SIXTH EDITION

Gender Roles

A Sociological Perspective

Linda L. Lindsey

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Linda L. Lindsey

Washington University in St. Louis

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PREFACE

In the United States and globally, unparalleled social change continues unabated as the young millennium unfolds. Accounting for the latest available research, the sixth edition of *Gender Roles* effectively captures the profound gender components of much of this change. Research and theory in the sociology of gender roles continue to shape the discipline. Viewed through a sociological lens, research is interpreted according to various theories in the discipline, often suggesting ways the research is better explained when the theories are linked. With diversity and its intersectionality as a backdrop, relevant interdisciplinary bridges are also highlighted. These bridges clarify gender content for students who are from diverse backgrounds and who represent a variety of majors.

Interweaving research and theory on selected issues, this edition discusses the profound gendered consequences of the Great Recession, new work on transgender and gendered sexuality, navigating gender in the changing family and those choosing alternative lifestyles, shifting definitions of masculinity and femininity in media, the military, schools, and workplace, and how public policy adopts beliefs about gender. *Gender Roles* highlights the junction between sociological theory and its usefulness to those working on a variety of issues in the name of gender justice, including economic equality, policies for same sex-marriage, and decreased violence against women. With glimpses of gender issues reverberating across the globe, students are offered content to better understand the global connection and the theory–research connection with critiques throughout the text. Students will also be able to locate themselves when examining abundant material on diversity and the intersection of gender with other social categories they occupy. New content spotlighting these objectives include the following:

- Reflecting important trends in sociology, this edition introduces social constructionism as a distinct "mezzo level" paradigm, joining it with conflict theory, functionalism, symbolic interaction, and feminist theoretical perspectives. Intersectionality as a key concept and the research flowing from it are expanded considerably. This research links gender to race and ethnicity, social class, age, and sexuality, offering a powerful tool to be used in understanding how diversity unfolds in a gender context.
- Research in the surging field of "body studies" is discussed and includes provocative issues related to health, socialization, and media.
- Online communication has an ever-increasing influence in our lives, and it plays out differently for males and females. Focusing on socialization, this edition explores its gendered consequences with all new material on social media, cyberfeminism, and computer technology.
- Uncovering the hidden economic reality of paid and unpaid labor, including eldercare, added content on how "work" is defined, explained sociologically, and acted out according to gender is in sections related to family and workplace, global perspectives, socialization, and politics and public policy.
- Expanded content with cutting-edge research on gender issues globally includes the perils of globalization for women with a case study on Bangladesh; gendered

demographic crises in Japan, China, and Russia; and feminist response to escalating violence against women in India.
- Provocative gender issues making headlines are sociologically framed throughout the text and compared to views presented in the political and media arenas. This comparison allows students to distinguish gender myths based on ideology, from gender reality which is based on social scientific research. Topics include: sexual scandals in priesthood, sports, and the military; transgender in a binary world; the politics of contraception and women's bodies; and the ongoing challenges related to the intersection of race and gender in the public policy on education.

Ongoing, enhanced gender-related scholarship brings more interpretations, more sophistication, and more complexity. The good news is that there is a wealth of material from which to choose. Students are introduced to the richness and complexity of scholarship on gender and the important issues emerging from this scholarship. Only a fraction of this abundant information can be included. Material was chosen to adequately and accurately represent the range of theoretical perspectives on gender and how various groups are portrayed accordingly. Choices are made from research in other disciplines that impinge on the sociology of gender roles. Selecting new material and discarding old material is difficult, but it is manageable when directed by a sociological perspective. Students will find a solid sociological foundation that connects the range of information presented.

Written as a core text for courses variously titled *Sociology of Gender, Sex and Gender, Gender Roles, Gender and Society*, and *Women in Society*, this text is useful for studying sociology of the family, psychology of women, global views on gender, and women's or men's studies. Although the text is guided by a sociological perspective, those with limited background in sociology will find the book easy to navigate. It also offers an excellent review for advanced students, who will have their sociological expertise bolstered early in the text. All students will gain requisite knowledge to tackle more complex gender issues they confront later.

Armed with the latest research, this edition of *Gender Roles* offers opportunities to explore a variety of gender issues affecting our personal, educational, and professional lives. Students will encounter ideas that reinforce as well as challenge their taken-for-granted thinking about females and males, about masculinity and femininity. They will grapple with research, confront stereotypes, and select theories to best explain their gendered world. Social change is relentless. It collides with attitudes and behaviors regarding gender and forces us to confront traditional ways of thinking and doing. We will make wiser decisions in our relationships and in our homes, schools, and workplaces when we better understand the consequences of gender in our lives.

Text Sections and New Material

Part I introduces basic sociological concepts and theories and links these to the feminism paradigm and various forms of feminism. The section considers the similarities and differences between the genders and between women and women and men and men. Interdisciplinary theories and multidisciplinary insights into socialization and the development of beliefs about females and males and masculinity and femininity from biology, psychology, anthropology, language, and history are highlighted. A wealth of

new material exposes gendered myths and critiques various explanations for gender roles. This edition considerably expands sexuality and gendered trends in health and mental health. Powerful gendered connections to well-being in the United States are explored and are considered in light of gender-related flashpoints globally.

Part II focuses on marriage and the family, offering the newest research, demographic portraits, and sociological explanations regarding gender issues in love, choice of a partner, persistent as well as fluctuating gender norms in parenting, and the changing family in a diversity (multicultural) context. The influence of gendered work roles on family life is highlighted. The chapter on men and masculinity incorporates significant new research on masculinity norms throughout the social institutions, highlighting the challenges to traditional definitions of masculinity, how men respond to these challenges, and how they respond to the changing roles of women.

Part III views gender role continuity and changes in the economy, education, religion, media, politics, and the law and suggests how intersectionality will influence these trends, especially in how public policy plays out according to gender. Women's employment is emphasized as a fundamental influence on gender roles in all social institutions. The last chapter brings full circle the material from the first chapter and many of the topics discussed throughout the text with a focus on media and the gender–race intersection and women's issues in Elections 2008 and 2012 and previews upcoming elections.

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CHAPTER 1

The Sociology of Gender
Theoretical Perspectives and Feminist Frameworks

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Distinguish between the concepts of sex and gender and explain why these differences are important in understanding other concepts, such as sexual orientation and gender roles.
2. Identify the four major sociological perspectives and provide an example of how each is used in explaining gender roles in the family.
3. Demonstrate how feminist sociological theory accounts for intersectionality between gender, race, social class, and sexuality.
4. List and briefly describe characteristics of various feminisms and how they overlap.
5. Demonstrate how the media portrays feminism in a political context.
6. Identify the challenges to feminism and routes to overcome these.

All causes, social and natural, combine to make it unlikely that women should be collectively rebellious to the power of men. They are so far in a position different from all other subject classes, that their masters require something more from them than actual service. Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments.

—John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869)

The millennium is still young, but powerful events and transformative research in its first decades have profoundly affected beliefs about gender and the way these beliefs play out in gender roles. Although John Stuart Mills' comments about women's oppression may not be denied today, the next century of sociological research began to spotlight *gendered* oppression. We will see that a strong, ongoing feminist movement is beneficial to men. Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901–1978), whose work we discuss in Chapter 2, is attributed with saying, "every time we liberate a woman, we liberate a man" (see Mead, 1967). This book echoes that sentiment.

The study of gender emerged as one of the most important trends in the discipline of sociology in the twentieth century and is continuing today. The research and theory associated with studying gender issues propelled the sociology of gender

from the margins to become a central feature of the discipline. To understand the formidable social effects of the Recession, patterns of globalization, and a changing political climate, for example, sociological analysis *must* account for gender. This text documents how sociologists have aided our understanding of the influence of gender in shaping our lives, our attitudes, and our behavior. This understanding is enhanced by investigating the links between sociology and other disciplines and by integrating key concepts such as race, social class, and sexuality to clarify gender relations. Sociology is interested in how human behavior is shaped by group life. Although all group life is ordered in a variety of ways, gender is a key component of the ordering. An explosion of research on gender issues now suggests that all social interactions, and the institutions in which the interactions occur, are gendered in some manner. Accounting for this gendering has reshaped the theoretical and empirical foundations of sociology. On the theoretical side, gender awareness has modified existing sociological theory and led to the creation of a new feminist paradigm. On the empirical side, gender awareness has led to innovative research strategies and opened up new topics for sociological inquiry. We open with an examination of basic concepts and theories that lay the groundwork for our sociological journey into gender roles.

Basic Sociological Concepts

All societies are structured around relatively stable patterns that establish how social interaction will be carried out. One of the most important social structures that organizes social interaction is **status**—a category or position a person occupies that is a significant determinant of how she or he will be defined and treated. We acquire statuses by achievement, through our own efforts, or by ascription, being born into them or attaining them involuntarily at some other point in the life cycle. We occupy a number of statuses simultaneously, referred to as a **status set**, such as mother, daughter, attorney, patient, employee, and passenger. Compared to *achieved* statuses occurring later in life, *ascribed* statuses immediately impact virtually every aspect of our lives. The most important ascribed statuses are gender, race, and social class. Because a status is simply a position within a social system, it should not be confused with rank or prestige. There are high-prestige statuses as well as low-prestige statuses. In the United States, for example, a physician occupies a status ranked higher in prestige than a secretary. All societies categorize members by status and then rank these statuses in some fashion, thereby creating a system of **social stratification**. People whose status sets are comprised of low-ranked ascribed statuses more than high-ranked achieved statuses are near the bottom of the social stratification system and are vulnerable to social stigma, prejudice, and discrimination. To date, there is no known society in which the status of female is consistently ranked higher than that of male.

A **role** is the expected behavior associated with a status. Roles are performed according to social **norms**, shared rules that guide people's behavior in specific situations. Social norms determine the privileges and responsibilities a status possesses. Females and males, mothers and fathers, and daughters and sons are all statuses with different normative role requirements attached to them. The status of mother calls for expected roles involving love, nurturing, self-sacrifice, homemaking,

and availability. The status of father calls for expected roles of breadwinner, disciplinarian, home technology expert, and ultimate decision maker in the household. Society allows for a degree of flexibility in acting out roles, but in times of rapid social change, acceptable role limits are often in a state of flux, producing uncertainty about what appropriate role behavior should be. People may experience *anomie*—normlessness—because traditional norms have changed but new ones have yet to be developed. For example, the most important twentieth-century trend impacting gender roles in the United Sates is the massive increase of women in the labor force. Although women from all demographic categories contributed to these numbers, mothers with preschool children led the trek from unpaid home-based roles to full-time paid employment roles. In acting out the roles of mother and employee, women are expected to be available at given times to satisfy the needs of family and workplace. Because workplaces and other social institutions have not been modified in meaningful ways to account for the new statuses women occupy, their range of acceptable role behavior is severely restricted. As a result, family and workplace roles inevitably collide and compete with one another for the mother–employee's time and attention.

Key Concepts for the Sociology of Gender

As key components of social structure, statuses and roles allow us to organize our lives in consistent, predictable ways. In combination with established norms, they prescribe our behavior and ease interaction with people who occupy different social statuses, whether we know these people or not. Yet there is an insidious side to this kind of predictable world: When normative role behavior becomes too rigidly defined, our freedom of action is often compromised. These rigid definitions are associated with the development of **stereotypes—**oversimplified conceptions that people who occupy the same status group share certain traits they have in common. Although stereotypes can include positive traits, they most often consist of negative ones that are then used to justify discrimination against members of a given group. The statuses of male and female are often stereotyped according to the traits they are assumed to possess by virtue of their biological makeup. Women are stereotyped as flighty and unreliable because they possess uncontrollable raging hormones that fuel unpredictable emotional outbursts. The assignment of negative stereotypes can result in **sexism**, the belief that the status of female is inferior to the status of male. Males are not immune to the negative consequences of sexism, but females are more likely to experience it because the status sets they occupy are more stigmatized than those occupied by males. Compared to males, for example, females are more likely to occupy statuses inside and outside their homes that are associated with less power, less prestige, and less pay or no pay. Beliefs about inferiority due to biology are reinforced and then used to justify discrimination directed toward females.

Sexism is perpetuated by systems of **patriarchy**, male-dominated social structures leading to the oppression of women. Patriarchy, by definition, exhibits **androcentrism—**male-centered norms operating throughout all social institutions that become the standard to which all persons adhere. Sexism is reinforced when patriarchy and androcentrism combine to perpetuate beliefs that gender roles are

biologically determined and therefore unalterable. For example, throughout the developing world, beliefs about a woman's biological unsuitability for other than domestic roles have restricted opportunities for education and literacy. These restrictions have made men the guardians of what has been written, disseminated, and interpreted regarding gender and the placement of men and women in society. Until recently, history has been recorded from an androcentric perspective that ignored the other half of humanity (Chapter 5). This perspective has perpetuated the belief that because patriarchy is an inevitable, inescapable fact of history, struggles for gender equality are doomed to failure. Women's gain in education is associated with the power to engage in research and scholarship that offers alternatives to prevailing androcentric views. We will see that such scholarship suggests that patriarchal systems may be universal, but are not inevitable, and that gender egalitarianism was a historical fact of life in some cultures and is a contemporary fact of life in others.

Distinguishing Sex and Gender

As gender issues become more mainstreamed in scientific research and media reports, confusion associated with the terms *sex* and *gender* has decreased. In sociology, these terms are now fairly standardized to refer to different content areas. **Sex** refers to the biological characteristics distinguishing male and female. This definition emphasizes male and female differences in chromosomes, anatomy, hormones, reproductive systems, and other physiological components. **Gender** refers to those social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females through particular social contexts. Sex makes us male or female; gender makes us masculine or feminine. Sex is an ascribed status because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned.

This relatively simple distinction masks a number of problems associated with its usage. It implies that all people can be conveniently placed into unambiguous either-or categories. Certainly the ascribed status of sex is less likely to be altered than the achieved status of gender. Some people believe, however, that they were born with the "wrong" body and are willing to undergo major surgery to make their gender identity consistent with their biological sex. **Sexual orientation**, the preference for sexual partners of one gender (sex) or the other, also varies. People who experience sexual pleasure with members of their own sex are likely to consider themselves masculine or feminine according to gender norms. Others are born with ambiguous sex characteristics and may be assigned one sex at birth but develop a different identity related to gender. Some cultures allow people to move freely between genders, regardless of their biological sex.

These issues will be addressed fully in Chapters 2 and 3, but are mentioned here to highlight the problems of terminology. From a sociological perspective, this text is concerned with gender and how it is learned, how it changes over time, and how it varies between and within cultures. Gender can be viewed on a continuum of characteristics demonstrated by a person regardless of the person's biological sex. Adding the concept of role to either sex or gender may increase confusion in

terminology. When the sociological concept of role is combined with the biological concept of sex, there is often misunderstanding about what content areas are subsumed under the resultant *sex role* label. Usage has become standardized, however, and most sociologists now employ *gender role* rather than *sex role* in their writing. **Gender roles**, therefore, are the expected attitudes and behaviors a society associates with each sex. This definition places gender squarely in the sociocultural context.

Sociological Perspectives on Gender Roles

Sociologists explain gender roles according to several *theoretical perspectives*, general ways of understanding social reality that guide the research process and provide a means for interpreting the data. In essence, a **theory** is an explanation. Formal theories consist of logically interrelated propositions that explain empirical events. For instance, data indicate that compared to men, women are more likely to be segregated in lower-paying jobs offering fewer opportunities for professional growth and advancement. Data also indicate that in the United States and cross-culturally, the domestic work of women performed in or near their homes is valued less than the work of men performed outside their homes. Because the issue of gender crosses many disciplines, explanations for these facts can be offered according to the theoretical perspectives of those disciplines. Biology, psychology, and anthropology all offer explanations for gender-related attitudes and behavior. Not only do these explanations differ between disciplines, but scientists within the same discipline also frequently offer competing explanations for the same data, and sociology is no exception. The best explanations account for the volume and complexities of the data. As research on gender issues accelerates and more sophisticated research tools are developed, it is becoming clearer that the best explanations are those that are interdisciplinary and that incorporate concepts related to diversity. Sociological theory will dominate this text's discussion, but we will also account for relevant interdisciplinary work and its attention to diversity issues.

Levels of Analysis

Sociological perspectives on gender also vary according to the *level of analysis*, referring to the scope of the data collected and how the data are explained. A *macro sociological* perspective on gender roles directs attention to large-scale social phenomena such as labor force, educational, and political trends that are differentiated according to gender. A *micro sociological* perspective on gender is largely contextual, directing attention to small groups and the details of gender interaction occurring, for example, between couples and in families and peer groups. A *mezzo sociological* perspective on gender draws attention to the definitions associated with wider cultural norms that can configure all social interaction. In this sense, the mezzo level serves as a bridge between the micro and macro levels. Media-inspired and defined images of gender roles, for example, are transported to schools and workplaces that in turn influence the activities of students, teachers, and workers.

With feminist scholars at the forefront, research on gender continues its innovative tradition. The theoretical perspectives emanating from all levels are beginning to be successfully combined. These offer excellent ways to better understand gender issues from a sociological perspective.

Early sociological perspectives related to gender roles evolved from scholarship on the sociology of the family. These explanations centered on why men and women hold different roles in the family that in turn influence the roles they perform outside the family. To a large extent, this early work on the family has continued to inform current sociological thinking on gender roles. The next sections will overview the major sociological (theoretical) perspectives and highlight their explanations regarding the gender–family connection.

Functionalism

Functionalism, also known as "structural functionalism," is a macro sociological perspective that is based on the premise that society is made up of interdependent parts, each of which contributes to the functioning of the whole society. Functionalists seek to identify the basic elements or parts of society and determine the functions these parts play in meeting basic social needs in predictable ways. Functionalists ask how any given element of social structure contributes to overall social stability, balance, and equilibrium. They assert that in the face of disruptive social change, society can be restored to equilibrium as long as built-in mechanisms of social control operate effectively and efficiently. Social control and stability are enhanced when people share beliefs and values in common. Functionalist emphasis on this value consensus is a major ingredient in virtually all of their interpretations related to social change. Values surrounding gender roles, marriage, and the family are central to functionalist assertions regarding social equilibrium.

Preindustrial Society Functionalists suggest that in preindustrial societies, social equilibrium was maintained by assigning different tasks to men and women. Given the hunting and gathering and subsistence farming activities of most preindustrial societies, role specialization according to gender was considered a functional necessity. In their assigned hunting roles, men were frequently away from home for long periods of time and centered their lives on the responsibility of bringing food to the family. It was functional for women—more limited by pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing—to be assigned domestic roles near the home as gatherers and subsistence farmers and as caretakers of children and households. Children were needed to help with agricultural and domestic activities. Girls would continue these activities when boys reached the age when they were allowed to hunt with the older males. Once established, this functional division of labor was reproduced in societies throughout the globe. Women may have been farmers and food gatherers in their own right, but they were dependent on men for food and protection. Women's dependence on men in turn produced a pattern in which male activities and roles came to be more valued than female activities and roles.

Contemporary Society Similar principles apply to families in contemporary societies. Disruption is minimized, harmony is maximized, and families benefit

when spouses assume complementary, specialized, nonoverlapping roles (Parsons and Bales, 1955; Parsons, 1966). When the husband–father takes the **instrumental role**, he is expected to maintain the physical integrity of the family by providing food and shelter and linking the family to the world outside the home. When the wife–mother takes the **expressive role**, she is expected to cement relationships and provide emotional support and nurturing activities that ensure a smoothly running household. If too much deviation from these roles occurs or there is too much overlap, the family system is propelled into a state of imbalance that can threaten the survival of the family unit. Advocates of functionalist assumptions argue, for instance, that gender role ambiguity regarding instrumental and expressive roles is a major factor in divorce (Hacker, 2003).

Critique It should be apparent that functionalism's emphasis on social equilibrium contributes to its image as an inherently conservative theoretical perspective. This image is reinforced by its difficulty in accounting for a variety of existing family systems and in not keeping pace with rapid social change moving families toward more egalitarian attitudes regarding gender roles.

Often to the dismay of the scientists who developed them, scientific theories and the research on which they are based are routinely employed to support a range of ideologies. Functionalism has been used as a justification for male dominance and gender stratification. In the United States, functional analyses were popularized in the 1950s when, weary of war, the nation latched onto a traditional and idealized version of family life and attempted to establish not just a prewar, but a pre-Depression, existence. Functionalism tends to support a white middle-class family model emphasizing the economic activities of the male head of household and domestic activities of his female subordinate. Women function outside the home only as a reserve labor force, such as when their labor is needed in wartime. This model does not apply to poor women and single parents who by necessity must work outside the home to maintain the household. It may not apply to African American women, who are less likely by choice to separate family and employment and who derive high levels of satisfaction from both of these roles.

Research also shows that specialization of household tasks by gender in contemporary families is more dysfunctional than functional. Women relegated to family roles that they see as restrictive, for example, are unhappier in their marriages and more likely to opt out of them. Despite tension associated with multiple roles and role overlap, couples report high levels of gratification, self-esteem, status security, and personally enriched lives (Chapter 8). Contemporary families simply do not fit functionalist models.

