in an ungrateful position, and if they fail to "fit in" in the existing model, they are considered "weaklings" who are lacking masculinity. On the other hand, the social construction of masculinity in contemporary societies is irrationally and stereotypically imposing homophobia, hence, certain cultures are strengthening their traditional outlooks on masculinity and the crude socialization of gender roles (Easthope, 1990). The smear on the so-called "homosexual behaviour", characterizing men as "queens", and "fags" is only pressuring boys/men to act more manly.

In addition, there are ongoing ritualistic rites that are still practiced in some cultures, serving as "tests" of manhood, symbolizing the rite of passage for boys becoming adult men. Therefore, in Pentecost (an island in the Penama province in the island state Vanuatu), there's a high-risk ritual for young boys, the so-called "land of men and boys", serving as a "test" for the faith in God. This particular rite is also a "test" of manhood, involving a bungee jump from over 10 meters, and boys jumping completely naked. This (life-threatening) ancient rite is a symbol of the preparedness of the male members to protect their community, proving their strength and fearlessness, while also being a sign of male maturity ("fertility") (Tabani, 2010).

Another significant aspect of the norming of the masculine image is serving in the army. Besides the fact that many countries have abolished the requirement for young boys (aged 19-23 on average), this practice serves to sustain the masculine hierarchy. Through the rigid discipline of perseverance and masculine alliance (brotherhood, combat, etc.) boys build their "manhood", and are preparing themselves to "defend their homeland", and after serving in the army, they are "prepared to become married". In 1968, the widespread student and youth protests were, among other reasons, aimed at demilitarizing the notion of masculinity and abolishing the obligatory army service for men (Smale, 2011: 268-273).

In Islam, male circumcision (*sünnet*) is a widely accepted ritual, as one of the symbols of masculinity and faith (Alahmad & Dekkers, 2012)². On the

²Male circumcision is a traditional ritual in Jewish people, and in some instances, it is performed on the 8th day of the birth of a male baby, but in general, the ritual is performed during the ages of 12 to 15, before the boy has engaged in sexual relationships.

other hand, there is still a tradition of female circumcision, a ritual that is by far more dangerous than male circumcision, genitally maiming girls. Female circumcision is a traditional practice in some areas of Africa (it is believed to have existed even before Islam) and it is part of different religions and cultures. This traditional ritual aims to minimize or entirely suppress female sexual urges (Karaman, 2021).

It is without a doubt that the gender identity of individuals is constructed upon social expectations and personal preferences, therefore, both feminine and masculine images are created under the influence of different factors, including cultural norms, family values, peer interactions, media content, and other factors. The primary influence comes from the models of identification. In a traditional patriarchal family, where the male-female roles are predetermined, girls typically identify with the role of the “mother”, the housewife. They are raised differently, and there are also different expectations for boys and girls, even toys have to correspond to the gender of the child (kitchen utensils, Barbies, babies, etc. are for the girls, and cars, guns, and toy soldiers are for the boys). The boys are raised to be strong, and tough, not to “shed tears” and so on, whereas girls are not supposed to be “tomboys”, but to be gentle, kind, and feminine.

Mass media are another important factor in the transference of the models of identification. As parts of the content shown in the media, cartoons hugely depict images of masculinity and femininity: girls = pink; boys = blue. Through the fictional cartoon characters, such as Frozen (the Snow Queen), Princess Jasmine (Aladdin), Betty Boop, Snow White, Cinderella, etc., there comes a representation of female characteristics, while Zuko (Avatar: The Last Airbender), Popeye, Johnny Bravo, Superman, Batman, and so on, convey characteristics of a manly image (Buszek, 2006).

The movie industry plays a significant role in shaping and sustaining, but also changing the traditional notion of masculinity and femininity. Movies often reflect and strengthen social norms, expectations, and stereotypes about gender roles and identities. Movies like Iron Man, Apollo 13, Captain America, Die Hard, Rocky, The Godfather, Fast & Furious, Fifty Shades of Grey, and others, becoming globally popular, are classic examples of the proclamation of the traditional image of masculinity (strong, dominant, and rational men), while movies and TV shows like Grease, Dirty Dancing, The Princess Diaries, Desperate Housewives, Material Girls, Legally Blonde, etc, proclaim the traditional female image (gentle, obedient, and focused on their physical appearance). Such a portrayal of male/female characters contributes to the objectification of masculinity and femininity, strengthening stereotypical beliefs, and limiting the scope of acceptable terms for gender identification (Buszek, 2006).

On the other hand, the efforts to overstep the traditional representations of masculinity and femininity become more apparent, through the promotion of

In many countries, male circumcision is legally sanctioned (in Germany, for example), while voluntary circumcision is evident in a lot of countries, mainly due to hygiene reasons (Glick, 2001).

positive and inclusive representations. To that extent, the emergence of movies conveying alternative forms of masculinity and femininity is also becoming noticeable, growing distant from the traditional stereotypical representations of gender roles (Atomic Blonde, Mr. & Mrs. Smith, Ocean's 8, Iron Jawed Angels, On the Basis of Sex, Suffragette, Miss Congeniality, etc.).

The promotion of new representations of masculinity and femininity is also becoming perceptible in the music industry, as well, which can contribute to the creation of a more inclusive and diverse cultural landscape. Songs like Fifth Harmony's - That's My Girl; David Bowie's - Rebel, Rebel; Ashe's - Angry Woman; Shania Twain's - Man! I feel Like a Woman; Beyonce's - Run the World; Jennifer Lopez's - Ain't Your Mama, etc. stand as examples of the efforts toward the proclamation of gender equality through music.