To its credit, functionalism offers a reasonably sound explanation for the origin of gender roles and demonstrates the functional utility of assigning tasks on the basis of gender in subsistence economies or in regions in which large families are functional and children are needed for agricultural work. Contemporary functionalists also acknowledge that strain occurs when there is too sharp a divide between the public and the private sphere (work and family), particularly for women. They recognize that such a divide is artificial and dysfunctional when families need to cope with the growing interdependence called for in a global economy. The "superwoman" who "does it all" in career achievement and family nurturance will be valued (Diekman

and Goodfriend, 2006). Finally, neofunctionalism accounts for the multiple levels at which gender relations are operative—biological, psychological, social, and cultural. A functionalist examination of their interdependence allows us to understand how female subordination and male superiority reproduced throughout the globe.

Conflict Theory

With its assumptions about social order and social change, the macro sociological perspective of conflict theory, also referred to as social conflict theory, is in many ways a mirror image of functionalism. Unlike functionalists, who believe that social order is maintained through value consensus, conflict theorists assert that it is preserved involuntarily through the exercise of power that one social class holds over another.

Marx, Engels, and Social Class Originating from the writings of Karl Marx (1818–1883), conflict theory is based on the assumption that society is a stage on which struggles for power and dominance are acted out. The struggles are largely between social classes competing for scarce resources, such as control over the means of production (land, factories, natural resources) and for a better distribution of all resources (money, food, material goods). Capitalism thrives on a class-based system that consolidates power in the hands of a few men of the ruling class (*bourgeoisie*) who own the farms and factories that workers (*proletariat*) depend on for their survival. The interest of the dominant class is to maintain its position of power over the subordinate class by extracting as much profit as possible from their work. Only when the workers recognize their common oppression and form a *class consciousness* can they unite and amass the resources necessary to seriously challenge the inequitable system in which they find themselves (Marx and Engels, 1964; Marx, 1967). Marxian beliefs were acted out historically in the revolution that enveloped Russia, Eastern Europe, and much of Eurasia, propelling the Soviets to power for a half a century of control over these regions.

Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), Marx's collaborator, applied these assumptions to the family and, by extension, to gender roles. He suggested that the master–slave or exploiter–exploited relationships occurring in broader society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are translated to the household. Primitive societies were highly egalitarian because there were no surplus goods—and hence, no private property. People consumed what they produced. With the emergence of private property and the dawn of capitalistic institutions, Engels argued that a woman's domestic labor is "no longer counted beside the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man; the latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra." The household is an autocracy, and the supremacy of the husband is unquestioned. "The emancipation of woman will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims but an insignificant amount of her time" (Engels, 1942:41–43).

Contemporary Conflict Theory Later conflict theorists refined original Marxian assertions to reflect contemporary patterns and make conflict theory more palatable to people who desire social change that moves in the direction of egalitarianism but not through the revolutionary means outlined by classical Marxism

(Dahrendorf, 1959; Collins, 1975, 1979). Today conflict theorists largely assert that social structure is based on the dominance of some groups over others and that groups in society share common interests, whether its members are aware of it or not. Conflict is not based simply on class struggle and the tensions between owner and worker or employer and employee; it occurs on a much wider level and among almost all other groups. These include parents and children, husbands and wives, young and old, sick and healthy, people of color and whites, heterosexual and gay, females and males, and any other groups that can be differentiated as minority or majority according to the level of resources they possess. The list is infinite.

Gender and the Family Conflict theory focuses on the social placement function of the family that deposits people at birth into families who possess varying degrees of economic resources. People fortunate enough to be deposited into wealthier families will work to preserve existing inequality and the power relations in the broader society because they clearly benefit from the overall power imbalance. Social class *endogamy* (marrying within the same class) and inheritance patterns ensure that property and wealth are kept in the hands of a few powerful families. Beliefs about inequality and the power imbalance become institutionalized—they are accepted and persist over time as legitimate by both the privileged and the oppressed—so the notion that family wealth is deserved and that those born into poor families remain poor because they lack talent and a work ethic is perpetuated. The structural conditions that sustain poverty are ignored. When social placement operates through patriarchal and patrilineal systems, wealth is further concentrated in the hands of males and further promotes female subservience, neglect, and poverty. Contemporary conflict theorists agree with Engels by suggesting that when women gain economic strength by also being wage earners, their power inside the home is strengthened and can lead to more egalitarian arrangements.

The conflict perspective is evident in research demonstrating that household responsibilities have an effect on occupational location, work experience, and number of hours worked per week, all of which are linked to the gender gap in earnings (Chapter 10). Those lacking resources to demand sharing the burden or purchasing substitutes will perform undesirable work disproportionately. Because household labor is unpaid and associated with lack of power, the homemaker (wife) takes on virtually all domestic chores (Lindsey, 1996a; Riley and Kiger, 1999). The more powerful spouse performs the least amount of household work.

Critique Conflict theory has been criticized for its overemphasis on the economic basis of inequality and its assumption that there is inevitable competition between family members. It tends to dismiss the consensus among wives and husbands regarding task allocation. In addition, paid employment is not the panacea envisioned by Engels in overcoming male dominance. The gendered division of household labor does not translate to significant wage reductions for employed women outside the home or reduced in-home responsibilities (Tichenor, 2005; Lincoln, 2008). In the former Soviet Union, women had the highest levels of paid employment in the world but retained more household responsibilities than comparable women in other countries and earned two-thirds of the average male income. In post-Communist Russia, there is no change in women's domestic work, but women now earn less

than half of men's average earnings (Chapter 6). Research unanimously concludes that even in those cultures where gender equity in the workplace is increasing, employed women globally take on a "second shift" of domestic work after returning home (Chapter 8).

A conspiratorial element emerges when conflict theory becomes associated with the idea that men as a group are consciously organized to keep women in subordinate positions. A number of social forces, many of them unorganized or unintended, come into play when explaining gender stratification. Functionalism's bias against social change might be matched with conflict theory's bias for social change. Compared to functionalism, however, this bias is less of a problem for conflict theory once it is stripped of some Marxian baggage. Contemporary conflict theory has made strong inroads in using social class to further clarify the gender–race–class link, suggesting that the class advantages for people of color may override the race disadvantages (Gimenez, 2001; Lareau, 2002; Misra, 2002). Most people are uncomfortable with sexism and patterns of gender stratification that harm both women and men. Women are denied opportunities to expand instrumental roles offering economic parity with men outside the home; men are denied opportunities for expanding expressive and nurturing roles inside the home. At the ideological level, sociological conflict theory has been used to support activities designed to reduce racism, economic-based disparity (classism), and sexism.

Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction, also called "the interactionist perspective," is at the heart of the sociological view of social interaction at the micro level. It is a highly contextual explanation for interaction, accounting for details of the setting itself. With attention to people's behavior in face-to-face social settings, symbolic interactionists explain social interaction as a dynamic process in which people continually modify their behavior as a result of the interaction itself. Herbert Blumer (1900–1987), who originated the term *symbolic interaction*, asserted that people do not respond directly to the world around them, but to the meaning they bring to it. Society, its institutions, and its social structure exist—that is, social reality is bestowed—only through human interaction (Blumer, 1969). Reality is what members agree to be reality.

People interact according to how they perceive a situation, how they understand the social encounter, and the meanings they bring to it. Another important step in the interaction process involves how they think other people who are part of the interaction also understand the encounter. Each person's definition of the situation influences others' definitions. To illustrate symbolic interaction's emphasis on the fluidity of behavior, I developed the concept of the **end point fallacy**, asserting that the negotiation of social reality is an ongoing process in which new definitions produce new behavior in a never-ending cycle. The end point fallacy is an excellent way to explain the inconsistencies between people's behavior as they move from setting to setting.

We have latitude in the way we act out our roles. Because the context of the interaction is a key determinant of role performance, the role performance that is appropriate in one context may be inappropriate in another. Cultural norms are modified whenever social interaction occurs because people bring their own

definitions about appropriate behavior to the interaction. These definitions shape the way people see and experience their group lives in the daily worlds they occupy.

Social Constructionism

Social interaction is a process governed by norms that are largely shaped by culture. This process is referred to as the **social construction of reality**—the shaping of perception of reality by the subjective meanings brought to any experience or social interaction. Consistent with Herbert Blumer's view, every time social interaction occurs, people creatively "construct" their own understanding of it—whether "real" or not—and behave accordingly. Concepts such as gender, therefore, must be found in the meanings (constructs) people bring to them (Deutscher and Lindsey, 2005:5). These constructions emanate from a variety of sources, such as our families, schools, and media and are embraced during socialization (Chapter 3). Shared and defined by the larger society, these cultural norms offer general guidelines for role behavior that are selectively chosen and acted on in various social settings. Social constructionism is also consistent with the end point fallacy because the definitions are never completely rigid; they are always in a state of flux. Workplace definitions of gender appropriateness, for example, are modified when men and women replace one another in jobs that earlier would have been defined as "gender inappropriate." Today nursing and elementary school teaching for men and science and soldiering for women are more likely to be socially constructed as normative and gender-appropriate jobs.

Doing Gender This idea of what is appropriate or inappropriate for gender is further extended in ways consistent with both social constructionism and symbolic interaction. Concepts used to collectively categorize people—such as race, ethnicity, and gender—do not exist objectively, but emerge through a socially constructed process. Gender emerges not as an individual attribute, but as something that is "accomplished" in interaction with others. People, therefore, are **doing gender** (Fenstermaker and West, 2002). In "doing" gender, symbolic interaction takes its lead from Erving Goffman (1922–1982), who developed a **dramaturgy** approach to social interaction. Goffman maintained that the best way to understand social interaction is to consider it as an enactment in a theatrical performance. Like actors on a stage, we use strategies of impression management, providing information and cues to others that present us in a favorable light (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1971).

Think about the heterosexual bar scene where men sit at the counter and operate from a script where they are expected to make the first move. If a woman is with friends, she must disengage herself if she is "selected" by the man. It is probable that the women drove separately. Data from television also illustrate these concepts. Prime-time television commonly depicts traditionally scripted sexual encounters according to gender and beliefs about heterosexuality that sustain power differences between men and women. Although there are many cultural variations, gender-scripted rules are laid out, negotiated, and acted upon in bars and meet-ups for singles and witnessed by TV viewers across the globe (Kim et al., 2007). Gender roles are structured by one set of scripts designed for males and another designed for females. Although each script permits a range of behavior options, the typical result

is that gender labels promote a pattern of between-sex competition, rejection, and emotional segregation. This pattern is reinforced when we routinely refer to those of the *other* sex (gender) as the *opposite* sex. Men and women label each other as opposite to who they are and then behave according to that label. The behavior serves to separate rather than connect the genders.

As we will review in Chapter 2, gender and sex are contested categories. In any social interaction, information about gender is presented. Gender scripts about heterosexuality sustain power differences not only between women and men, but also between players who may define themselves as gay, straight, bisexual, or transgendered. Gender-based *heteronormative* cultural scripts invade all sexual encounters. For these scripts to be acted on, however, "gender" must first be determined. "Determining gender" is a social process accomplished by "authenticating another person's gender identity" (Westbrook and Schilt, 2014:33). The process begins under a heteronormative umbrella (social constructionism), but it may be transgressed after all parties in the interaction "agree" on who everyone "is" and what is expected to occur (symbolic interaction). Men in all sexual categories are evaluated by other men (and women) according to degree in which they adhere to masculinity norms. These evaluations set up powerful differentials based on beliefs about gender. Determining gender challenges as well as suggests the rigidity of gender norms.

Doing Difference Research on men and women in various social networks—formed at school, work, and in volunteer activities—further illustrates this process. From early childhood, these groups are usually gender segregated. Gendered subcultures emerge that strengthen the perceptions of gender differences and erode the common ground on which intimate, status-equal friendships between the genders are formed. Differences rather than similarities are more likely to be noticed, defined, and acted on. When cross-gender social interaction occurs, such as in the workplace, men and women are not likely to hold statuses with similar levels of power and prestige. Once the genders are socially constructed as different, it is easier for those with more power (men) to justify inequality toward those with less power (women). Social difference is constructed into social privilege (Fenstermaker and West, 2002).

On the other hand, research on social dancing and its highly sexualized "grinding" form demonstrates ways females challenge scripts on the dance floor. In hip-hop clubs, young women of color set the dance stage for negotiating sexual and emotional encounters (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2007). These women challenge "hyper-masculine" privilege by determining the form of dance, by taking the lead, by dancing with women, and by rejecting (or accepting) sexual groping by male partners. Other data suggest that young women of all races use social dance as escapism, fantasy, and compensatory sexuality, especially when dancing with acquaintances rather than friends.

> You buy into this scenario that . . . we're all willing to pretend in this one place . . . that we're allowed to do things with each other that maybe you would think about doing off of first glance anyway. . . . [I]t's kind of like a . . . simulated closeness with people. (Hutt, 2008:12)

Gendered scripts invade their dance space even as they transgress its boundaries.

Critique Symbolic interaction's highly contextualized doing gender approach needs to account for processes that often limit choice of action and prompt people to engage in gendered behavior that counters what they would prefer to do. This focus may undermine fluidity to recast gender norms in ways that benefit both men and women. Divorce allows for the "redoing" of gender—housework, parenting, and breadwinning roles are repudiated (Walzer, 2008). Traditional gender accountability may no longer apply in the post-divorce lives of former spouses and children.

Cultural norms may be in flux at the micro level of social interaction, but they remain a significant structural force on behavior. In some cultures, for example, women and men are dictated by both law and custom to engage in certain occupations, enter into marriage with people they would not choose on their own, and be restricted from attending school. Larger social structures also operate at the family level to explain family dynamics. Men and women interact as individual family members, and also according to other roles they play in society and the prestige associated with those roles. For example, a wealthy white man who holds a powerful position in a corporation does not dissolve those roles when he walks into his home. They shape his life at home, in the workplace, and in the other social institutions in which he takes part. Race, class, and gender offer a range of privileges bestowed by the broader society that also create a power base in his home. Power and privilege can result in a patriarchal family regardless of the couple's desire for a more egalitarian arrangement.

Social constructionism needs to account for definitions of gender role behavior, appropriate or not, that suggest inequality is inevitable. Regardless of how fluid it may be, a gender binary is still set up. Research on ways of "undoing gender" should be the focus of sociological analysis (Risman, 2009:81). Are the young women on the dance floor "redoing" or "undoing gender"? In the micro worlds of post-divorce homes or in dance clubs, are traditional scripts modified enough to say that gender is "undone?" They may be determining gender and redoing gender simultaneously. Critiques of symbolic interaction and social constructionism are being accounted for, successfully combined, and acted on empirically.

Taken a step further, the critiques of sociological theories at all levels lead to some final questions? Society is organized around a gender binary that sets up social inequality. If we can do, redo, and undo gender, can we and should we also "deliberately" degender our lives? As Judith Lorber (2005:5–6) points out, this does not mean not *thinking* about gender, but recognizing gender complexity and how gender intersects with other statuses. With feminist scholars at the forefront, research on gender continues its innovative tradition with questions such as these. The theoretical perspectives emanating from all levels are beginning to be combined successfully. These offer excellent ways to better understand gender issues from a sociological perspective.

Feminist Sociological Theory

By calling attention to the powerful impact of gender in the social ordering of our relationships (micro-level analysis), how they are socially constructed (mezzo-level analysis), and our institutions (macro-level analysis), the feminist theoretical perspective in sociology emerged as a major paradigm that has significantly reshaped the

discipline. By the research it spawned, feminist sociological theory offered empirical work at all levels of analysis and illuminated the androcentric bias in sociology. Disagreement remains on all elements that need to be included in feminist theory; at a minimum, the consensus is that a theory is *feminist* if it can be used to challenge a status quo that is disadvantageous to women (Chafetz, 1988; Smith, 2003).

The feminist perspective provides productive avenues of collaboration with sociologists who adopt other theoretical views, especially conflict theory and symbolic interaction. The feminist perspective is compatible with conflict theory in its assertions that structured social inequality is maintained by ideologies that are frequently accepted by both the privileged and the oppressed. These ideologies are challenged only when oppressed groups gain the resources necessary to do so. Unlike conflict theory's focus on social class and the economic elements necessary to challenge the prevailing system, feminists tend to focus on women and their ability to amass resources from a variety of sources in their individual lives and through social and political means. Feminists work as academics, researchers, and activists to increase women's **empowerment**—the ability for women to exert control over their own destinies.

Symbolic interaction and feminist theory come together in research focusing on the unequal power relations between men and women from the point of view (definition of the situation) of women who are "ruled" by men in many settings. For example, corporate women who want to be promoted need to practice impression management based on acceptable gender role behavior of their corporate setting, but at the same time, they need to maintain a sense of personal integrity. The feminist perspective accounts for ways to empower these corporate women by clarifying the relationship between the label of "feminine" (symbolic interaction) and how these women are judged by peers and, ultimately, themselves.

Intersections of Gender, Race, and Class One of the most important contributions of the feminist perspective to sociology is its attention to the multiple oppressions faced by people whose status sets are disadvantaged due to distinctive combinations based on their gender, race, and social class. The gender–race–class linkage in analyzing social behavior originated with African American feminists in the 1960s; they recognized that an understanding of the link between these multiple oppressions is necessary to determine how women are alike and how they are different. For example, when the issue of poverty becomes "feminized," the issue is defined primarily by gender—women are at a higher risk of being poor than men. A focus on the feminization of poverty ignores the link among race, social class, and marital status that puts certain categories of women—such as single parents, women of color, and elderly women living alone—at higher risk than others. To explain poverty, racial and class oppression must be considered along with gender. When white middle-class feminists focus on oppression of women, they may not recognize the privileges that come with their own race and class.

Today feminists are keenly aware that combined oppressions have multiplicative effects. Building on the foundation of earlier African American feminists, seminal work by Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 2000) further elucidated the powerful results of these linkages. **Intersectionality** describes the process that combines risks from multiple statuses associated with disadvantage that result in a matrix of

domination and oppression. Intersectionality highlights diversity in all of its forms and draws attention to a wider range of categories of risk, including sexual orientation, age, and disability. It seeks to gain an understanding of women's lives from the various statuses they occupy. Hearing the personal stories of women in these statuses is an important goal. However, intersectional research is also moving beyond any one specific configuration of risk statuses to account for how some configurations have more or less risk than others. Sociology as a science is served when data can be generalized. Women also are better served when interventions can be tailored to a group of similar configurations and can capitalize on any opportunities from privileged statuses (Anthias, 2013; Chua, 2013). Feminist activists use intersectional approaches to shape strategies to meet the needs of the constituencies they serve. The attention to sociocultural diversity that originated with the gender–race–class link has reverberated throughout sociology and other disciplines, generating a great deal of *both* interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research. For example, Collins's work synthesized ideas from intellectuals, activists, and writers in the humanities, philosophy, and social sciences. Similar work leads to new academic programs in Women's Studies, Men's Studies, and Gender Studies, increasing dialogue between men and women inside and outside the academy. Feminist scholarship provides opportunities for men to view themselves as gendered beings and to make visible their concerns. With gender–race–class intersectionality as a foundation, feminist researchers are identifying other sites of oppression that put people at risk both inside and outside their families, such as religion, sexual orientation, age, and disability.

Feminist Perspectives on the Family Feminist scholars in the 1960s and 1970s viewed the traditional patriarchal family as a major site for the oppression of women. They asserted that when the patriarchal family is regarded as beneficial to social stability, it hampers the movement into egalitarian roles desired by both men and women. Feminist sociologists recognize that gendered family relations do not occur in a vacuum and that lives are helped or hurt by the resources outside the family that shape what happens inside the family. In addition to gender, for example, single-parent African American, Latino, and Native American women are disadvantaged by race when they seek employment necessary to support their families. Lesbians must deal with a system that represses same-sex relationships when they fight for custody of their children. The growing consensus of feminists in all disciplines is that women may be doubly or triply disadvantaged by their race, class, or sexuality, but they are not helpless victims. To some degree they possess **agency**—the power to adapt and sometimes to thrive in difficult situations.

Critique With a view of gender, marriage, and the family focusing on oppression of women, the feminist perspective tends to minimize the practical benefits of marriage. A marriage may be patriarchal, but it also includes important economic resources and social support that women in these marriages may view as more important in their daily lives than their feelings about subordination. Feminist scholars also find it difficult to reconcile research suggesting that women in traditional marriages are as satisfied with their choices as women in egalitarian marriages. Finally, emphasis on human agency may minimize situations in which women's victimization is condoned by custom and ignored by law (Chapters 6, 8, 9, and 14).

Finally, the strong theoretical foundation of intersectionality is not yet matched with empirical work to determine which statuses in the matrix of domination are most disadvantageous. Conversely, can a specific combination of status privilege overcome another combination of status liability? For example, subordinate men report high levels of discrimination from dominant men. Intersectionality would predict that comparable subordinate women would experience an even higher level of discrimination, but this is difficult to confirm (Veenstra, 2013). Internationality is at once additive, multiplicative, and synergistic. Research is necessary to determine and clarify a hierarchy of linkages. A key strength of the feminist perspective is its ability to provide bridges between sociological theories and to account for social diversity in all of its forms. With its challenge to the patriarchal status quo and the androcentric bias inherent in much sociological research and theory, it has created dissent that may limit its acceptance by some sociologists. On the other hand, the feminist perspective may plant the seeds for building a truly integrative theory to draw together "conceptual pieces into a web of ideas that transcend patriarchal theory building" (Ollenburger and Moore, 1992:36). Feminist theory offers a powerful perspective in sociology. Sociology will benefit from the intellectual ferment it has created.

Feminisms

Feminist theory and its attention to intersectionality and diversity offer a sound framework for organizations working to change women's inferior social position and the social, political, and economic discrimination that perpetuates it. Many of these organizations come together in networks under the umbrella of **feminism**, an inclusive worldwide movement to end sexism and sexist oppression by empowering women. Forty years ago the women's movement faltered because it did not realistically account for how intersecting categories of oppression can divide women. With intersectionality as a foundation efforts of feminist networks across the globe, often in partnership with the United Nations and the women's conferences they organized, many of these divides have been bridged (Chapter 6).

Global social change presents ongoing challenges for women, so a feminist agenda addressing the needs of all women is never in a finalized form. Feminists accept the goal of ending sexism by empowering women, but there is a great deal of disagreement about how that goal is to be accomplished. Because the feminist movement is inclusive, it is unlikely there will ever be full agreement on identifying problems and determining strategies to address the problems. The very inclusiveness and diversity of the movement makes unity on some issues virtually impossible. "The" feminist movement is a misnomer. Indeed, absence of complete unity is appropriate because it fuels worldwide debates that often results in the most creative, realistic, and innovative strategies for women's empowerment. Reflecting the difficulty of adopting one agenda, the movement has tended to partition itself into several different categories according to general philosophical differences. Women and men identify with organizations and principles that fall under more than one category. In addition, the categories are fluid; they continue to re-create themselves as different waves of feminism flow through society (Chapter 5). Feminist categories, therefore, are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. Feminists, however, generally subscribe to the principles of one or another of the following "feminisms."

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism, also called "egalitarian or mainstream feminism," is based on the simple proposition that all people are created equal and should not be denied equality of opportunity because of gender. Because both genders benefit by the elimination of sexism, men are integrated into its ranks. Liberal feminism is based on Enlightenment beliefs of rationality, education, and the natural rights that extend to all men and women. This is articulated in John Stuart Mill's (1869/2002) *The Subjection of Women*, with his statement that "what is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced oppression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others." Women can work together within a pluralistic system and mobilize their constituents to effect positive and productive social change. Demands will be met if mobilization is effective and pressure is efficiently wielded (Deckard, 1983:463).

Liberal feminists believe society does not have to be completely restructured to achieve empowerment for women and to incorporate women into meaningful and equitable roles. This view tends to be adopted by professional middle-class women who place a high value on education and achievement. These women are likely to have the economic resources to better compete with men for desirable social positions and employment opportunities. Liberal feminism thus appeals to "mainstream" women who have no disagreement with the overall structure of the present social system, only that it should be nonsexist. The National Organization for Women is the formal group representing liberal feminist ideas with a statement of purpose calling for an end to restrictive gender roles that serve to diminish opportunities for both women and men (Chapter 14).

Cultural Feminism

To serve women's empowerment, cultural feminism seeks to reappropriate socially undervalued qualities associated with women's roles, such as cooperation, caring, nurturing, openness, and connectedness to others. This process of revaluing roles that are often ignored or, at worst, maligned is consistent with a social constructionist theoretical perspective. The issue of how much women are alike as a "group" and how much they are different from men as a "group" is highlighted in this emphasis. Although criticized for implying that biology is the root of differences between men and women, cultural feminism's consistency with social constructionism belies this view. The debate around the "degree of gender difference or similarity" also suggests that cultural feminism is incorporated in all feminisms at some level. Liberal feminists, however, are more likely to be aligned with these principles than those in other feminist categories.

Socialist Feminism

Also referred to as "Marxist feminism," socialist feminism generally adopts the Marx–Engels model described earlier that links the inferior position of women to class-based capitalism and its alignment with the patriarchal family in capitalistic societies. Socialist feminism argues that sexism and capitalism are mutually supportive. The unpaid labor of women in the home and their paid labor in a reserve

labor force simultaneously serve patriarchy capitalism. Many socialist feminists—both men and women—also believe that economic and emotional dependence go hand in hand. Fearful of the loss of economic security, a husband's power over his wife is absolute. Repudiating capitalism, socialist principles need to be adapted to both home and workplace. Sexism and economic oppression are mutually reinforcing, so a socialist revolutionary agenda is needed to change both.

Socialist feminism appeals to working-class women and those who feel disenfranchised from the presumed economic opportunities in capitalism. It has made more headway in Latin America and has served as a powerful rallying point for women in other developing nations. It is ironic that its most vivid expression occurred in the former Soviet Union, where women continued to carry the heavy burden of unpaid household labor while also functioning in the paid labor force. Today socialist feminists support and work in the Occupy Movement in its efforts to draw global attention to oppression related to both gender and class.

Although socialist feminism is tied to Marxist theory, there are key differences between the two. Whereas Marxist theory focuses on property and economic conditions to build an ideology, socialist feminism focuses on sexuality and gender. Men and women retain interest in their own gender group, so it is unclear whether the socialism being struggled for is the same for both men and women. Some argue, for example, that American socialist feminism has no loyalty to any regime that defines itself as Marxist (Gordon, 2013). A humanistic socialist approach to feminism requires consensus on how the new society would be structured. Men would voluntarily renounce their privileges as men.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is said to have emerged when women who were working with men in the civil rights and anti–Vietnam War movements were not allowed to present their positions on the causes they were engaged in. These women became aware of their own oppression by the treatment they received from their male cohorts, who insulted and ridiculed them for their views. The *second wave* of feminism leading to the rebirth of the women's movement in the United States in the twentieth century may be traced to the women who found themselves derided and ignored by the people they believed to be their allies; history repeated itself. The roots of American feminism in the nineteenth century are traced to the women who were denied expression of their views by the men they worked with in the abolitionist (antislavery) movement. The condescending attitudes of the men of that era provided the catalyst for women to recognize gender-based oppression and then organize to challenge it (Chapter 5). Radical feminists believe that sexism is at the core of patriarchal society and that all social institutions reflect it. Whereas liberal feminists focus on the workplace and legal changes, radical feminists focus on the patriarchal family as the key site of domination and oppression (Shelton and Agger, 1993). They believe that because social institutions are so intertwined, it is virtually impossible to attack sexism in any meaningful way. Women's oppression stems from male domination; if men are the problem, neither capitalism nor socialism nor any other male-dominated system will solve the problem. Therefore, women must create separate institutions that are women centered—those that rely on women rather

than men. Radical feminists would agree with cultural feminists that women may choose a variety of paths that are more or less different but that women as a group are different from men. They, too, envision a society where the female virtues of nurturance, sharing, and intuition will dominate, but in a woman-identified world.

Acknowledging the impossibility of removing sexism from all institutions, radical feminists work at local levels and in their neighborhoods to develop profit and not-for-profit institutions that are operated solely by women to serve other women, such as small businesses, day care facilities, counseling centers, and safe houses for women escaping domestic violence.

Reflecting more overall diversity than any of the other feminisms, especially related to race and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender identities (Chapter 2), these localized institutions vary considerably in structure, philosophy, and strategies to attain their goals. The blueprint for the women-identified society they envision is stamped on their activities that are much more individualized than in other feminist categories. Radical feminism's disparate elements coalesce with the conviction that male supremacy and female oppression define and structure all of society.

Multicultural and Global Feminism

The attention to diversity at the macro level is evident among feminists who organize around multicultural and global issues. These feminisms are interwoven, focusing on the intersection of gender with race, class, and oppressions tracked to colonization and exploitation of women, primarily those in the developing world. Global feminism is a movement of people working for change across national boundaries. The world is interdependent and becoming more so. Global feminism contends that no woman is free until the conditions that oppress women worldwide are eliminated (Bunch, 1993:249). Multicultural feminism focuses on the specific cultural elements and historical conditions that serve to maintain women's oppression. In Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, specific patterns of punishment and sexual enslavement are devised for women who oppose oppressive regimes. (Global feminism works to empower South Asian and Middle Eastern women who are restricted from schooling, health care, and paid employment simply because they are women.)

In efforts to empower women, these feminisms disparage cultural relativism when it is used to justify violation of human rights, such as restricting a girl's access to education on religious grounds (Chapter 6). Through global strategizing, they advocate for immigrant women in economically developed nations who cannot access health care for their families or employment for themselves. The well-being of *all* women is addressed. The women who came together for the United Nations Conferences on Women are representative of these views.

Ecofeminism

Some women are drawn to feminism by environmental activism. These women are the catalysts of ecofeminism, a newer branch of feminism. Ecofeminism connects the degradation and oppression of women with the degradation of the ecosystem. Drawing on earth-based spiritual imagery, ecofeminism suggests that

the world's religions have an ethical responsibility to challenge a patriarchal system of corporate globalization that is deepening the impoverishment of the earth and its people. In this sense, ecofeminists and socialist feminists share the understanding that unleashed, unregulated global capital dependent on women's labor is held responsible for the plight of women and the plight of the planet. Healing the planet requires political action emphasizing equality and social justice globally (Ruether, 2005; Salleh, 2009). With its holistic viewpoint and emphasis on interdependence in all of its forms, ecofeminism is also compatible with global feminism.

Emerging Feminisms

All feminisms pay attention to the intersection of gender with other social categories relevant to their agendas. The categories discussed here may best be viewed as umbrellas with spokes linked to many emerging subsets and shifting layers. Cultural feminism may host Latina and Asian feminisms, focusing on the family strength and resilience in adversity attributed to women's roles. Native American feminism and indigenous feminism may be aligned with the holistic principles explicitly linked to ecofeminism. Spawned by the Internet technological revolution, cyberfeminism creates, structures, and owns the virtual worlds in the women-identified societies envisioned by radical feminists. They form virtual kinships and connect with one another, literally, in styles that cultural feminists celebrate (Blair et al., 2009). Also capitalizing on Internet image technology, "Guerrilla Girls" are a group of radical feminist pop artists who don guerrilla masks ("go ape with us") to highlight sexism and racism in the art world. With "in your face" website images, like other feminists, they are "re-inventing the f-word" to publicize their ideas (Guerrilla Girls, 2014). These "emerging" feminisms are expanding diversity and represent feminisms' next generations. All of these varieties of feminists negotiate how gender is constructed according to their own needs and priorities. Different feminisms result from these constructions.

Feminism and the Media

Is feminism still considered the "f-word"? Feminism is a movement to end the oppression of women. It uses women's perceptions and experiences to devise strategies for overcoming oppression. It embraces political goals that offer gender equality. We will see throughout this text that public support for feminist goals and women's empowerment is widespread. A large majority of American women agree that feminism has altered their lives for the better. Many women, however, refuse to identify themselves as feminists. Passivity has been replaced with open and critical debate between feminists and those who agree or disagree with various feminisms. This debate is stimulating, is necessary, and fuels empowerment. As noted earlier, inclusiveness feeds disagreement. Feminists may have different priorities and different streams of feminist thought to address these. They can agree to disagree. Feminists understand and accept the distinctions, but they are usually presented to the public in highly distorted ways.

Portrayals of Feminism

Media have a formidable influence in reinforcing gender role stereotypes, and the "feminist" stereotype is no exception. Both feminist agreement and the feminist value of disagreement are ignored or ridiculed in conservative media, but also throughout mainstream, cable news, and entertainment media. These portrayals also illustrate key features of **misogyny**, the contempt and disdain of women that propels their oppression. Media messages implicitly supporting misogyny propel stereotypes about feminism.

Media latch onto disagreements among feminists and present sound bites giving the impressions that feminism has split into irreconcilable warring factions. This negative media attention is reinforced with news format entertainment shows suggesting that women have already achieved political parity and legal parity with men and that because feminists have nothing else to fight for, they fight among themselves. Young women appear to be receptive to these messages because self-identification for feminism decreases significantly with age (Hogeland, 2007).

In addition to highlighting disagreement among feminists, media depict feminists as being puritanical, hating men, taking unfair advantage of men in the workplace, and controlling men in their homes. College students who identify themselves as "nonfeminists" believe many of these stereotypes (Houvouras and Scott, 2008). Prime-time television series portray feminists in negative and highly stereotyped ways. Jokes deriding feminists about their appearance, sexuality, and love life and how they control their children and husbands are common. Boys who support assertive girls fear homophobic labels casting doubts about their masculinity (Chapter 9). Assertive girls are silenced when they are "accused" of being feminists. Young women and teens are often the targets of sexist jokes. Sexism is reinforced by the contemptuous statements about feminists routinely made by the popular and attractive characters in the shows (Chapter 13). Given the power of the media to construct gender roles, it is difficult for young women and men who may identify with feminism in principle to do so in public.

Racist comments are unacceptable in entertainment and news media. Sexist comments are acceptable. Consider the infamous response by John McCain to a female supporter (referring to Hillary Clinton) when he was asked, "How do we beat the bitch?" Although momentarily taken aback by her comment, amid the laughter, he smiled and responded, "But that's an excellent question" (Kantor, 2008). Consider his probable response if his supporter had used a racist slur rather than a sexist one? The Obama campaign remained silent about sexist commentary or intrusion into the personal lives of opposing candidates until after the primary election.

Feminist for President and Vice President

Coverage of women candidates is highly gendered whether or not they are identified as feminists. Women running for high political offices—Governor, Senator, President, and Vice President—are likely to receive more, not less, news coverage. But that coverage tends to focus on factors not pertinent to the issues, such as the "novelty" factor (Is she really running for that office?), so-called feminine traits (Does she do laundry?), appearance (Where did she get that jacket?), or comparisons to men

(Is she man enough for the office?) (Meeks, 2012; Cottle, 2012). The remarkable 2008 presidential election serves as a case study in feminism and politics as viewed in media.

Election 2008 As if waiting in the wings to be reignited, feminist bashing made a "gut-wrenching" comeback during the 2008 election (Merkin, 2008). Women were very viable contenders for the highest offices: New York Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton as potential Democrat nominee for President and Alaska Governor Sarah Palin as Republican nominee for Vice President. With feminism taking center stage, a storm of gender-based commentary was unleashed during the run-up to the election. Public perception of these (and other) candidates was skewed via media rendering of gender and of feminism (Mandziuk, 2008; Sotirovic, 2008). Both Clinton and Palin self-identified as feminists. However, they were portrayed as very different feminists according to the media.

Hillary Rodham Clinton Hillary Clinton's feminist label was intermittently applauded in a few news media outlets, suspiciously viewed throughout mainstream media, and scorned and ridiculed in right-wing media. Although Clinton ran a campaign that included but did not focus on women's issues, her feminism and—by extension—her personality were associated with divisiveness, "unlikability," and media-constructed views of radicalism. Feminism was further diminished when Clinton was couched as an opportunist interested in personal ambition rather than public service and unsure of her beliefs about how far she was willing to go in support of women (Reimer, 2008; Stansell, 2008). Virtually no mainstream media source countered these stereotypes of feminism associated with Clinton's campaign. Media instead spotlighted women, feminist or not, who endorsed Barack Obama's candidacy. The public heard messages that women are their own enemies, that feminism is unraveling, and that the sisterhood is split (Wiener, 2007; Valenti, 2008). Feminists who agree to disagree or those engaged in critical debate with one another were absent in media discourse. Feminism as applied to Clinton in the media represented a threat to politics as usual.

Sarah Palin Although Sarah Palin and the social conservatives who supported her disagreed with a feminist political agenda (Chapter 14), she did identify herself as a feminist in the now infamous interview when Katie Couric asked whether Palin considered herself a feminist. Palin's response: "I do. A feminist who believes in equal rights, and I believe that women certainly today have every opportunity that a man has to succeed, and to try to do it all, anyway" (Couric, 2008). Sarah Palin's feminist label was generally applauded, regardless of the political persuasion of the media source. The McCain–Palin ticket ran a campaign that put Palin in charge of policy statements reinforcing traditional views of women that resonated with social conservatives. As applied to Palin, feminism was benignly to positively portrayed by her status as an elected official, as a mother with small children, and with a supportive husband. Feminists were largely at odds with the policy agenda (or lack of one) to bolster women meaningfully in such roles. However, they supported Palin's quest for public office, especially as a role model for young women and working mothers (Baird et al., 2008; Carroll and Dittmar,

2010). In utterly false and astonishing media messages, however, feminists were cast as *detractors* of women's "right" to have a career and a family (Young, 2008). Regardless of the feminist label, the McCain–Palin ticket embraced an antifeminist agenda. Feminism, as applied to Palin, did not represent a threat to politics as usual.

Critique Feminism is light years advanced with two centuries of messages supporting employed mothers, equal opportunity for men and women, and equal pay for equal work. The vast majority of Americans accepts and approves of these feminist messages. Are socially conservative women, therefore, feminists? Social constructionists argue that the authenticity of any label is only determined by self-definition and the ability of the actor to convince others to accept this definition. First Lady Michelle Obama's popularity is linked to ensuring that her children ride the wave of their White House residency as smoothly as possible. She is judged by her ability to maintain family normalcy amid the ever-present spotlight on her children, especially by conservative media. As she is a strong supporter of both civil rights and feminist goals, media attention to her "warmer side" buffers stereotypes about feminists being too strident (Stanley, 2008; White, 2011). Contrary to media assertions, support by feminists remains strong whether or not she engages in a pro-woman agenda outside her family roles. Support by social conservatives for this type of engagement would likely erode. To maintain a broad base of support from all ranks of women, she walks a narrow and difficult line.

Portrayals of Clinton and Palin for their feminist views cannot be separated from the sexism that mired both their candidacies, particularly related to their appearance and demeanor: Clinton, because she was too masculine; Palin, because she was too feminine. Journalists were suspicious of Clinton's feminist image, but she was taken seriously as a viable candidate. For Palin, media sexism was evident for failure to seriously engage her on the difficult issues related to the economic and international challenges facing the United States. Regardless of her feminist assertion, media focus on personal matters rather than on political matters served to undermine Palin's credibility as a serious candidate (Gibbons, 2008; Heflick and Goldenberg, 2011). However, the McCain–Palin ticket in turn lost credibility by claiming that the media was sexist when asking the Vice Presidential nominee "unfair" questions about her experience and by pressing John McCain on his abysmal record of advocacy for women. The public agreed that the media focus on Palin's family life was sexist; they also believed that claims of sexism when media questioned candidates on their policies about women were hypocritical (Quindlen, 2008).

Feminism and the Political Climate Although women's issues were clearly a defining element of Election 2012 and continue to be emphasized in the current political climate, these issues are not framed as feminist per se. With so many women seeking and winning, office campaign strategies for both Republican and Democratic women are based on labels defining them as more or less liberal or conservative. Labels of "radical" and "extreme" used in both campaigns to assault the other party and widely reported on in the media may substitute for the feminist-bashing of

earlier campaigns. With the lessons of Elections 2008 and 2012 and the necessity of closing the political gender gap for Republicans (Chapter 14), officeholders and candidates in both parties are aware that the feminist label is no longer uniformly associated with political doom. It may even offer a glint of a political advantage. In addition, feminist candidates are much more likely to account for feminist diversity that is distinct from second-wave feminism (Chapter 5). Candidates must invite women of color, for example, to their ranks (Dubriwny, 2013). For those candidates who do embrace the label, it is less likely that a reemergence of feminist-bashing, in mainstream media at least, will occur.

Challenging the Backlash to Feminism

How can feminist strength and productive messages to women be projected positively when feminists dare to disagree with one another in public? Several reasons support the contention that feminism may be reframed in a more favorable light by the media. First, young women lulled into believing that sexism was in its death throes were jolted into awareness during the campaign that feminist goals continue to be illusive. Sexism in the election served a latent function by raising consciousness that obstacles remain for women seeking success, whether in the media or in the political and business worlds (Fuller, 2008:4). Second, Hillary Clinton's vocal support for feminist goals and Sarah Palin's admission that she, too, is a feminist will be difficult to dislodge from the vernacular of media. If Palin runs for office again, the feminist label will certainly be resurrected however it plays out. Conservative female candidates may have difficulty recanting feminism after Palin's admission. Third, the public sees a variety of feminisms at work; at a basic level at least, feminist goals are being embraced. Finally, as noted above, feminism may offer a political advantage, especially if it is shaped as a proactive, positive campaign marker rather than a reactive defense to negative media.

Although many women do not identify themselves as feminists, a burgeoning number of technologically savvy young men and women are reclaiming and embracing the label to counter sexism and gender stereotypes. Sexist occurrences in media and on the Internet are swiftly met via tweets, blogs, and social media that instantaneously reverberate through the globe (Jayson, 2013). Feminist diversity is celebrated rather than viewed suspiciously or maligned (Redfern and Aune, 2010). As suggested by the varieties of feminisms, women are abandoning the discourse of separation that distanced feminists from each other. The severe backlash to feminism in the media during political campaigns, ironically, is a sign that barriers may be eroding.

The theories and concepts presented in this chapter and the visions of society they suggest are offered as tools to be used in approaching the following chapters and the array of issues related to gender roles you will be confronting. Each theoretical perspective has its own insight and explanation for any given issue. Issues are further refined when theories are used in combination with one another. Consider these theories, too, as we explore fully what the word *role* may suggest. Does even the word *roles* in the title of this book suggest difference, binary, and (inevitable) inequality? Can a blurring of gender roles open fissures that topple gender inequality disadvantageous to both women and men. At the conclusion of

this book, you will have developed a perspective on gender or gender roles that is most meaningful to you.