Conclusion

Masculinity and femininity are complex cultural constructs that shape our understanding of gender roles and identities. These constructs are not fixed, unchangeable, or biologically determined, but are rather socially constructed and vary in different cultures, historical periods, and social contexts. Yet, despite the variations, masculinity, in a subsequent historical manner, is linked to certain qualities such as power, dominance, strength, etc., while femininity is connected to characteristics like emotionality, gentleness, sensitivity, etc. Norming masculinity and femininity as biological predeterminations of genders, based on which men and women are given different roles and positions in societies, is practically in favour of sustaining gender inequality and male hegemony. Family, education, media, and religion play a key role in sustaining and/or changing the instituted stereotypical norms and expectations. Hence, the feminist perspectives emphasize that masculinity and femininity are deduced and are taught through the processes of socialization, concerning the individuals that internalize the social norms and expectations regarding gender and adjust their behaviour and identities accordingly. The deconstruction and redefining of traditional representations of femininity and masculinity aim to re-evaluate and dissolve the connection to the nature-culture dichotomy and is moving in a direction to surpass the prejudice of "eternal", "natural" roles and traits of men and women, which are a valid obstacle on the path to gender equality and surpassing male hegemony. On the other hand, dissolving the traditional representations of femininity and masculinity liberates individuals to express themselves authentically, without firm, gender identifications.

REFERENCES:

1. Alahmad, G., Dekkers, W. (2012). „Bodily integrity and male circumcision: An Islamic perspective “. URL: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3516177/> [15.5.2023].
2. Берио -Салвадоре, Е. (2015). „Дискурсот на медицината и науката“, во Дејвис, З. Н, Фарж, А. (ур.). *Историја на жените на западот: парадоксите на ренесансата и просветителството*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет, (стр. 368-410).
3. Burdje, P. (2001). *Vladavina muškaraca*. Podgorica: CID.
4. Buszek, E.M. (2006). *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
5. Connell, W., R. (2005). *Masculinities*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
6. Давчев, В. (2016). „Мажественоста и сексуалноста: предизвици за сексуалното образование на момчињата“, во Костовски, Д. (ур.). „Прилози од консултациите за образование за сексуално и репродуктивно здравје“. Скопје: Асоцијација за здравствена едукација и истражување ХЕРА, (стр. 55-60).
7. Диби, Ж. (2013). „Дворскиот модел“, во Зубер -Клапиш, К. (ур.). *Историја на жените: молкот на средниот век*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет, (стр. 262-279).
8. Easthope, A. (1990). *What a Man's Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture*. Milton Park: Routledge.
9. Friedl, E. (1975). *Women and Men: an anthropologist's view*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.
10. Џордан, Г., Ведон, К. (1999). *Културна политика: класа, род, раса и постмодерен свет*. Скопје: Темплум.
11. Glick, B.L. (2001). „Jewish Circumcision“, во Denniston, C.G. and others (ed.). *Understanding Circumcision: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach to a Multi-Dimensional Problem*. New York: Springer Publishing, (p. 19-54).
12. Guillin, V. (2005). *Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill on Sexual Equality: Historical, Methodological and Philosophical Issues*. London School of Economics and Political Science.
13. Karaman, M., I. (2021). „Female circumcision debate: A muslim surgeon's perspective“. URL: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8260090/> [15.5.2023].
14. Казагранде, К. (2013). „Заштитената жена“, во Зубер -Клапиш, К. (ур.). „Историја на жените: молкот на средниот век“. Скопје: Филозофски факултет, (стр. 73-108).

15. Лисараг, Ф. (2011). „Фигури на жени“, во Пантел, Ш.П. (ур.). *Историја на жените на западот; од антички божици до христијански светци*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет, Евро Балкан прес, (стр. 137-224).
16. Метјуз -Грико, Ф., С. (2015). „Телото, изгледот и сексуалноста“, во Дејвис, З. Н., Фарж, А. (ур.). *Историја на жените на западот: парадоксите на ренесансата и просветителството*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет, (стр. 51-92).
17. Опиц, К. (2013). „Животот на крајот од средниот век“, во Зубер -Клапиш, К. (ур.). *Историја на жените: молкот на средниот век*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет (стр. 280-332).
18. Парк, А., М. (2012). *Вовед во антропологија: интегриран пристап*. Скопје: Арс Ламина.
19. Рариќ, Џ. (1997). *Polnost i kultura: telo i znanje u socijalnoj antropologiji*. Beograd: Čigija štampa.
20. Parsons, T., Bales, F.R. (1955). *Family: socialization and interaction process*. New York: The free press, a Division of Macmillan Publishing Co.
21. Русел, А. (2011). „Политика на телесноста во античкиот Рим“, во Пантел, Ш.П. (ур.). *Историја на жените на западот; од антички божици до христијански светци*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет: Евро Балкан прес (стр. 288-328).
22. Simmel, G. (1984). *On Women, Sexuality, and Love*. New Haven: Yale University.
23. Tabani, M. (2010). „The Carnival of Custom: Land Dives, Millenarian Parades and Other Spectacular Ritualization's in Vanuatu“, во *Oceania, Vol. 80, No. 3*. Oceania Publications, University of Sydney (p. 309-328).
24. Томасе, К. (2013). „Природата на жената“, во Зубер -Клапиш, К. (ур.). *Историја на жените: молкот на средниот век*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет (стр. 46-72).
25. Зубер - Клапиш, К. (ур.). (2013) *Историја на жените: молкот на средниот век*. Скопје: Филозофски факултет.
26. Шмале, В. (2011). *Историја мушкости у Европи: (1450-2000)*. Београд: Клио;