Summary

1. As one of the most important trends in sociology in the twentieth century, the study of gender has led to a new feminist paradigm and has opened up new topics for research, especially the connection between gender, race, and social class.
2. All social interaction is gendered. Gendered social interaction is guided by status; positions people occupy; and roles, the behavior associated with a status. Sexism and discrimination result when the status and role of female and male become stereotyped.
3. *Sex* is the biological component of male and female, *gender* is the social and psychological component, and *sexual orientation* is the way people experience sexual pleasure. These terms are often confused.
4. Sociological explanations for gender roles are guided by three levels of analysis (macro, micro, and mezzo), and five theoretical perspectives: Functionalism focuses on how gender role contributes to social order or equilibrium; conflict theory focuses on the level of power associated with gender; symbolic interaction focuses on the gendered behavior at the micro level, accounting for details of the setting; and social constructionism suggests that cultural norms are modified whenever social interaction occurs because people bring their own definitions about appropriate behavior to the interaction. Both social constructionism and symbolic interaction focus on how people do, redo and undo" gender in everyday life.
5. The feminist paradigm focuses on women's empowerment and draws attention to intersectionality and the matrix of domination and multiple oppressions due to race, class, and gender; sexuality, sexual orientation, age, and disability may also be included. Intersectionality is strong theoretically but needs more empirical work to determine the hierarchy of oppression.
6. Feminism is a worldwide movement to end sexism by empowering women. Categories of feminism include liberal feminism, its most mainstream and inclusive branch focusing on working within the system to end sexism; cultural feminism, focusing on positive qualities of women's roles; socialist feminism, focusing on ending sexism by eliminating capitalism and adopting socialist principles; radical feminism, calling for women to create separate women-centered social institutions; multicultural or global feminism, working for change across national boundaries; and ecofeminism, focusing on environmental action. Emerging feminisms such as cyberfeminism and those based on race, ethnicity, or immigration overlap with many feminisms.
7. A severe backlash to feminism and media reinforcement of gender and feminist stereotypes occurred during the 2008 election and influenced the perception of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin as viable candidates. Concern for women's issues in the current political climate may prompt more receptiveness to feminism. Feminism can be recast in the media so that positive feminist messages are heard.

Key Terms

Androcentrism
Agency
Doing gender
Dramaturgy
Empowerment
End point fallacy
Expressive role
Feminism
Gender
Gender roles
Intersectionality
Instrumental role
Misogyny
Norms
Patriarchy
Role
Sex
Sexism
Sexual orientation
Social Construction of reality
Social stratification
Status
Status set
Stereotypes
Theory

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How would a functionalist, conflict theorist, symbolic interactionist, and feminist answer the following question: Why do men hold the most powerful economic and political positions across the globe? What social policies would theorists from each of these groups offer as mechanisms to make this situation more gender equitable?
2. Considering the intersection of gender, race, and class and the distinctions between the various branches of feminism, provide realistic alternatives for ways women can "celebrate" their diversity and their unity at the same time.
3. The backlash to feminism (the "f-word") is often media based. Which sociological theory do you think best explains this backlash? Suggest strategies consistent with the theory you select to alter this perception.

CHAPTER 2

Gender Development
Biology, Sexuality, and Health

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Demonstrate how the work of Margaret Mead challenges ideas about sex and gender in evolutionary theory.
2. Explain why nature vs. nurture is not productive for understanding gender roles.
3. Identify the strengths and weaknesses of sociobiology and cognitive biology in their explanations of sex differences in gender identity.
4. Describe the hormone puzzle in explaining sex differences in aggression.
5. Identify reasons countering Freud's idea that anatomy is destiny.
6. Discuss how sexuality is gendered with reference to ambiguities in sex and gender, sexual orientation and people who identify themselves in an LGBT category.
7. Demonstrate how sexual scripts determine attitudes and behaviors related to orgasm, nonmarital sex, and the double standard.
8. Compare and explain the reasons for differences in male and female mortality and morbidity rates.
9. Argue in support of the idea that the women's health movement benefits both males and females.
10. List reasons for the female advantage in evolution.

Whether it's hair or height or weight people are judged based on their looks. A person's looks affects opportunities for success. The bottom line is that the world prefers beautiful people.

—Adapted from Priya Dua, (2011:82)

Arguments used against gender equality are fundamentally biological ones. Despite abundant data to the contrary, beliefs about women's inferiority due to biology stubbornly persist. **Essentialism** is the belief that males and females are inherently different because of their biology and genes. This difference makes men and women "naturally" suited to fulfill certain roles regardless of their intellect, desires, expertise, or experiences. Like sociological functionalism, essentialism does not explicitly state that

difference equates to inferiority, but the assumed quality or essence that makes men and women different is consistently drawn on to justify that conclusion. Although men are sometimes its targets, essentialism points to women's biological and reproductive makeup that refrain them from standing on equal ground with men.

The explosion of research on issues of sex and gender globally provides massive evidence refuting essentialist claims. Research does not discount the role of biology in gender development, but it clearly demonstrates that culture is a greater barrier to equality than biology. When desire and talent are combined with opportunity and encouragement, people can move into the "traditional" gender role of the other. When such movement becomes widespread, gender distinctions are blurred. Decades of research make it empirically clear that the benefits of equality for males and females alike far outweigh the disadvantages.

Nature and Nurture

How much of our gendered behavior is determined by nature (heredity, biology, and genes), and how much is determined by nurture, the environment or culture in which we live and learn? Sociological explanations for gender differences are rooted in the nurture side of this question. Certainly males and females are different. Patterns of differentiation include not only physiology, but also differences related to demographics, attitudes, and behavior, especially related to sexuality. Are these differences significant enough to suggest that patriarchy is inevitable? Do the differences outweigh the similarities? What role does biology play in determining these differences? An examination of the research and theory generated by these questions—and the controversy surrounding them—will help shed light on the "it's only natural" argument. We will see that controversy and even tragedy surround how some of these questions are answered. The "only natural" argument is in fact an extension of the nature *versus* nurture debate. Because this chapter's focus is on biological issues, the categories of male and female will frequently be referred to as (the) "sexes."

Margaret Mead

Famed anthropologist Margaret Mead (1935/2001) was interested in exploring sex differences when she journeyed to New Guinea in the 1930s and lived with three different tribes. Among the gentle, peace-loving Arapesh, both men and women were nurturing and compliant, spending time gardening, hunting, and rearing children. The Arapesh gained immense satisfaction from these tasks, which were eagerly shared by both men and women. Arapesh children grew up to mirror these patterns and became cooperative and responsive parents themselves, with a willingness to subordinate themselves to the needs of those who were younger and weaker. Personality, Mead concluded, could not be distinguished by gender. What many societies would define as maternal behavior extended to both men and women. By contrast, the fierce Mundugumor barely tolerated children; they left the children to their own devices early in life. Children were taught to be as hostile, competitive, and suspicious of others as their elders were. Both mothers and fathers showed little tenderness toward their children, with harsh physical punishment being common. Children quickly learned that tribal success was measured by aggression,

with violence as an acceptable, expected solution to many problems. Because both males and females demonstrated these traits, the Mundugumor, like the Arapesh, did not differentiate personality in terms of gender. Finally, the Tchumbuli demonstrated what would be considered a reversal of gender roles. This tribe consisted of practical, efficient, and unadorned women and passive, vain, and decorated men. Women's weaving, fishing, and trading activities provided the economic mainstay for the community; men remained close to the village and practiced dancing and art. Women enjoyed the company of other women. Men strived to gain the women's attention and affection, a situation women took with tolerance and humor. Contrary to her original belief that there are natural sex differences, Mead concluded that masculine and feminine are culturally, rather than biologically, determined.

Critique Mead's work is an anthropological standard on gender differences, and it is presented here in some detail. The gender roles she described almost a century ago were undoubtedly as unusual then as they are today. Yet her work still challenges the "it's only natural" argument. We know today that gender roles vary within a narrower range than suggested by Mead's research. However, "her message that gender constitutes an arena of great variability in human experience has borne out under empirical evidence" (LeVine, 1990:5). In fact, no existing theory, especially those grounded in essentialism, can explain the immense variety of meanings attached to being male and female. It is precisely this variation that has led to so much research questioning biologically based beliefs regarding femininity and masculinity. As this chapter demonstrates, we can identify biological differences and similarities between female and male, but to determine how these differences relate to what is considered masculine and feminine the world over is exceedingly difficult.

Evolution, Genetics, and Biology

Debates on the influence of nature and nurture on human behavior are often viewed through the lens of evolution. This Darwinian view suggests simply that sex differences (such as sexuality, cognitive ability, and parenting) and gender differences (such as toy preferences, college major, and career choice) have adaptive advantages for species survival. Genetics endow females and males with different capacities to allow this advantage to unfold productively. Other biological differences, such as prenatal androgens, reinforce genetic patterns so that girls and boys are led down different life paths.

Sociobiology Rooted in the nature side of the debate, the field of sociobiology also addresses questions of sex differences in its examination of the biological roots of social behavior. Originally developing out of research based on insects (Wilson, 1975, 1978), sociobiologists argue that evolutionary theory can be used to draw conclusions about humans from studies of animals. The fundamental assertion of **sociobiology** is that, like other animals, humans are structured by nature (biology) with an innate drive to ensure that their individual genes are passed on to the next generation. This is the motivating factor in all human behavior. It is as adaptive for a mother to care for her children as it is for men to be promiscuous. Each sex evolved these attributes to increase its reproductive success. Sociobiologists believe

that principles of evolution pointing to species survival provide the best understanding of how gendered social behaviors developed. For example, aggressiveness not only allowed humans to successfully compete with nonanimals that shared our primeval environment, but also allowed males to compete among themselves for females. The same principles explain promiscuity in men. Whereas women are highly selective in choosing mating partners, men spread their sperm as widely as possible. For sociobiologists, other behaviors rooted in natural selection include mother–infant bonding, female dominance in child care, and male dominance in virtually all positions outside the home. As an evolutionary result of natural selection, the separate, unequal worlds of male and female emerged (Udry, 2000). Contemporary gender roles, therefore, reflect this evolutionary heritage.

Critique Sociobiology has some success in applying evolutionary theory to animal behavior, but because it is virtually impossible to test the natural selection principles on which it is based, empirical support for evolutionary links to human behavior, is weak (Nielsen, 1994). Feminist scientific critiques center on the fact that sociobiology and similar evolutionary approaches are *androcentric* perspectives, are often presented in deterministic ways, make faulty assumptions about human behavior, and disregard well-documented research about animals. Such approaches present data with overtones that may serve political agendas. Stereotypes about male dominance in all species and untested, untestable assumptions about the evolution of sex differences distort an otherwise valid approach to understanding evolution (Miller and Cosetello, 2001; Risman, 2001; Dagg, 2005). For example, it ignores the fact that the female chimp is notoriously promiscuous. Sexual selection in sociobiology emphasizes competition and aggression in male chimps, but neglects the other part of the process in which female chimps make choices among males. Female chimps can be sexually aggressive and competitive just as male chimps can be nurturing and passive. Female primates make choices in mates, often in cooperation with other females (Harcourt and Stewart, 2007; Reichard, 2014).

Recent evidence also suggests that aggressiveness in primates is rare (probably less than 1 percent of all activities), with affiliated, friendly behavior such as grooming and playing probably a hundred times more frequent. Even in reproduction strategies, there is strong evidence of male–male cooperation (McGinn, 2002; Diaz-Murioz et al., 2014). For humans, research suggests that the view of humans having sex only to reproduce rather than for sexual stimulation or to experience pleasure disregards an entire range of emotions, personality traits, and sexual strategies that cannot be traced to animals (Meston and Buss, 2007; Engelmann et al., 2012). Sociobiologists may offer some productive leads for studying human social behavior, but leaping from animals to humans is tenuous at best. Given evidence from animal behavior, specifically primate behavior, it could be argued that human females are more intelligent or more powerful in controlling human males.

Cognitive Biology The biological basis for sex differences stems from research on prenatal hormones and brain development. Androgens help determine how our bodies, including our brains, become sexually differentiated. Higher levels of androgens predict more male-typical than female-typical behavior (Hines, 2008). Cognitive sex differences related to stronger spatial ability for males and stronger verbal

ability for females, for example, may have biological roots since these differences show up very early in life before strong environmental influences kick in. These are stable differences that persist over time for individuals regardless of gender role change (Kimura, 2007). Other research suggests that infant girls come into the world with an orientation to faces and that infant boys come with an orientation to objects. In turn, the seeds are planted for them to follow different gender-based life paths. These paths usually translate to family roles for women and career roles for men (Baron-Cohen, 2007; Berenbaum and Resnick, 2007).

Other genetic approaches to sex-differentiated behavior make giant leaps by concluding that "it has been known since antiquity that gender-specific behaviors are regulated by the gonads." This research contends that female-typical responses cannot occur without a required level of estrogen and progesterone (Juntti et al., 2008). Male and female brains are so different that the sexes may be tracked over their lifespan according to brain development. For females, there are the teen girl brain, the mommy brain, and the mature female brain (Brizendine, 2006). Research on men's brains lags behind, but conclusions about nonoverlapping gender roles would be easy to predict.

Critique Hormones may account for some *sex* differences in gender identity and sexual orientation, for example, but cannot account for *gender* differences in other roles such as nurturing, love, and criminal behavior (Hines, 2004). No reliable biological data suggest that women's underrepresentation in some sciences and men's underrepresentation in the caring professions are due to differences in biologically based cognitive abilities. Sex difference data are usually presented according to average group differences and tell us nothing about an individual's aptitude. Most research does not provide the size of the effects, only that correlations may be weak or robust or statistically significant or not. It is difficult to pick up a newspaper today without someone claiming that males and females are different because "one millimeter of male brain tissue seems to function significantly different than the comparable function of tissue in female brains." In turn, gender stereotypes are reinforced and people lose sight of the fact that "women and men are, in most ways, more similar than different" (Crowley, 2006).

Environmental factors will determine how a person's aptitude is translated to the real world. When a girl believes that math skills are learned, she does as well as a boy on a difficult math test than if she believes that math is a gift. The effect of testosterone or estrogen on "manly" or feminine behavior must seriously account for the key role the social environment plays in understanding behavior–hormones relationships (Booth et al., 2006). Simply put, biological sex is *not* gender destiny (Dweck, 2007; Halpern, 2007). In reviewing the research on the biology of gender, developmental biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling (1992) concludes that what are considered to be the results of biology are more likely the results of culture.

The Hormone Puzzle

The chromosomal basis of sex difference is clearer. Of the two types of sex chromosomes, X and Y, both sexes have at least one X chromosome. Females possess two X chromosomes, whereas males have one X and one Y chromosome. It is the lack

or presence of the Y chromosome that determines whether a baby will be male or female. That the X chromosome has a larger genetic background than the Y chromosome is advantageous to females with their XX chromosomes. The extra X chromosome is associated with a superior immune system and lower female mortality at all stages of the life cycle. All other chromosomes are similar in form, differing only in individual hereditary identities.

It is when hormones are added to the sex difference equation that the boundaries between biology and culture become more blurred. There is a subtle but significant interaction between sex hormones and psychosocial factors in gendered behavior. *Hormones* are internal secretions produced by the endocrine glands that are carried by the blood throughout the body, which affect target cells in other organs. Both males and females possess the same hormones, but they differ in amounts. For example, the dominant female hormone, estrogen, is produced in larger quantities by the ovaries but in smaller quantities by the testes. The dominant hormone in males, testosterone, is produced in larger quantities by the testes and smaller quantities by the ovaries. The endocrine differences between males and females are not absolute, but differ along a continuum of variation, with most males being significantly different from most females.

We know that sex hormones have two key functions that must be considered together. First, they shape the development of the brain and sex organs; second, they determine how these organs will be activated. Because hormones provide an organization function for the body, their effects will be different for the sexes. For example, during fetal development, when certain tissues are highly sensitive to hormones, the secretion of testosterone both masculinizes and defeminizes key cellular structures throughout the brain and reproductive organs. The fetus first starts to develop female organs but later, under the influence of testosterone, masculinizes itself if it possesses a Y chromosome. A male may be viewed as a female transformed by testosterone—the female body form is the “default” form (Mealey, 2000:14). The processes of masculinization and the development of sex differences are continuous and influence each other by hormones, individual experiences, and social expectations.

Aggression The debate on the influence of hormones on gender behavior is further complicated when studying sex differences in aggression. In most species, including primates, males are more aggressive than females. Higher aggression in human males is evident at about age two (Connor, 2002; Baillargeon et al., 2007). Some animal studies link testosterone to increases in aggression, and in humans, weak correlations are found between testosterone level and violence (Book et al., 2001; Browne, 2002). Girls and boys are about equal in learned aggressiveness. Girls are more likely than boys to suppress anger or carry it out verbally. They also use more *relational* aggression, purposely harming others, usually other girls, through manipulating peers, family members, and friends. Girls cause harm when a relationship suffers. Boys and young men are more likely to display aggression openly and carry it out in physical ways. They confront adversaries, usually other males, with fistfights, bullying, and shouting matches using sexually degrading language coupled with pushing and shoving (Crick et al., 2009; Salmivalli and Peets, 2009). When accounting for aggression according to key demographic features (age, race, ethnicity), key features of context (workplace, home, school), and key features

of risk (abuse, developmental disability, sexual orientation), research does *not* suggest that males show predictable, higher levels of aggressiveness. Statistical significance is weak or absent for studies that do suggest some correlation even when controlling for other factors (Kuppens et al., 2008; Little, 2013; Alexander, 2014).

Although animal studies, mostly done on rodents, do show a clear connection between androgens (male hormones) and male aggression, a wealth of research on humans cannot support the same claim (Björkqvist, 1994; Sato et al., 2008). Besides being impossible to design ethical studies that can make the empirical causal leap from animals to people, well-designed studies on the most intelligent social animals, especially primates, cannot make the leap either (Pavelka, 1998; De Waal and Tyack, 2003; Beauchamp et al., 2008). Perhaps the most damaging argument against the aggression–hormone link is, as noted earlier, gender differences in aggression are dependent on the type of aggression and the situation in which it occurs (Björkqvist and Niemelä, 1992). The cultural features of the context are powerful forces in determinants of aggression. There are different standards regarding the appropriateness of aggressive behavior, and they are learned early in life. As adults, men may feel pressured to act aggressively when publicly challenged. Hormones shift constantly as people move in and out of various social situations. Testosterone increases aggression, but aggression increases testosterone. In competitions, levels of testosterone increase in winners and decrease in losers (Dodge et al., 2006; Pound et al., 2009).

Sex differences in aggression are evident but not very large. Testosterone is one of many components that influences behavior, including aggression, sexuality, and expression of emotions. It is clear that culture and context of aggression are as important as any biological predisposition of the aggressor.

Motherhood Animal studies of primates focusing on hormones released during pregnancy that allegedly fuel mother–infant bonding have been used to suggest the existence of a *maternal instinct* in human females. This research asserts that the female hormones estrogen, progesterone, and prolactin biologically propel women toward motherhood. Furthermore, because these hormones are elicited in larger amounts during pregnancy and after labor, women are driven to protect, bond with, and nurture their infants from the moment of birth. Women's desire for babies will always trump any desire men may have to be fathers (De Marneffe, 2004; Hines, 2004). Fathering is learned, but evolutionary forces propel mothering. Infertile women who believe motherhood is based on a maternal instinct may view their inability to have children as inadequacy and failure (Ulrich and Weatherall, 2000).

Mothers do protect, bond with, and nurture their infants, but these behaviors cannot be based solely on unlearned responses. The notion of a maternal instinct is not supported by available research. A century ago sociologist Leta Hollingworth (1916, reprinted 2000) discounted the maternal instinct belief and suggested that "social devices" are the impelling reasons for women to bear and rear children. Socialization of females maximizes attachment to the young, whereas for males, it is minimized. Some women suffer from postpartum depression and may even reject the child. Infanticide, voluntary abortion, and neglect by mothers, especially of their daughters, are all too common globally. The number of voluntarily childless women also continues to increase (Chapter 8). A woman's

nurturing behavior will be heightened when she is in immediate contact with her newborn, but parental love emerges within the first week of the birth through repeated exposure to the infant (Maccoby, 2000). The fact that a large majority of women eagerly respond to their infants and readily take on the caretaking role is due to many factors.

The birth experience of course create a mother–child bond that is different than a father–child bond, but this does not mean that hormones will make one parent better or more nurturing than the other. When new fathers take part in birthing, measures of infant–father bonding are as high as infant–mother bonding. If gender-typing is low, infant care can be a rewarding joint effort by parents. Consider Mead's study of the gentle Arapesh, where both sexes enjoyed child care. The intense interest fathers have for their newborns and their capacity for nurturance are not based on hormones.

Due in a large part to simplistic media accounts of the genetic basis of sex differences in human behavior, beliefs about a motherhood instinct persist, reinforce stereotypes, and justify social inequality and male dominance. The following comments suggest this scenario (Cole et al., 2007:211):

> Well I certainly think that there is . . . the mothering instinct . . . is an instinct. I think it's a strong, very strong biological force. . . . We're almost captive to our genetics, so to speak. (Female respondent)
>
> In the days before there was civilizations . . . [t]he guys had to go out and kill the animals . . . and the women were the nurturers, and they took care of the kids . . . and that's basically the way it still is. (Male respondent)

The influence of hormones on gendered behavior is puzzling, and some research is equivocal. There is consensus among biologists and social and behavioral scientists, however, that sex differences in behavior involve a complex mosaic of nature and nurture. Biological inheritance and social experience cannot be independent of one another.

Gendered Sexuality

Until fairly recently, beliefs about males and females in regard to human sexuality were shrouded in myth and superstition. Research on gendered sexuality has helped dispel many of these myths, but, as we shall see, many others still persist.

Sigmund Freud: Anatomy Is Destiny

The impact of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on medicine and science is profound. There was no systematic psychology as a discipline before Freud. He was the first to tie a specific theory of psychosexual development to a therapeutic intervention, psychoanalysis, which he founded. Although a century of research on the foundations of Freud's work has produced questions, inconsistencies, and disagreement, he remains a powerful force on the intellectual climate in many disciplines.

The fact that a boy possesses a penis and a girl does not is the dominant factor in Freud's theory of psychosexual development. Of his five stages of psychosexual

development (oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital), the one that has received the most attention is the phallic stage as it relates to gender socialization. At ages 3–5, children recognize the anatomical difference between the sexes. They focus gratification on the genitals (the clitoris for the girl and the penis for the boy), and masturbation and sexual curiosity increase for both. Freud argued that girls come to believe that the penis, unlike the barely noticeable clitoris, is a symbol of power denied to them. The result is "penis envy," which culminates in a girl's wish that she could be a boy (Freud, 1962). She views her mother as inferior because she, too, does not have a penis. The girl's *libido*, or sexual energy, is transferred to the father, who becomes the love object. Neo-Freudian psychologist Carol Jung referred to this experience as the *Electra complex*. The resolution occurs when the girl's wish for a penis is replaced by the wish for a child. A male child is even more desirable because he brings the longed-for penis with him. In this way, the female child eventually learns to identify with her mother. Clitoral stimulation is abandoned for vaginal penetration, which is proclaimed as a sign of adult maturity for women.

A boy also experiences conflict during the phallic stage, when his libido is focused on his mother, and his father is the rival for his mother's affections. Freud called this experience the *Oedipus complex*. When a boy discovers that a girl does not have a penis, he develops "castration anxiety"—the fear that he will be deprived of the prized organ. The psychic turmoil a boy experiences during this stage leads to the development of a strong superego. For Freud, conscience and morality, the very hallmarks of civilization, are produced with strong superegos. Freud believed that girls have weaker superegos because the resolution of the Electra complex occurs with envy rather than fear. Because they experience less psychic conflict than boys, personality development is tarnished. This explains why women are more envious, jealous, narcissistic, and passive than men. A boy eventually overcomes the underlying fear, identifies with his father, reduces incestuous desires for his mother, and is later ushered into psychosexual maturity. Indeed, anatomy is destiny for Freud.

Critique Asserting that women cannot be fully mature unless they experience orgasm through vaginal intercourse, Freud's beliefs about the biological inadequacy of females ignore the clitoris serving a purely sexual and pleasurable function. Physiologically orgasms are the same regardless of how they are reached. The sexism in Freudian theory is obvious, even though its unfortunate effects concerning the idea of female inferiority exceeded the intentions of Freud himself (Millett, 1995:61). Some critics argue that his sweeping generalizations were fueled by a personal longing for greatness (Bregar, 2000). His ideas were no doubt conditioned by the Victorian society in which he lived—one that largely embraced strict gender differentiation based on traditional roles for men and women in a patriarchal world. Freud was severely criticized for his ideas about infantile sexuality and the psychosexual stages of development, but gained quiet acceptance for his comments on the biologically inferior design of females.

Feminism and Freud Can feminists also be Freudians? Blatant sexism notwithstanding, the answer is "yes." Feminist scholars and therapists reject sexism but still find useful core elements of his theory and therapeutic techniques. It would be counterproductive, for example, to reject psychoanalysis when it is successful for

women patients. Psychoanalytic feminism has emerged to analyze the construction of gender and its effects on women, including women's subordination. Freud provides a basis for "seeing domination as a problem not so much of human nature as of human relationships—the interaction between psyche and social life" (Benjamin, 1988:5). Feminist reinterpretation of psychoanalytic theory allows the problem of domination to be viewed from this unique perspective.

Another important scholar representing psychoanalytic feminism is Nancy Chodorow (1978, 2001), who integrates aspects of psychoanalytic and sociological theory. She posits that because in most cultures women do the child care, mothers produce daughters who then desire to mother. Mothering thus reproduces itself. They produce sons, who devalue women for these very roles. Penis envy occurs because women, even young girls, recognize the power of males; so it is natural to desire this kind of power. There is nothing inherently biologically superior about this. It is the ability of the girl to maintain identification with her mother that achieves the desirable traits of empathy and connectedness. In this sense, there is a positive resolution of the Oedipus complex, which Freud overlooked, ignored, or rejected from his male-biased view.

Disagreements between psychoanalytic feminists and between feminism and Freudian theory have not been resolved. Feminists are searching for a theoretical and therapeutic model to replace the traditional, Freudian-based, androcentric approach (Rose, 2005). This model would encompass feminist therapy appropriate for both male and female clients. With the required reinterpretation and empirical justification, it is likely that neo-Freudian scholars will use Freud's insights for the benefit rather than the degradation of women.

Ambiguous Sex, Ambiguous Gender

Accounting for the ever increasing ambiguities in conventional notions of sex and gender has led to an explosion of research on gendered sexuality and the development of the field of transgender studies. **Transgender** is an umbrella term describing people who do not conform to culturally defined traditional gender roles associated with their biological sex. Research on infants born with sexual anomalies helps us understand the importance of these ambiguities and sheds light on the biological basis of sex differences. From a sociological viewpoint, it allows a rare opportunity to study the link between physiology and behavior and to understand the important distinction between biological sex and gender. Formerly referred to as **hermaphrodites**, today the term **intersex** describes the approximate 1–3 percent of infants who are born with both male and female sex organs or who have ambiguous genitals (such as a clitoris that looks like a penis). They violate the principle of **sexual dimorphism**, the separation of the sexes into two distinct, nonoverlapping categories. Assigned one sex at birth, the child's genetic sex is often discovered later.

The time the child discovers his or her genetic sex is a crucial marker for psychological adjustment. It also determines whether *sex reassignment surgery* (SRS) is a viable option. In SRS, genitals are surgically altered so that a person changes from one biological sex to the other. Sex reassignment is more successful if it occurs before age 3 because this is the time *gender identity* is learned—an awareness that there are two sexes who behave differently, with the child beginning to develop the

first sense of self (Chapter 3). Once gender identity becomes stabilized, some therapists argue that attempting to change is emotionally traumatic.

The decision by parents to alter sexual organs, or genitalia, of their intersex child either to fit the appearance of one sex or the other or to correspond to the child's male or female genetic code is very controversial. The child has no choice in the decision, and the surgery is usually irreversible. Current advice is to assign a sex at birth; provide appropriate information and counseling about the intersex condition as the child grows up; and have the mature person decide on what action to take, if any, for surgery. Any irreversible surgery must wait until children are old enough to know and say which gender they feel closer to. No recent data exists to support the notion that early surgery significantly influences gender development (Wisniewski, 2012:10).

Transsexual/Transgender What about children who know from their earliest memories that they were born in the "wrong" body? Unlike intersex people, **transsexuals** are genetic males or females who believe they are members of the other sex. *Transsexual* is an older term originating with the psychiatric community that officially diagnosed these people as having a "gender identity disorder." The people themselves, however, are rapidly adopting the umbrella term transgender to self-identify. The medical and therapeutic community has since adopted *gender dysphonia* to describe the distress—not mental illness—resulting from feelings that one's body does not match one's sense of self. They feel "trapped" in the wrong body and may undergo SRS to "correct" the problem. Only then can their gender identity and their biological sex be consistent.

Transsexuals do not usually identify themselves as gay or lesbian. They are newly minted males or females who desire sexual intimacy with the other gender. Their ideal lover would be a heterosexual man or woman. The reality, however, is that most heterosexuals would not choose transsexuals as lovers. *Transvestites*, mostly males who are sexually aroused when they dress in women's clothing, are rarely transsexual. With biological sex and gender identity now consistent, transsexuals ease into their new gender role with more confidence.

Early research in the United States (1970s) on the success of SRS showed overall negative results: Some believed they made a mistake, and others reported no better adjustment after SRS. Recent research, however, suggests much more successful outcomes. Better surgical and therapeutic techniques, understanding of transgender, and especially increased tolerance in society are largely responsible for these more positive outcomes. Media portrayals of transgender issues have become much more favorable just in the last decade. Male-to-female transsexuals report fewer physical complications with SRS compared to female-to-male transsexuals. However, most report that it had greatly improved their quality of life and few express regret after the surgery (Udeze et al., 2008; Gorin-Lazard et al., 2011; Rossi et al., 2012; Wierckx et al., 2012).

These data are on SRS with adults. What about children who know from their earliest memories that they were born in the "wrong" body? Consider the following stories:

> From the time she could talk, (she) told her parents she is a boy. . . . She doesn't say "I feel like a boy." She says "I am a boy." (Schwartzapfel, 2013)

> When Coy was a year and a half old he loved nothing more than playing dress-up. Coy's fascination [was] with all things sparkly, ruffly and pink. . . [At three] after not

> receiving girl pants at Christmas, he asked when [he was] going to the doctor to have me fixed . . . tears spilling down his cheeks, to get my girl pants?" (Erdely, 2013)
>
> Skylar is a boy, but he was born a girl, and lived as one until the age of fourteen. Skylar would put it differently. . . . [H]e was a boy all along. (At age 13) after a bout of Internet research, he told [his parents] he was trans. [Transgender surgery occurred at age sixteen.] Skylar decided to run for homecoming court with his friend Julia, who considers herself "genderqueer." They won. (Talbot, 2013)

SRS for children is an agonizing one for parents who must give permission, often at the urging of physicians. How much should they listen to their children? Patience is counseled overall. There remains a disconnect between policies in school that deal with gender-variant children and the real-life experiences of these children. Sympathetic teachers and supportive parents often cannot see the isolation, harassment, and depression of these children (Gulli, 2014). These stories have generally happy endings so far. The following case study demonstrates a far different conclusion.

Does Nature Rule? A Sex Reassignment Tragedy

Unraveling the biological and cultural ambiguities surrounding sex and gender is exceedingly difficult. This is clearly demonstrated in the infamous case of SRS performed in 1968 in Canada to one of a pair of identical male twins, Bruce and Brian. During a circumcision at 8 months to correct a minor urination problem, Baby Bruce's penis was burned off. Physicians concluded that constructing an artificial penis was possible but not promising. The twins' parents learned that Dr. John Money (1921–2006), one of the world's experts on gender identity, spoke of encouraging results with SRS for hermaphrodites. According to Money, parents and environment solely shaped gender identity. Although Bruce was *not* a hermaphrodite (intersex) and was born with normal genitals, Dr. Money agreed to take on his case and work with the family so that he could be "taught to want to be a girl." At 22 months, Bruce had surgery to remove remaining penile tissue. Bruce was transformed to Brenda. According to Dr. Money, by age 5, the twins demonstrated almost stereotypical gender roles. Given girls' toys and highly feminine clothing, Brenda was being prepared for a domestic life. Brother Brian was introduced to the world outside the home, with preferences for masculine toys (soldiers and trucks) and occupations (firefighter and police officer) (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972; Money and Tucker, 1975). Brenda's case appeared to be successful. Or was it?

Directly countering Money's positive assessment was a follow-up of Brenda at age 13, when she was seen by a new set of psychiatrists. They reported a far more difficult transformation. She rebelled almost from the start, tearing off dresses, preferring boys' toys, and fighting with her brother and peers. There was nothing feminine about Brenda. Her gait was masculine, and she was teased by other children; she believed that boys had a better life and that it is easier to be a boy than a girl (Diamond, 1982; Diamond and Sigmundson, 1997). In therapy sessions, she was sullen, angry, and unresponsive. The mere suggestion of vaginal surgery for the next step in her transformation induced explosive panic.

When did Brenda learn that she was born Bruce? At age 10, in an embarrassed fumbled attempt, her father told her that she needed surgery because a doctor "made

a mistake down there." Subconsciously she probably knew she was a boy, but at age 14, she was finally told the truth. Expressing immense relief, she vowed to change back to a boy and took the name David (Bruce was "too geeky"). At age 18, at a relative's wedding, he made his public debut as a boy and married in 1990. David had a penis and testicles constructed, requiring 18 hospital visits (Colapinto, 2000).

In the media frenzy that followed David's "coming out" as a boy, the public heard only that gender identity is a natural and inborn process. Nurture's role is given little credit in the process. Three decades after the Bruce-Brenda-David transformations, John Money continued to make a strong case for the social constructionist argument (Money, 1995).

Critique Although this case may support the nature side (gender identity is inborn), there are many counterarguments for the nurture side (gender identity is learned). First, Brenda's estrogen therapy began at age 12, but it is doubtful that the effects of her biological sex were altered early enough to make her look—and certainly to make her feel—more like a girl than a boy. Brian was also confused and embarrassed by Brenda's tomboy behavior. Children such as Brenda who do not physically or behaviorally conform to expectations are most vulnerable to rejection and ridicule by peers. Second, unlike most girls, the fear she would revert to masculine preferences, unlike most girls today, Brenda was being raised rigidly to conform to stereotyped feminine gender roles. She was being prepared for a domestic life, but if her transformation had been successful, she could never have fulfilled the "ultimate" role of biological motherhood. Third, Brenda was keenly aware that boys had more prestige and a "better life" than girls. Her extraordinary opportunity to revert to the male sex may have been further prompted by these beliefs.

Finally, and most important, as we will see in Chapter 3, by age 2 children are marked with indelible gender stamps. Bruce became a girl nearly two years after everyone, including twin brother Brian, treated her like a boy. Bruce's life as a toddler boy was written with masculine scripts; these scripts were abruptly changed to highly stereotyped, feminine scripts. Bruce's gender identity was *already* unfolding. How did friends and family react to Brenda's transformation after knowing her as Bruce for almost two years? The family even moved at one point to get away from "ghosts and doubters" (Colapinto, 2000).

Certainly this case does not support John Money's assertion that newborns are a blank slate on which gender identity will be written. Money ignored not only the role of biology and genetics (Bruce was born with the normal "sex apparatus") in attempting to transform Bruce into Brenda, but also ignored his own suppositions about how gender is socially constructed. Social constructionists emphasize the power of the *end point fallacy*—new definitions create new behaviors in an ongoing cycle. Earlier definitions and behaviors are never completely lost, regardless of how they are transformed. Bruce was expected to unlearn earlier definitions and behaviors at the core of his emerging gender identity.

John Money's rigid interpretation of David Reimer's case can be described as *cultural* essentialism. Just as biological essentialists claim sex differences due to nature, cultural essentialists claim gender differences due to nurture. Whether from biology or culture, essentialist views are unproductive because they are deterministic. They cannot adequately deal with the blurring of sex and gender in socialization.

Media accounts continue to blur this distinction; most reporting on the Reimer case is in the context of intersex infants. The media never questioned the ability of a host of players to carry out a giant pretense. Everybody may have been playing a game of science fiction, but the game of social reality was largely ignored.

Despite these criticisms, however, a social constructionist argument is still valid. Social constructionist views on gender learning neither reject nor ignore the powerful role of biological sex in socialization (Chapters 1 and 3). Unlike John Money's version, the sociological view of social constructionism is *not* essentialist.

The final irony is that John Money sends a Freudian-based biological message about David Reimer. Sounding like a biological essentialist, David is defined solely by his penis. At the loss of his penis, he loses both his maleness (biological sex) and his masculinity (gender). The only recourse, therefore, is castration and SRS. Rigid definitions of what males are "supposed" to be (Chapter 9) spelled doom for David Reimer.

Consider how all these threads weave together in the tragic conclusion of David Reimer's story. Treated for schizophrenia, twin brother Brian committed suicide with an overdose of antidepressant drugs in 2002. Grieving the loss of his brother and a life unraveling by depression, debt, and separation from his wife, two years later David Reimer took his own life by a gunshot to his head.

Sexual Orientation

Once familiar mainly to scientists, terms describing sexual preferences are now routinely used by the public and media. Depending on how they are used and who uses them, some of these terms are contentious. As a result, discourse about homosexuality is being reshaped through new labels, often offered by the people they refer to. In reclaiming a term once associated with ridicule and derision, **queer theory** emerged in the 1990s to examine how sexuality and sexual identity in all their forms—from sexual orientation to sexual behavior—are socially constructed. In critical reviews on gay and lesbian sexuality, for instance, queer theory alerts us to an understanding that sexuality is fluid. By transcending taken-for-granted beliefs about sexual boundaries, theorists of queer studies examine how sexual identity—whether considered deviant or not—is built up over time, emerging from the multiple contexts of our lives (Davidson, 2006; Diamond, 2008). Other terms used here reflect current sociological usage, but it is likely that they, too, will be altered as this reshaping discourse proceeds.

Sexual orientation, defined earlier as preference for sexual partners of one gender or the other, is divided into the categories of heterosexual and homosexual in most Western cultures. Like gender identity, sexual orientation is not automatically granted by biological sex. *Heterosexual* is the category of people who have sexual preference for and erotic attraction to those of the other gender. *Homosexual* is the category of people who have sexual preference for and erotic attraction to those of their own gender. Homosexual males are also referred to as *gay* men and homosexual females as *lesbians*. Although the term *gay* is often used in the media to include both gay men and lesbians, researchers use it to designate men. The term "homosexual" is moving out of usage and is considered offensive by many gay and lesbian advocacy organizations. *Bisexual* is the category of people whose sexual orientations may shift and who are sexually responsive to either gender. There is a

great deal of variation in how and with whom people experience sexual pleasure. Social constructionists suggest that sexual orientation is largely built during social interaction. Like heterosexuals, both men and women who see themselves as gay or lesbian maintain a gender identity consistent with their biological sex. They are socialized into prevailing gender roles except for their sexual orientation (Chapter 9).

This socialization helps explain why gay men prefer for sexual partners those men or women who fit the standards of masculinity or femininity defined by the culture. However, because it is accompanied by gender roles that are defined as masculine or feminine, gender identity is much more susceptible to change over time than is sexual orientation. In the middle of the nineteenth century, a masculine gender role was associated with employment that included elementary school teaching and clerical work. Today these same jobs are associated with a feminine gender role.

Sexual orientation, like other forms of human sexuality, is extremely varied. The conceptual distinction between gender identity and sexual orientation is a blurry one, perhaps explaining why the term *transgender* is now the preferred inclusive term. Transgender people may or may not identify themselves as homosexual and may or may not choose to have SRS or to take hormones to appear as the other sex (Kuper et al., 2012). Scientists need terms to classify groups of people by certain characteristics, but the terms they devise may be subject to criticism. **LGBT** is an inclusive term for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people. The term has gained acceptance in scientific literature and in popular culture.

Global Focus: Challenging Definitions of Sex and Gender

Transgender people who perform specific social functions are found throughout the world today. Some people go through life with "mixed" gender identities. The *xanith* of the Arab state of Oman are biological males. They work as homosexual prostitutes and skilled domestic servants. Described as a "third" gender, they have male names but distinctive dress and hairstyles unlike that of either men or women. Xanith are not men because they can interact with women and are not women because they are not restricted by *purdah*, the system of veiling and secluding women (cited in Lips, 2001:161). Transgender may describe the *mahus* of Tahiti. Mahus are usually young boys who adopt female gender roles early in life and find jobs usually performed by women. Mahu status is viewed as naturally evolving from childhood roles. They have sexual relations with those of their own sex but not with other mahus. Their preferred sexual partners, however, are those from the other gender. Mahu sexuality, therefore, is "same-sex but opposite[*sic*]-gender" (Elliston, 1999:238). Although Tahitians may poke fun at mahus, they are accepted members in society (Stanley, 2000).

India In India, men known as *hijras* dress up in women's clothing and are called on to bless newborn infants. To become a hijra and perform this important cultural role, most of these men are emasculated by choice—their testicles are removed. Hijras are not homosexual. They think of themselves more as females and thus prefer heterosexual men as sexual partners. They generally live and dress as females, often in a separate subculture. In the rural areas of India where hijras practice their trade, sexual orientation and gender identity do not appear to be concerns. Hijras

are ambivalent figures in India. They are teased and mocked but also valued and esteemed. The hijras have a gender role that legitimizes their function as ritual performers. As the context shifts, so does their identity. However, their gender role is at the core of their identity and affirms their positive, collective self-image (Nanda, 1997; Reddy, 2006)

Indonesia On the Indonesia island of Sulawesi, five gender identities among the Muslim ethnic Bugis are recognized. In addition to men and women, there are *calalai* (females performing male roles and dressing like men), *calabai* (males performing female roles and dressing like women, and *bissu* (transgender people who possess spirits and can bestow blessings). Despite official Islamic discourse, these people—and the roles they perform—are "generally tolerated and even accepted" in Bugi society. There is no word for gender in indigenous Bugi language. For the Bugis, gender is made up of various understandings about sexuality, biology, and subjectivity. These understandings are necessary to understand all of Bugi life and culture (Davies, 2007).

Native Americans For over two centuries among Native Americans, the role of *berdache* existed, a title conferred on those who did not exhibit conventional gender roles. These berdache womanly men and manly women still exist in some tribes. In tribal mythology, berdache may act as mediators between men and women and between the physical and the spiritual worlds. Native Americans refer to those who act out cross-gender roles as having "two spirits."

Reprise The hijra, xanith, mahus, berdache, and three of the five "genders" of the Bugis, are roles associated with approval and sometimes honor rather than disdain and immorality. Like intersex people, these transgender people also violate the principle of sexual dimorphism and attest to the powerful impact of culture on both gender identity and sexual orientation.

Sexual Scripts

Sociologists emphasize how sexuality is based on prescribed roles that are acted out like other socially bestowed roles. **Sexual scripts** are shared beliefs concerning what society defines as acceptable sexual thoughts, feelings, and behaviors for each gender. Gender roles are connected with different sexual scripts—one considered more appropriate for males and the other considered more appropriate for females (Wiederman, 2005). Sexual scripts continue to be based on beliefs that for men, sex is for orgasm and physical pleasure and for women, sex is for love and the pleasure that comes from intimacy. Men, more than women, believe in biological essentialism, which in itself can be considered a sexual script (Smiler and Gelman, 2008). Although people may desire more latitude—such as more emotional intimacy for men and more sexual pleasure for women—they often feel constrained by the traditional scripting of their sexuality. When both men and women accept such scripts and carry their expectations into the bedroom, gendered sexuality is being socially constructed. Beliefs about gendered sexuality contribute to sexual dysfunction and sexual violence toward women and gay men. Such beliefs also hold disadvantages for

both men and women by inhibiting their sexual pleasure (Dworkin and O'Sullivan, 2007). Gendered scripting clearly illustrates that biology alone cannot explain human sexuality. Sexual scripts may provide the routes to sexuality, but over time, new paths offering new directions for sexuality can be built. It is unlikely that gendered sexuality will ever be eliminated. It is likely, however, that as gender roles become more egalitarian, the sexual lives of both men and women will be enhanced.

Patterns of Sexual Attitudes and Behavior

Beliefs about human sexuality were once shrouded in myth and superstition. Major assaults on these myths and on the biological determinism in sexuality were led by the pioneering work of Alfred Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953). Just as Freud shocked science with his assertions on sexuality, Kinsey did the same upon revealing his data on sexual behavior. He reported sexual activities far different from the supposed norms.

Gender and Orgasm The original Kinsey data revealed that 92 percent of males and 58 percent of females masturbated (use of sexual self-stimulation) to achieve orgasm. Males begin to masturbate during early adolescence. Females begin to masturbate later than men, often in their twenties and thirties. These patterns have not changed significantly since Kinsey's original research (Hunt, 1974; Laumann and Mahay, 2002).

During intercourse, men are twice as likely as women to report having an orgasm. Few men but up to one-third of women report that they rarely have one during sex (Higgins et al., 2011). *Sexual arousal* is associated more with orgasm, and *sexual desire* is associated with the need for sex to fulfill an emotional or physical want. Of course, both occur during intercourse, but sexual desire for women is more likely to be tied to a relationship rather than a one-night stand for recreational sex. Frequency of orgasm for women is a weak measure of satisfaction in a relationship. A woman enjoys sex more—fulfills sexual desire—when her "relationship" partner reaches orgasm. Sexual enjoyment may be based more on the biology of sexual arousal for males and the psychology of sexual desire and commitment for females (Prause, 2011; Armstrong et al., 2012; Stewart 2012). Regardless, feminist research in psychology highlights that determining sexual fulfillment through orgasm is an androcentric measure that does not capture women's sexual desire.

Kinsey found that over one-third of married women never had an orgasm prior to marriage and that one-third of married women never had an orgasm. Later data show that virtually all married women do reach orgasm, although not with every occurrence of sexual intercourse. Husbands generally would like more frequent intercourse than their wives, especially early in the marriage. Later in their married life, this trend may reverse; married women report more positive perception of their sexual behavior, and men report a more positive perception of their marital life. However, for both men and women, marital satisfaction and sexual satisfaction are highly correlated. And the more frequent the sex, the higher the level of sexual satisfaction (Trudel, 2002; McNulty and Fisher, 2008). If sex keeps people happy in their marriages, low sexual satisfaction is also a good predictor of divorce.

Premarital/Nonmarital Sex Because most people have sexual experiences with people they are unlikely to marry, the term *premarital* sex is inaccurate. A

more accurate term to refer to these experiences is *nonmarital* sex. The differences between heterosexual men and women in nonmarital sex have all but disappeared. Gender differences in age at first intercourse are statically insignificant (age 15 for both males and females). By the time they graduate from college, virtually all men and women are sexually experienced, with the large majority reporting vaginal intercourse. Perhaps more surprising, gender differences in heterosexual oral and anal sex and number of sex partners are also small and declining (Lance, 2007; Petersen and Hyde, 2010).

Norms about gendered sexuality, especially among teens, help explain these new patterns. Although girls have increased their sexual behavior, they define it within the bonds of a romantic relationship, a perception carried into adulthood. A decade ago a boy was likely to have his first sexual intercourse with a pickup or casual date; today they are likely to say it was with a girlfriend. Girls whose first intercourse occurred before age 16 are more likely to report that it was coercive. When factoring in race, Asian Americans—both male and female—have their first sexual experience at an older age than whites, African Americans, and Latinos (Regan et al., 2004). The nonmarital norm of sexual intercourse holds for teens who took abstinence pledges and who promised to remain virgins until marriage. They are just as likely to have sex as teens who did not take these pledges. An ironic twist to this trend is that when the pledges do have sex, it is riskier sex—they are less likely to use condoms or other forms of birth control (Stein, 2008).

Extramarital Relationships Once called "adultery" but now commonly called "affairs," this type of nonmarital sex takes on many forms. Extramarital relationships involve different degrees of openness and include married as well as single people. They may or may not include sexual involvement. The emotional involvement with a partner other than one's spouse can be more threatening to the marriage than sexual involvement (Chapter 7). Despite the fact that most people disapprove of affairs in any form, Kinsey's data indicated that 50 percent of males and 26 percent of females engaged in extramarital sex by age 40. Estimates are that about 25–35 percent of men and 15–25 percent of women have had an extramarital affair (Atkins and Jacobson, 2001; NORC, 2012). Although most people disapprove of affairs, a significant number engage in them.

There are problems with these data. Although later research validated Kinsey's data, the high percentage of affairs he reported was suspect. It is also clear that when respondents report their knowledge of affairs others are having, the numbers increase. In addition, divorce rates have generally risen over time and are associated with openness to extramarital relationships. Thus, it is probable that reported figures for extramarital relationships are lower than the actual numbers.

The Double Standard The **double standard** refers to the idea that men are allowed to express themselves sexually and women are not. Because the levels of nonmarital sexual behavior for males and females are now similar, does a double standard still exist? The answer is "no" when considering sexual behavior, but "yes" when considering sexual attitudes. Sexual behavior has changed dramatically. It was long assumed that compared to men, women had weaker sex drives, were

more difficult to arouse sexually, and became aroused less frequently. All of these assumptions have been proven false. The clitoris, not the vagina, as Freud insisted, is responsible for the multiple orgasms experienced by women. Prompted by feminist social scientists and a rejection of evolutionary views that sex for women is propelled by reproduction rather than pleasure, new models about female sexuality are emerging (Bergner, 2009; Ferber et al., 2012). In stark contrast to Freudian views, they offer an understanding that sexuality for women is pleasurable, fulfilling, and desired.

Gender differences in sexual attitudes do persist. More women than men express the belief that emotional closeness is a prerequisite for sexual intercourse. Men report sexual pleasure and conquest as the main motives. They prefer more partners over a shorter period of time than women do. When considering oral sex, masturbation, pornography, body shame, and nonmarital intercourse, women are more “sex negative” than men. Race, religion, and ethnicity do not override gender in these trends (Maher et al., 2007; Sanchez and Kiefer, 2007; Fugere et al., 2008; Griffiths et al., 2008). Men, but not women, believe that oral sex is not sex, that cybersex is not cheating, and that women cannot fake orgasms (Knox et al., 2008). Men daydream about sex when showering; women contemplate housework (Johnson, 2005). Women continue to adopt a more “person-centered” approach to sex; men adopt a more “body-centered” approach. Compared to females, males are less likely to feel guilty about their sexual activities. On the other hand, sexual dominance for men comes at a price. Men believe that women are the “symbolic keepers of masculine sexual standards” and that they (men) are judged by virility and sexual prowess. Women and men both believe that her orgasm is a sign of his success as a lover. Reflecting on a sexual encounter when he was 18, a 47-year-old man reported the following:

> She basically had to show me how to do it, and it took a few times before everything worked. I was a total retard. I felt great making out with her, but I didn’t want to go to the intercourse part. I didn’t want to wind up a failure. (Mundy, 2006:173, 183)

Attitudes about pleasurable sexual activities are gendered—conditioned by sexual scripts defined as acceptable for men or women. Even with heightened public consciousness regarding the double standard, sexual behavior has rapidly changed, but attitudes about sexual scripts have not declined as quickly. Consider the sexual encounters on the wildly popular *Sex in the City* (1998–2004) television series and movie franchise (2008 and 2010) that candidly discussed female sexuality. All four main female characters had recreational sex for pleasure, in hook-ups (Chapter 7), one-night stands, and short-lived romantic encounters (Markle, 2008). At the end of the television and movie runs, all four women were “happily” married.

The disappearance of a sexual double standard may not be desirable. The absence of significant gender differences in frequency of nonmarital sexual activities, number of partners, or degree of emotional involvement with partners could trigger a lifetime of more sex with more people, but also more people who are less known to their partners. Given the health risks to both women and men, sexual violence, and unplanned pregnancy, the disappearance of a sexual double standard may be hazardous to our health and to society.

Sexuality in Later Life Cultural barriers and gender norms also apply to sexuality in later life. For the elderly, an already difficult situation is made worse by a combination of age and gender-related stereotypes. As with gender, there is a sexual double standard regarding age and sexuality. Because it is associated with youth and virility, sexuality among the aged has been ignored or demeaned. They are perceived to be sexless. If elderly males show sexual interest, they are viewed suspiciously. Women are expected to retreat to a sexless existence after the completion of childbearing and mothering. Yet women experience more comfort and less anxiety about sex as they age. Beginning in late midlife—and contrary to sexual scripts—"bodily" sexual practices increase sexual satisfaction for women; relational intimacy increases sexual satisfaction for men (Carpenter et al., 2009). At this life stage, women increase their desire for intercourse and sexual intimacy. On the other hand, widows significantly outnumber widowers; so options for sexual activity decline for women, despite the fact that sexual desire remains strong.

Research by two other pioneers of sexuality, William Masters and Virginia Johnson (1966, 1970), shows that when advancing age and physiological changes influence sexual ability for men, performance anxiety increases. A man's wife may believe his "failure" is a rejection of her. Men are socialized early in life to believe that they will be judged by their sexual potency. As suggested earlier, when a couple accepts such beliefs, a cycle of less sex, less interest in sex, and increased emotional distance is likely. The irony is that it is easier to cope with these incorrect beliefs if society assumes that the elderly are not supposed to be sexually active anyway.

Sexual Similarity Men and women of all age groups are far less sexually different from one another than once thought. Within-gender variation is larger than between-gender variation in both sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. Yet the gender differences in sexuality not only are exaggerated in media but also are reported more often than the similarities in scholarly articles (Petersen and Hyde, 2011). As pointed out by Masters and Johnson a half century ago, cultural barriers such as scripted gender roles inhibit sexual pleasure. Regardless of whether the couple is married, positive sexual experiences increase physiological wealth and relationship satisfaction. Satisfying relationships predict happier sex lives for both men and women (Murray and Milhausen, 2012). The social construction of women as passive sexual beings and men as sexual conquerors can be reconstructed to make them partners in a mutually pleasurable experience.

Gender and Health

The interplay of biology and culture is necessary to understand patterns of health and well-being related to sex and gender. Measurements have been developed to determine these patterns. The simplest measure, the **mortality rate**, is expressed as a percentage of the total number of deaths over the population size (×1000) in a given time period, usually a year. Calculating a **morbidity rate**, the amount of disease or illness in a population, is more difficult. Although it may have well-defined symptoms, illness itself is in part subjective. Many people do not recognize their own

sickness, may recognize it but refuse to alter their behavior by taking off work or seeing a physician, or prefer to treat themselves. These patterns are particularly true for calculating levels of mental illness. As a result, morbidity rates are often based on treatment and data accuracy may be compromised.

Even with these cautions, however, a clear and consistent inverse pattern emerges when gender differences in mortality and morbidity are compared. Women have higher morbidity rates but live longer than men; men have lower morbidity rates but do not live as long as women.

Till Death Do Us Part: Gender and Mortality

In the United States, females can expect to outlive males on an average of five years. Women and men die from the same three causes—cancer, heart disease, and stroke—but there are significant gender differences in their mortality rate (Table 2.1). Mortality rates for all leading causes of death are higher for males. Only in deaths due to Alzheimer's do females have a disadvantage. Men have been gaining on women in narrowing the mortality rate, but the age-adjusted rate for men is still about 40 percent greater than that for women. When race is added to the life expectancy rate (LER) profile, white males are gaining, and they reached

TABLE 2.1 Leading Causes of Death and Male-to-Female Death Rate

Cause of Death	Male to Female
All Causes	1.4
1. Heart Disease	1.6
2. Cancers	1.4
3. Respiratory Disease	1.3
4. Cerebrovascular Diseases (stroke)	1.0
5. Accidents	2.0
6. Alzheimer's Disease	0.8
7. Diabetes	1.4
8. Influenza and Pneumonia	1.4
9. Kidney Disease, Influenza, and Pneumonia	1.4
10. Suicide	4.0
11. Septicemia (blood poisoning)	1.2
12. Chronic Liver Disease and Cirrhosis	2.1
13. Hypertension	1.0
14. Parkinson's Disease	2.3
15. Pneumonitis (lung inflammation due to solids and liquids)	1.9
16. Homicide (est.)	3.7 (est.)

Sources: National Vital Statistics Reports. "Deaths: Final Data for 2010." May 8, 2013 61(4). Adapted from Table B, p. 5. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr61/nvsr61_04.pdf; "Deaths: Preliminary Data for 2011." October 10, 2012 61(6). Adapted from Table B, p. 4. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr61/nvsr61_04.pdf.

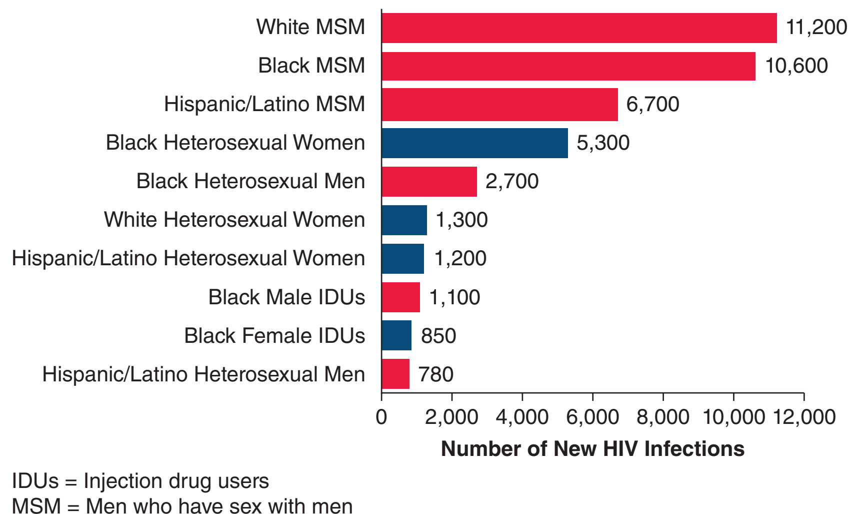

FIGURE 2.1

Estimates of New HIV Infections in the United States for the Most-Affected Subpopulations, 2010.

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "HIV among Women: New HIV Infections." www.cdc.gov/hiv/risk/gender/women/facts/index.html. Accessed March 2, 2014.

parity with African American females in 2000. This parity, however, was short-lived. The gap reappeared within two years and is again widening (Figure 2.1). For all races and ethnic groups where data are available, women maintain a strong LER advantage and are projected to do well into this century (Table 2.2). When factoring in social class, which has a profound health effect, females still have a favorable LER than comparable males. Males have higher mortality rates at every stage of life. The first year of life is the most vulnerable time for both sexes, but infant mortality rates are higher for males. By the 1990s, mortality data showed all three nondisease causes of death (accidents, suicides, and homicides) in the top-15 list. In 2010, homicide dropped from this list for the first time since 1965, but the previous 3.8 male–female ratio remained about the same (Heron, 2013; Murphy et al., 2013). For suicide, although women experience more depression than men and attempt suicide about four times more frequently, men commit suicide about four times more than women. Men choose more lethal means and are more likely to succeed. Males succumb earlier to virtually all causes of mortality, with nondisease causes showing the greatest male–female differences.

Global Patterns The female advantage in LER holds globally as well. The graying world is a female world. The **feminization of aging** describes the global pattern of women outliving men and the steady increase of women in the ranks of the elderly. Over 50 percent of the current elderly population globally is female, and of the oldest old, 80 years and older, over 60 percent are female, a pattern projected to increase (Table 2.3). The highest overall life expectancy is in

TABLE 2.2 Projected Life Expectancy at Birth by Gender and Race/Ethnicity, 2010–2050

Gender, Race/Ethnicity	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
MALE	**75.7**	**77.1**	**78.4**	**79.6**	**80.9**
White	76.5	77.7	78.9	80.0	81.2
African American	70.2	72.6	74.9	77.1	79.1
American Indian/Alaska Native	76.6	77.8	79.0	80.1	81.2
Asian	76.3	77.5	78.7	79.8	81.0
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	76.8	77.8	79.0	80.1	81.2
Latino	78.4	79.3	80.2	81.0	81.8
FEMALE	**80.8**	**81.9**	**83.1**	**84.2**	**85.3**
White	81.3	82.4	83.4	84.5	85.5
African American	77.2	79.2	81.0	82.7	84.3
American Indian/Alaska Native	81.5	82.5	83.6	84.5	85.5
Asian	81.1	82.2	83.2	84.2	85.3
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	81.6	82.6	83.5	84.5	85.5
Latino	83.7	84.4	85.0	85.6	86.3

Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau. August 14, 2008. Adapted from Table 10 (NP2008-T10). www.census.gov/population/projection/data/national/2008/summarytables.html.

Japan, where men can expect to live to age 77 and women to age 85. In less than a decade, many countries will have only five men to every ten women over the age of 80. In the developed world, the gender gap in mortality is declining slightly as men are gaining in life expectancy. But for both the developed and developing world, the gap favoring women widens again at the oldest age. Poverty combines with son preference, sex-selective abortion, and neglect and abandonment of female infants and girls in many parts of the world. The average global **sex ratio at birth** (**SRB**)—the number of boys born for every 100 girls—is 105 and favors males slightly. In rural areas of China and India alone, between 117 and 140 boys are born for every 100 girls. If a newborn is a girl, the couple tries again and again for a boy, continually increasing SRB until the desired number of sons is born. Frequent pregnancy and lack of safe and legal abortion take another toll. Maternal mortality figures are hard to track, but an estimated 1 million annual maternal deaths occur worldwide; 99 percent of these are in developing countries, and most are preventable. The huge pressure to produce sons increases women's risk for domestic violence and abuse (UNFPA, 2011). Given this reality, the female advantage in mortality is astounding.

TABLE 2.3 Life Expectancy and Projected Life Expectancy by Gender and Level of Development of World Region

	Life Expectancy at Birth (Year)					
Level of Development of World Region	**2005–2010**		**2045–2050**		**2095–2100**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
World	66.5	71.0	73.7	78.2	79.9	83.7
More Developed Regions (Australia, Europe, Japan, North America)	73.4	80.4	79.9.	85.7	86.5	91.4
Less Developed Regions (Africa, Asia/Middle East, Latin America/Caribbean)	65.2	68.8	72.7	76.8	79.1	82.7
Least Developed Countries (30 of the 40 world's poorest countries are in Africa)	57.3	59.5	68.5	72.3	75.6	79.7

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat (2013). Adapted from Table III.2, p. 17. *World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision.* New York: United Nations.

In Sickness and in Health: Gender and Morbidity

Data from many sources consistently report that women have higher morbidity rates than men. Women's advantage in mortality may be offset by their disadvantage in morbidity in part because living longer reflects increased chronic illness and disability.

Men and Morbidity Males are prone to certain physical and mental illnesses and injury categories in which women tend to be exempt. Overall, men have lower acute conditions but higher prevalence of chronic conditions that are life-threatening and associated with long-term disability, such as heart disease, emphysema, and atherosclerosis. Males have the highest rates of cancer at the youngest and oldest ages and are almost twice as likely to die from it as females. They are also afflicted with a range of genetic disorders much less common in females, such as myopia, hemophilia, juvenile glaucoma, and progressive deafness. For mental illness, gender differences do not vary by rate, but they do vary by type. Men are more likely to suffer from personality disorders (antisocial behavior or narcissism) than women (Rosenfield and Smith, 2010; National Center for Health Statistics, 2013). As a buffer against mental and physical illness for all people, it is better to be married (Lindström and Rosvall, 2012). Although poor relationship quality in marriage predicts negative mental health effects for both men and women, the overall marriage benefit still holds.

For men, it is much better to be married. Single men have the highest mortality and morbidity rates for both physical and mental disorders. Never married,

divorced, and single men have higher rates of mental illness when compared with all marital categories of women Continuously married low-income men who are in high-conflict marriages still have a lower mortality risk compared with their single or divorced counterparts (Choi and Marks, 2011; Monin and Clark, 2011). Because men are much less likely to seek help for emotional distress—even compared to their already low rates of help seeking for physical illness—rates of depression may be higher than reported. (Gender roles also put more men than women in occupations that can be hazardous to their health, such as police and fire protection, the military, mining, and construction.) Sports-related injuries also are much higher for men than women and are associated with chronic illnesses and disabilities. Males in all age groups are more likely than females of comparable age to engage in behaviors that increase their risk of disease, injury, and death.

Women and Morbidity Morbidity appears to gradually emerge in females, especially noticeable in preadolescence, where girls report higher levels of asthma, migraine headaches, and psychological and eating disorders compared to boys. Small gender differences in self-esteem–favoring males show up during late adolescence and continue through the life course. As adults, women report more physical and mental disorders and use health services more than men.

Females of all ages report more daily and transient illnesses such as colds and headaches and a higher prevalence of nonfatal chronic conditions such as arthritis, anemia, and sinusitis. Most all autoimmune disorders, such as juvenile diabetes and multiple sclerosis, are skewed toward women. Employed women and women who are identified as androgynous or as less traditional in gender role orientation have better physical and psychological health. Like men, type of work is correlated to health. Professional women frequently describe their jobs as stressful, but lower-level workers are more likely to report stress-related illnesses such as insomnia and headaches. With the exception of obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD), women have double the risk for most anxiety disorders than men. This pattern may be traced to cultural expectations for women meeting everyone's needs before their own, a pattern that is not only more prevalent in women, but also associated with more disabling symptoms (Hankin, 2010; McLean et al., 2011).

Menstruation In many cultures, menstruation is viewed as a disease of women and continues to be associated with pity, suspicion, scorn, and fear. Menstruating women may be isolated and undergo ritual purification at the conclusion of their periods. Until recently, medicine viewed this normal bodily process as pathology and as a condition that dismissed women's physical pain as inconsequential or fabricated. The myths associated with it have not been dispelled by the health care system.

Research on *premenstrual syndrome* (PMS) challenges these myths. Many faces of PMS are variously defined by health professionals, researchers, and women themselves. Overall, PMS is widely viewed as a blanket term for a variety of physical and psychological symptoms occurring between two days and two weeks before a menstrual period. Physical symptoms include water retention, breast tenderness, and cramping, and psychological symptoms include heightened tension, anxiety, irritability, and depression. As many as 75 percent of women in their twenties and thirties experience some premenstrual *symptoms*, but only 2–10 percent experience

the often disabling symptoms, which may be defined as premenstrual *syndrome*, or the severe form of PMS, *Premenstrual Dysphoric Disorder* (PMDD), a serious psychiatric disorders. A diagnosis of PMS is vastly different from the normal bodily changes associated with menstruation.

Correlational research indirectly links PMS to fluctuations in hormones such as estrogen that influence anxiety, depression, and other behavioral changes. Hormone concentrations change prior to a woman's period, but they do so in the same manner for all women, regardless of a woman's symptoms. Women are more anxious or irritable because of the physical symptoms, not because of the hormones. Hormones cause the reduction of the mood-altering chemical serotonin, in turn increasing anxiety or depression. PMS, therefore, is not directly caused by hormones, but by their effect on the brain. It is not only difficult to sort out the causal path for explaining PMS related to hormonal fluctuations, but also is virtually impossible to separate the physical symptoms from the cultural expectations associated with menstruation (Pick, 2013). Researchers who adopt both biological and cultural explanations will be more successful.

The whole notion of PMS is equivocal, but in affirming the condition, some health care professionals aid women who experience great physical and psychological difficulty with their periods (Chekoudjian, 2010). Prior to PMS being "legitimized," countless women were turned away from a male-dominated health care system with vague, paternalistic assurances that it was all in their heads. On the other hand, as a term, PMS is so commonly misused in the media (a staple of comedy shows, for example) that it is now equated with all menstruation. It is a convenient but erroneous explanation and justification for the behavior of women. If women "have" PMS, it reinforces the myth that up to two weeks a month, most adult women have impaired judgment. Women may be put in a double bind if they attribute changes in their behavior to PMS.

Menopause and Hormone Replacement Therapy Misinformation and cultural stereotypes surround *menopause*, when menstruation permanently ceases. Up to several years before menopause, referred to as *perimenopause*, women may experience irregular menstrual cycles and often report symptoms of irritability, depression, headaches, and hot flashes. Like menstruation, most symptoms are not disabling. The severe distress accompanying menopause is experienced by about 10 percent of women. Research does not support that the physical symptoms of menopause cause serious depression in women. When combining the physical and psychological factors, compared with puberty, menopause for most women is probably easier. Indeed, many women look forward to the time when menstruation ends.

Medicine, however, has not abandoned the notion of maternal instinct, often viewing menopause as psychologically destructive because reproduction is sealed off at this life stage. The reproductive cycle cannot be reversed, but women can escape the fate of menopause. Despite it being decades old, many gynecologists conform to beliefs advocated by Robert Wilson (1966) in his influential book *Feminine Forever* that menopause is a "disease of estrogen deficiency" treatable by *hormone replacement therapy* (HRT). In his view, menopausal women are unstable "castrates," creating untold misery in the form of alcoholism, drug addiction, and broken homes because of their estrogen starvation (cited in Fausto-Sterling, 1993:336).

Until recently, HRT was the taken-for-granted "remedy" for menopause, prescribed by gynecologists and accepted by women taking the most commonly prescribed estrogen-progestin HRT. Benefits were thought to include decreased chance

of *coronary heart disease* (CHD), curbing bone loss (osteoporosis), and slowing memory loss and cognitive decline associated with Alzheimer's disease. The largest study ever conducted using a sample of 16,000 women followed up for over five years confirmed that the estrogen-progestin HRT significantly increased the risks of invasive breast cancer, stroke, and blood clots. Perhaps more stunning, HRT raised, not lowered, CHD risk in healthy postmenopausal women. Because the harm was considered greater than the benefit, women were advised to immediately contact their physicians to determine future HRT. Potential harm to research subjects and the need to get the information disseminated quickly was so imperative that the study was ended three years early (Women's Health Initiative, 2003). In turn, HRT was dramatically reduced.

Updated research continues to alter the HRT picture. When accounting for age, perimenopausal women who start HRT may have a *lower* risk of heart disease than women who start it later. Another surprising finding is that a daily dose of estrogen may help control metastatic breast cancer in some patients (Bernhard, 2008; Ericson, 2009). Reported extensively in the media and pharmaceutical-related material, these findings led to increases in HRT.

More recent research, however, harks back to HRT risks. For women already through menopause, estrogen-progestin alone decreases risk for fractures but increases risk for stroke, CHD, gallbladder disease, incontinence, and dementia. Only estrogen alone, as reported earlier, decreases risk for breast cancer in some patients (Nelson et al., 2012; USPSTF, 2012; Buckler et al., 2013). HRT may help women manage symptoms of menopause, such as hot flashes, but overall benefits and risks need to be determined in consultation with their physicians.

Even with known risks, HRT plays on the fears of aging women in a society that worships youth. It also reinforces cultural views of menopause as a disease that produces psychologically unstable women. The cultural refusal to accept the realities of aging coupled with the gender stereotypes of women who are revered if they are young and fertile has compromised the health of millions of women. As reported by a 56-year-old female pediatrician who is dealing with her own menopausal symptoms,

> There's an arrogance in thinking we can go on indefinitely taking hormones that our bodies aren't supposed to take anymore (Cowley and Springen, 2002:41).

Consider this attitude in light of research that the majority of women, if given the choice, would like *never* to have a period. New birth control pills with synthetic hormones can suppress a woman's period for months, a preferred option for women in elite sports such as figure skating and gymnastics. Advances in hormone therapy may make them cease having periods permanently. The long-term effects of these powerful hormone-based birth control pills are unknown for younger women who opt out of menstruation for a lengthy amount of time. Regardless of whether women are pre- or postmenopausal, their cycles of life are defined as disease-producing processes that must be medicalized, medicated, and controlled.

If science is doing its job, it will report findings that contradict previous findings. It is also clear from the HRT and CHD stories that science is not immune to gender bias. Feminist health professionals call for viewing menopause as a normal developmental process and for providing women of all ages with accurate information to make educated choices concerning risks, benefits, and treatment (Jensen, 2004).

Body Studies Like sexual scripts, the female disadvantage in morbidity is linked to attractiveness messages. Sociological interest in body studies emerged out of our discipline's long-standing research tradition in work and occupations (Shilling, 2007, 2011). **Body studies** in a sociological context include cultural meanings attached to bodies and to the way that bodies shape and are shaped by society. Bodies are manipulated, regulated and controlled in gendered ways that have huge health consequences for females and males. *Body work* (occupation) includes ballet dancing, gymnastics, acting, professional sports, modeling, hotel cleaning, and physical labor in construction, to name a few. To maintain their livelihood, workers in these body occupations are required to shape their bodies in rigid ways. All societies issue commands for appearance norms that are associated with social and economic success or liability (Savacool, 2009; Mason, 2012). Although both men and women succumb to these commands, women are more likely to experience detrimental physical and mental health effects, such as reduced opportunities for success as indicated in the chapter opening quote. Their identity and self-image are compromised when their bodies cannot live up to beauty standards. When women experience hair loss through chemotherapy, for example, they focus on controlling their appearance to meet "cultural norms of gender, femininity, beauty, normality and health." Appearance norms about hair are so powerful that to protect their image, they must portray an acceptable appearance norm to others (Dua, 2011). Hair loss violates an appearance norm that takes a psychological toll on many women. All women, however, fall prey to attractiveness norms related to weight.

Eating Disorders As the Duchess of Windsor said in the 1930s, "You can never be too rich or too thin." Such beliefs translate to eating disorders, especially *anorexia nervosa*, a disease of self-induced severe weight loss primarily in young women. A variant is *bulimia*, which alternates binge eating and purging. Incidence rates of these "fear of fat" diseases have steadily increased since the 1950s. Today they affect over 24 million, of which 85–90 percent are female. Girls worry more about attractiveness at puberty at the same time they gain an average of 20–25 pounds. In terms of race and ethnicity, African American and Latino women have higher rates of obesity than Asian or white women. African American and Asian women, however, are more satisfied with their body weight, and Latino women are less satisfied than white women. Regardless of satisfaction levels, increases in eating disorders with onset in adolescence are reported for females in all of these groups (Chao et al., 2008; Gravener et al., 2008). Self-esteem is fragile during adolescence for girls of all races, and weight issues contribute to their insecurity.

Males are not immune to weight obsession. Increasing objectification of the male body in media, combined with excessive competitiveness in sports, are key factors in the rapid increase of eating disorders in males, up 50 percent from just a decade ago. Adolescents have the highest increase. Eating disorders for males are associated with abuse of anabolic steroids, and whereas adolescent girls diet for thinness, boys diet to obtain a muscular body image, often to gain weight. Like women, men's psychological well-being is linked to body image messages about masculinity.

It is difficult to determine mortality rates of eating disorders because they also are associated with organ failure, diabetes, malnutrition, and suicide. Mortality rates are estimated between 4 and 5 percent for anorexia nervosa, bulimia,

and other forms of disordered eating. Half of females with eating disorders who die commit suicide. Since men are less likely to seek help for both physical and emotional illnesses, the prognosis is worse (Brausch and Gutierrez, 2009; ANAD, 2014).

Cultural beliefs are significant influences in the development of eating disorders. Anorexia can be described as a *culture-bound syndrome* because it was first associated with norms unique to American society. The power of the Western media has extended these norms to other societies. In Fiji, for example, "big was beautiful" for girls. Television came to Fiji in 1995, and within three years, a teen's risk for eating disorders doubled and there was a fivefold increase of vomiting for weight loss (Goodman, 1999). A global increase in eating disorders is also linked to increased cigarette smoking by girls who are concerned about weight gain (Lindsey, 1997; Saules et al., 2008). Female models and movie stars have gotten progressively thinner throughout this century. At size 14, today Marilyn Monroe would not easily find a job in motion pictures. Whereas male celebrities have gotten more muscular, female beauty contestants average 20 percent lower than the ideal weight.

Chronic dieting and excessive physical exercise are reinforced by other health messages publicizing the obesity epidemic in the United States. The messages are confusing and may seem contradictory—Americans are obsessed with thinness at the same time an obesity epidemic has emerged. The health and diet industries bolster these messages. From a conflict theory perspective, this has resulted in a form of *medicalization*, a process that legitimizes medical control over parts of a person's life. Combined with cosmetic surgery and unhealthy body weight norms, the social pressure for thinness is supported by a billion-dollar advertising and medical industry. This industry sustains a culturally accepted belief that women's bodies—and increasingly men's bodies—are unacceptable as they are.

HIV/AIDS Until recently, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) focused on the high mortality rate of men. In the United States in 1992, it was the leading cause of death of men between the ages of 25 and 44, with the highest percentage among men having sex with men (MSM). Since the 1990s, in the United States and the developed world, HIV infection rates have declined and are relatively stable. With major advances in treatment and drug therapies, combined with lifestyle changes, AIDS mortality is refocused to HIV morbidity. An earlier AIDS death sentence has been commuted to a life sentence for the 1.1 million HIV-infected people in the United States (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2013). Among these, however, certain categories are at increased risks of infection. Like AIDS, HIV is highly gendered and intersectional in these risks.

Women account for about 20 percent of new HIV infections in the United State. The HIV burden falls disproportionately on African American women. They account for two-thirds of new infections, with the large majority infected through heterosexual contact (Figure 2.1). When poverty and region are added to the equation, new infections are declining at a slower rate in inner-city neighborhoods among poor African American and Latino populations. Poor men and women living in the South account for a substantial proportion of new cases, the largest increases among women. Taking all these factors into consideration, poor, heterosexual,

minority women are at greatest risk for HIV/AIDS in the United States (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2013).

Although people in the developing world with an HIV diagnosis are living longer, the diagnosis is still likely to be a death sentence. The patterns that have produced the spread of HIV have transformed AIDS into a women's disease. Women globally are infected with HIV at faster rates than men, with the number of annual cases for women now equaling or exceeding those of men; more than half of HIV-infected women live in sub-Saharan Africa, and most of them are infected through heterosexual contact with a spouse or partner. HIV is the leading cause of death among women of reproductive age. Women's lack of empowerment, differential access to services, inability to pay for the huge costs of drug regimens, and victimization due to sexual violence, increase women's HIV vulnerability (UNAIDS, 2013). The AIDS/HIV death rate is so alarming that the two-century increase in life expectancy worldwide may drop in many of the poorest countries in Africa. Because women are infected at higher rates than men, HIV may be the biggest threat to their LER advantage.

Drug Use Most men and women use alcohol and other drugs and use them in culturally acceptable ways. But gender differences relative to these usages are evident. For alcohol, more men than women are likely to drink excessively, binge drink, and adopt riskier behaviors relative to safety when drinking. About 17 percent of men (compared to 8 percent of women) meet criteria of alcohol dependence. Women metabolize alcohol differently than men. When men and women drink equal amounts, women have higher blood alcohol levels and effects, such as impaired driving, are quicker and last longer. It is estimated that about 8 percent of pregnant women drink alcohol. Their infants are at risk for fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), which is linked to congenital heart defects, developmental disability, and low birth weight (Wilsnack et al., 2013; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014). Alcohol is a major factor in rape and spousal abuse, with homicide an all-too-frequent outcome.

In coping with stress, men are more likely to turn to alcohol; women, to prescription drugs. Prevalence rates for over-the-counter and prescription drugs are double for 18- to 64-year-old women. After age 65, men and women reach parity in their use of prescription drugs, at three or more times per month. Compared to men, women are almost twice as likely to receive a narcotic or antianxiety drug for a psychological problem and are twice as likely to abuse or become addicted to them (National Center for Health Statistics, 2013). If women increasingly adopt the health-aversive behaviors of men, the gender gap in morbidity may decrease. For example, smoking continues to decline for Americans, but the decline is greater for men than women. As expected, women's concern for weight gain is an obstacle for smoking cessation. The good news is that when women's weight issues are addressed therapeutically, smoking cessation is more successful. Gender differences in smoking among adolescents have largely disappeared (Figure 2.2). Rates of current illicit drug use among teens, such as marijuana, are also now similar for males and females (Figure 2.3). If these trends continue, the gender gap in rates of lung cancer and heart disease and drug-related death and disability also may narrow. Unlike other trends, gender parity is a negative health outcome for women.

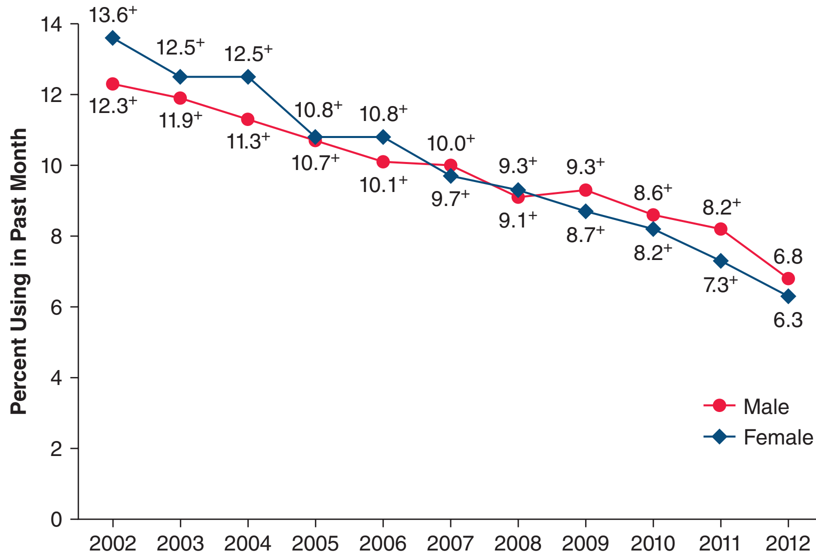

FIGURE 2.2

Past Month Cigarette Use among Youths Aged 12 to 17 by Gender: 2002–2012

Source: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. *Results from the 2012 Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of National Findings*. NSDUH Series H-46 (p. 46). www.samhsa.gov/data/NSDUH/2012Summ-NatFindDetTables/NationalFindings/NSDUHresults2012.pdf.

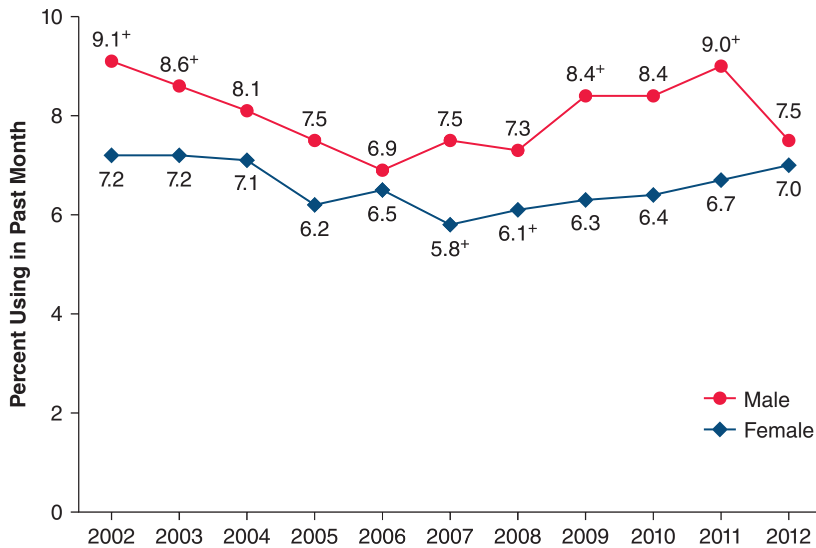

FIGURE 2.3

Past Month Marijuana Use among Youths Aged 12 to 17 by Gender: 2002–2012

Source: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. *Results from the 2012 Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of National Findings.* NSDUH Series H-46 (p. 23). www.samhsa.gov/data/NSDUH/2012Summ NatFindDetTables/NationalFindings/NSDUHresults2012.pdf.

Explaining Gendered Health Trends

Reasons for sex differences in mortality and morbidity are both biological and sociocultural. As noted earlier, females possess an additional X chromosome and protective sex hormones that are associated with a superior immune system. Because women bear and nurse children, female biology offers the equipment allowing them to survive in the worst conditions, whether in childbirth or in cold, famine, or other conditions of deprivation. Women may have higher morbidity rates, but they are likely to recover from the same sicknesses that kill or disable men.

Added to this biological advantage is a gender role benefit. Significant gender differences favor women in their overall knowledge related to both physical and mental health, specifically related to information on sexuality and reproduction. Young girls are taught to be sensitive to and aware of changes in their bodies and to openly express their concerns to friends and health care providers. For cancer therapies, women are more likely to take advantage of new directions for preventive health care and self-care and be diagnosed in earlier, more treatable stages. This translates to lower mortality rates for breast and ovarian cancer. Role flexibility allows women to be less constrained in seeking help for illness and psychological distress. They maintain a larger social support network and have higher degrees of connectedness than men, allowing them to call on others for help or support in stressful times. Men have higher degrees of separation and are less likely to seek out others for help with emotional distress. In the United States as well as parts of the developed world, widowers are more vulnerable to depression and suicide. Their wives are likely to maintain social networks that buffer psychological distress. When men are socialized to believe that seeking help is a sign of masculine weakness, they may not get treatment for life-threatening diseases in time (Chapter 9). For women, however, these very patterns contribute to higher treatment rates but in turn bolster the claim that women are sicker, weaker, and less emotionally strong than men.

The Women's Health Movement

Emerging as an organized, powerful force by the 1970s, the women's health movement confronted mainstream medicine by challenging androcentric practices that were not in the best interest of much of the population it was supposed to serve (Seaman and Eldridge, 2012), The movement asserts that women must be empowered to take an active role in all phases of their health and health care. Blatantly sexist attitudes regarding the sexual inferiority of women still run rampant in this system. For example, in the pre-Kinsey, post-Masters and Johnson, and contemporary eras, textbooks and tools for psychiatrists and interventions for psychologists highlight Freud's anatomy as destiny model (Scully and Bart, 2003; Giraldo, 2007).

Challenging Gender Bias in Research

The potential harm of an androcentric medical system to the health and well-being of women is demonstrated in many ways. Women had been virtually absent as participants in clinical trials involving drugs, uses of medical technology, and health

care options on which contemporary health care is based. Androcentric medicine insists that biological differences between men and women have major, inescapable health consequences, but then routinely conducts research using only male subjects. Male is the medical norm. A large, now infamous, federally funded study examining the effects of diet on breast cancer used only men as sample subjects. Men are diagnosed with about 1 percent of all breast cancers, and their lack of attention to symptoms women would respond to much more quickly is itself a gendered health issue (Bio-Medicine, 2008). The breast cancer study with only male subjects added to the growing evidence about the gender bias that flaws medical research. Research on CHD is another notable example where the exclusion of women in clinical trials is ominous. The key study on the effect of low doses of aspirin and the risk of heart attack used more than 35,000 subjects, all of them men. The reduced heart attack risk was so spectacular that the public was made aware of results even before findings were published (Steering Committee of the Physician's Health Study Research Group, 1989). Results could not be generalized to women. In addition, excluding women ignored the facts that women have a heart attack about ten years later than men and that CHD is the number one killer for both men and women. Women receive less aggressive cardiac care and have a greater risk than men of dying from a second heart attack.

Misdiagnosis of CHD relative to gender differences continues. Physicians are more likely to attribute men's CHD symptoms as organic and women's symptoms as psychogenic. Women receive less CHD diagnoses and fewer cardiologist referrals for the same symptoms that men have (Chiaramonte and Friend, 2006; Bösner et al., 2011). On the flip side, severe emotional distress can lead to heart muscle failure and symptoms mimicking a heart attack. Referred to recently as "broken heart syndrome," women are more likely than men to be diagnosed with the condition. Although still being studied, it appears to be severe but short-lived and reversible, with most people making a full recovery. In this case, it is likely to be misdiagnosed as a heart attack for women and unnecessary tests and follow-ups occur (National Institutes of Health, 2014). Whether there is too much or too little attention to heart issues, recurring gender bias in health care is evident.

Progress in Women's and Men's Health

In addressing these and other health-related issues, many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged to publicize and influence health policy. More women are entering the health care field as physicians, especially as gynecologists, hospital administrators, clinical psychologists, and other mental health therapists. Nurses are assuming more responsibility in decision-making processes. The concept of a health care team tied to beliefs about preventive health care and holistic health has helped in this regard. Clinical trials with female subjects representing a diversity of racial and ethnic groups will soon be normative in health research. The interplay of race and class must also be accounted for to make findings applicable to a diverse population of women.

The empowerment of women as both patients and health care practitioners is also beneficial to men. Encouraged by successes of the health movement for women,

a men's health movement has emerged. This movement is helping to train health care practitioners in understanding how masculine gender roles are hazardous to men's physical and mental health. Although less visible than the women's health movement, masculinity's toxic influence on injury and death related to extreme sports, unnecessary occupational risks, impulsive sexual and alcohol-related behavior, and suicide is gaining public attention. As adherence to masculinity norms decreases, help-seeking for symptoms related to both physical and emotional illness increases. Help-seeking barriers are also declining for men of color (Berger et al., 2013; Myrie and Gannon, 2013; Ward and Besson, 2013). Young men today are likely to be aware of symptoms and to increasingly seek help for them. There are encouraging signs that men also are seeking preventive services. Mortality rates for prostate cancer, for example, have been positively influenced through early detection. The men's health movement may be responsible for small but noticeable reductions on a range of male mortality-related measures.

Nature and Nurture Revisited: The Politics of Biology

Biologically, women are definitely not the weaker sex. Drawing from data on human sexuality, developmental biology, animal behavior, and ethnography, anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1999) makes the case that women are more valuable than men because they maintain the species during a child's crucial development stages. From a sociobiological standpoint, Montagu uses the idea of adaptive strategies, asserting that women are superior, too, because they are more necessary than men. He literally turns around interpretations of women as passive beings who are sexually and biologically inferior.

The Female Advantage in Evolution

Assertions about survival of the fittest favor women. Feminist evolutionary psychologists document the ways that women's contributions aided human survival (Tate, 2013). Sociobiologists must account for the newest data showing that human evolution probably benefited more from cooperation and the plant-gathering activities favoring women than competition and the hunting activities favoring men. DNA evidence now suggests that a "make love not war" scenario was probably the most productive, adaptive strategy of the earliest waves of human migration out of Africa. Conventional Darwinian wisdom about competition and the desire to pass on selfish genes does not conform with newer models suggesting that humans are naturally predisposed to altruism and cooperation (Tomasello et al., 2012). Attempts by humans to dominate other humans through violence, distrust, and cruelty were uncommon in early humans because they were maladaptive (Cloninger, 2004).

The primate studies that sociobiologists are so fond of indicate that the belief that animals compete with one another to gain resources and increase reproduction is a narrow and unrefined view of evolutionary theory. Even the long-held belief

about baboons, the "most extreme male-dominated chest-thumping society in the primate world," is being questioned. The highly affiliated baboons, who went unstudied for decades, show males spending time with females as lovers not fighters and that females make deliberate choices about when to consort with males (Hart and Sussman, 2009; Higham et al., 2009). As primatologist Robert Sapolsky contends, female choice is built around male–female affiliation rather than the outcome of male–male aggression (Sapolsky, 2002; David, 2003). When viewed through the lens of gender, new interpretations of the biology–animal–human link emerge that question conventional wisdom about human evolution.

Reframing the Debate

Let us return to our original question of the roles of nature and nurture, of heredity and environment, of biology and society. Most scientists and media accounts frame the debate as one *versus* the other, such as the "nature *versus* nurture debate." All evidence points to the mutual collaboration of both in explaining sex differences. Deterministic theories that dismiss or fail to account for biology and society are doomed as useful explanatory models in science. From pop-Darwinism to pop-Freud, media take hold of the sex difference theme, and soon people believe that men have math and promiscuity genes and women have nurturing, caring, and emotional genes that predestine their gender roles. Essentialist, evolutionary claims increase endorsements about immutable sex differences that justify the gender-unequal status quo (Brescoll, 2013). Regardless of scientific evidence, such claims can sustain the very sex differences scientists seek to explain (Fine, 2012).

Genes are claiming more and more of social and individual life when scientific theories are used to serve prevailing ideologies regarding gender. Biological arguments are consistently drawn on to justify gender inequality. Although evidence clearly suggests that female sex is the stronger sex biologically, differences between the sexes (genders), both perceived and real, are used to subordinate women. Natural superiority, if it does exist, should not condone social inequality whether it occurs for women or men. Biological- and evolutionary-based arguments that exclude culture, nurture, and environment are not empirically sound. To understand data on health and sexuality, interdisciplinary work is encouraged and requires *both* sociocultural and biological knowledge. While not abandoning promising evolutionary-based arguments, psychologists, anthropologists, and biologists are working together to better understand how nature and nurture weave together to produce sex differences and similarities. Their work suggests optimism in bridging the "historically uneasy relationship" between feminism and evolutionary psychology (Buss and Schmitt, 2011). Socialization is the massive, profound influence on the differences that do exist (Chapter 3). Sociologists favor explanations for gender development and gender roles rooted in nurture and sociocultural factors. These explanations account for a range of variables that imply that women and men have the "human" potential to achieve in whatever directions they desire. Nonetheless, a great deal of rapidly emerging data in many disciplines suggests that the nature *versus* nurture view must be replaced with the more empirically sound and productive nature *and* nurture view.

Summary

1. Arguments against gender equality are based on biology. Evolutionary approaches from animals and insects favored by sociobiology are often the bases. Much evidence, including the work by Margaret Mead, refutes these arguments.
2. Sex hormones shape the development of the brain and sex organs and determine how these organs will be activated. Hormones play important roles in behavior but do not cause male aggression. The belief that there is a hormonally based motherhood instinct is not supported.
3. Sigmund Freud's theory of psychosexual development asserts that because boys have a penis and girls do not, females ultimately wish they were boys. Penis envy in females is resolved by the wish for motherhood. Freud was a sexist in his belief that anatomy was destiny. Psychoanalytic feminism rejects Freud's sexism but uses his theory to explain women's subordination not as part of human nature, but of human relationships.
4. Infants born with ambiguous sex traits, referred to as hermaphrodites or intersex, may undergo sex reassignment surgery. The infamous case of the sex reassignment of a male twin due to a circumcision accident illustrates that success with surgery largely depends on the age, the culture in which it occurs, and if the person freely chooses it as an option.
5. Global research on sexual orientation and transgender indicates that they are extremely varied. Cultural beliefs about sex and gender determine how they are translated into patterns of behavior.
6. Sociologists emphasize the importance of sexual scripts in prescribing roles related to sexuality. This scripting clearly illustrates that biology alone cannot explain human sexuality and that sexuality is much less spontaneous than we think.
7. The double standard in sexual behavior and attitudes is declining, but gendered patterns still exist: Males have earlier, more frequent intercourse both before and after marriage; emphasize sexual pleasure as a motive for intercourse; and have more nonmarital and extramarital relationships than females. Traditional beliefs about gender roles inhibit sexual pleasure for both women and men.
8. In the United States and globally, females have higher morbidity (sickness) rates but live longer than men; men have lower morbidity rates but do not live as long as women.
9. Gender differences in disease and disability are clearly related to gender roles, especially in terms of occupations, alcohol, tobacco, other drugs, eating disorders, and HIV/AIDS. Gender beliefs, and not medical evidence, related to premenstrual syndrome (PMS) and hormone replacement therapy (HRT) can harm women's physical and emotional health. Gender beliefs harm men when they do not seek help for physical or psychological problems.
10. The women's health movement has challenged androcentric medicine by calling attention to the lack of females in health-related clinical trials; by empowering women as patients; and by encouraging them to become practitioners, practices that benefit men as well.
11. Both biology and culture (nature and nurture) are ingredients in explaining sex differences. Media attention to biological differences disregards how

androcentrism and ideology transform these differences into female disadvantage. Women are biologically the stronger sex, but biology is used to justify gender inequality and oppression of women. Nature *versus* nurture should be replaced with a nature *and* nurture view.

Key Terms

Body studies
Double standard
Essentialism
Feminization of aging
Hermaphrodite
Intersex
LGBT
Morbidity rate
Mortality rate
Queer theory
Sex Ratio at Birth (SRB)
Sexual dimorphism
Sexual scripts
Sociobiology
Transgender
Transsexual

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Based on your understanding of the research on the biological and cultural ingredients of gender, provide an empirical rationale countering the claim that gender roles are destined to be unequal.
2. Why is Freud's theory of psychosexual development considered sexist and used in reinforcing gender stereotypes? How has psychoanalytic feminism reconciled these issues to the benefit rather than the detriment of women?
3. Using research examples, demonstrate how patterns of mortality and morbidity are highly gendered and are the consequences of this fact. How can a combination of conflict theory and social constructionism explain these patterns?

CHAPTER 3

Gender Development
The Socialization Process

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. List reasons why intersections of race and social class are powerful influences on socialization and offer examples related to Asians, Latinos, and African Americans.
2. Briefly describe the key points of the four major theories of gender socialization and with supportive evidence, rank them according to the strength of their explanations.
3. List the "agent of socialization" and identify some of their important effects on gender socialization.
4. Examine efforts toward gender equity through gender-neutral socialization and argue if these efforts can be more or less successful.
5. Identify reasons for son preference in Asia and why this belief is harmful to females of all ages.

Boy: That's for boys not for girls.
Girl: (Looks worried)
Female Adult: (She) can choose the Spiderman if she wants.
Boy: Not, it's for boys!
Female Adult: You can choose the Spiderman if you want.
Girl: (Looks distressed). No! I want that one! (points to a Barbie doll).

—Adapted from comments from 4- and 5-year-olds at play
(Cited in Martin, 2011:80)

As this quote suggests, as early as first grade, children have strong ideas about what boys and girls are supposed to do and be. They police one another in gender boundaries even if they are prompted by an adult to stray outside the boundary. They embrace and even celebrate smaller gender differences, in turn obscuring larger gender similarities. From the moment a girl infant is wrapped in a pink blanket and a boy infant is wrapped in a blue blanket, gender role development begins. The colors of pink and blue are among the first indicators used in American society to distinguish female from male. As these infants grow, other cultural artifacts will ensure that this distinction remains

intact. Girls will be given dolls to diaper and tiny stoves on which to cook pretend meals. Boys will construct buildings with miniature tools and wage war with toy guns and tanks. In the teen and young adult years, although both may spend their money on digital music, girls buy cosmetics and clothes and boys buy sports equipment and technical gadgets. The incredible power of gender socialization is largely responsible for such behavior. Pink and blue begin this lifelong process.

Gender Socialization and Cultural Diversity

Socialization is the lifelong process by which, through social interaction, we learn our culture, develop our sense of self, and become functioning members of society. This simple definition does not do justice to the profound impact of socialization. Each generation transmits essential cultural elements to the next generation through socialization. **Primary socialization**, the focus of the research and theory overviewed in this chapter, begins in the family and allows the child to acquire necessary skills to fit into society, especially language and acceptable behavior to function effectively in a variety of social situations. **Continuing socialization** provides the basis for the varied roles an individual will fill throughout life.

Socialization not only shapes our personalities and allows us to develop our human potential, but also molds our beliefs and behaviors about all social groups and the individuals making up those groups. **Gender socialization** is the process by which individuals learn the cultural behavior of femininity or masculinity that is associated with the biological sex of female or male. The forces of social change have collided with gender socialization on a massive scale. To explain gender socialization in contemporary society, it is necessary to understand cultural diversity in all its forms.

Culture and Socialization

As a society's total way of life, **culture** endows us with social heritage and provides guidelines for appropriate behavior. Cultures are organized through **social institutions** that ensure that the basic needs of society are met in established, predictable ways. Although it is the social institution of the family that sets the standards for the emergence of gender roles in children, the family itself is shaped by overall cultural values regarding gender. Parent–child interactions occur in a cultural context in which females have lower power and prestige than males. Beginning in infancy, parents socialize sons to express emotions differently than daughters in ways that support gender differences in power. Institutions overlap in their socialization functions so that one will support and carry on the work of another. For example, the institution of the family is fundamentally responsible for a child's primary socialization, but the work continues with the institution of education when the child enters preschool or kindergarten. Other institutions include the economy, religion, government, and an evolving leisure and recreational institution with a media focus. Like cultures throughout the world, the social institutions in American culture are differentiated according to expectations and norms that form the basis of gender roles. These roles show up in the jobs men and women perform, leisure activities, dress, possessions, language, demeanor, reading material, college major, and even

the frequency they engage in sex and the degree of sexual pleasure they derive. The list is virtually endless.

Culture also provides measures of **social control** to ensure that people more or less conform to a vast array of social norms, including those related to gender. Social control mechanisms that guarantee gender role compliance are often informal but very powerful, such as ridicule, exclusion from peers, and loss of support from family or colleagues. Both boys and girls ridicule boys who play with dolls or toys designed for girls and shun girls who play too aggressively. Adults who challenge workplace norms in which gender role scripts are changing—such as when men choose occupations as child care workers and women choose occupations as plumbers—also remain vulnerable until new norms are in place.

When socialization processes encourage the perpetuation of stereotyped portrayals of the genders, social control is particularly effective. Stereotypical thinking becomes insidious when individuals are harmed because they are defined in terms of assumed negative characteristics assigned to their group. If we stereotype women as passive, an individual woman may be passed over for a job in which leadership qualities are required. Her own individual ability in terms of job leadership may not even be considered due to the stereotype assigned to her entire gender. A man may be denied custody of his child on the basis of stereotypes that view men as inherently less capable of raising children compared to women. Stereotypical thinking about gender is so pervasive that even the law is impacted.

It might appear that the power of socialization creates little robots molded by our culture that uncritically submit to mandated gender roles. However, to argue that the automatons of one generation produce their own carbon copies in the next ignores three important facts. First, socialization is an uneven process taking place on many fronts. We are socialized by parents, siblings, peers, teachers, media, and all other social institutions. We know of achievement-oriented women who are admired for their leadership and men for their effectiveness in caring for young children. Second, we live in diverse, heterogeneous societies made up of numerous **subcultures** that share characteristics in common with the culture in which they exist but also are distinguished from the broader culture in important ways, such as gender patterns. In addition to gender, subcultures are differentiated according to factors such as race, ethnicity, social class, age, sexual orientation, and common interest. Third, subcultural diversity unfolds in an array of gendered patterns that overlap in powerful ways. As discussed in Chapter 1, *intersectionality* reminds us that this overlap must account for level of risk or advantage offered by the multiplicative effects of these formidable statuses (positions), especially in childhood socialization.

Age-based subcultures, for example, are especially important because they emerge at points in the life course that are strongly defined according to gender role norms. For example, age peers in elementary school determine criteria for prestige, which in turn impacts self-esteem, achievement motivation, and academic success. A boy defined as effeminate or a girl defined as a bully has much to lose in this regard. At the other end of the age spectrum, the elderly, too, are not immune to such rankings. Age and gender stereotypes combine to work against divorced or widowed elderly who would like to begin dating. They risk social disapproval through cultural stereotypes that devalue or view sexual activity of the elderly suspiciously. Elderly

widows may be regarded as asexual; elderly widowers, as "dirty old men." Gender and age stereotypes collide with race and ethnicity in subcultures where remarriage for women—widowed or not—is highly unlikely. These women may be relegated to a life of social exclusion and increased risk of poverty.

Gender Socialization: Social Class and Race

Gender intersects with social class and race as key determinants in how gender roles are enacted. There is a strong correlation between social class and parental values that impact gender. Overall, middle-class parents emphasize autonomy and working-class parents emphasize conformity in socialization. These values translate into gender role flexibility more in middle-class families than in working-class and low-income families. Boys and girls from middle-class homes are offered less rigid gender role choices in behavioral expectations and career development and hold more egalitarian attitudes. Gender role flexibility and autonomy training for both daughters and sons are enhanced in middle-class families with career-oriented mothers. In such families, however, women express higher levels of support for such flexibility and autonomy than men do. Research is less clear on the specific variable that accounts for this pattern. Boys from middle-class homes are more achievement oriented than girls. College students describe white middle-class women in more stereotypical ways than they do for African American women. Families of all races who move upward in social mobility embrace more traditional gender roles (Xiao, 2000; Bumpus et al., 2001; Davis and Pearce, 2007). It may be that race, mother's employment, and social mobility are more important than social class in determining gender attitudes. Because social class itself is multidimensional and determined by these very factors, it is difficult to sort out the direction of causation.

Asian Families Adding race to the gender role socialization refines these patterns. Overall, available research suggests that in general, children from Asian American homes are more likely to be socialized into less flexible, traditional beliefs about gender than African American and white children. For Asian American children, gender roles emphasize female subordination to all males and older females in a highly patriarchal family structure. This is especially true for Indian American families where traditional ethnic and religious values about gender persist even with highly educated professional parents. Children expect their parents to arrange meetings with prospective marriage partners. Although children have latitude in rejecting marriage candidates, girls are more pressured than boys to marry younger and to reject "serious dating of non-Indian men. Immigrant women from upper caste Brahmin backgrounds recognize the difficulty of navigating their professional and domestic lives. Motherhood is reworked to situate their professional work as complementary to their domestic lives. Mothers are the repositories of ethnic socialization and ensure that both sons and daughters receive strong messages about Indian values related to marriage and American values related to education and upward mobility (Manohar, 2013). Within three generations of immigration, however, unquestioned female subordination weakens considerably, particularly among Chinese, Korean, and Japanese families. Unlike Indians, gendered ethnic messages about marriage are supplanted more quickly with messages about upward mobility of the family,

financial independence, and a college education to achieve both. As Asian American children become more Americanized, both boys and girls begin to exhibit less traditional gender roles (Farley and Alba, 2002; Lien et al., 2004).

Latino Families Data from Latino subcultures (Puerto Rican, Cuban American, and Mexican American) report that females act out gender roles that are more deferential and subordinate than those found in other racial and ethnic groups. There is a great deal of diversity within Latino subcultures in the United States, but they share a Catholic heritage that has a powerful impact on gender roles. Religious socialization fosters women's subservience to men and teaches girls to value motherhood above all other roles. Women are expected to be chaste before marriage and dependent after marriage. Latino parents, especially mothers, are stricter with messages related to sexual risk for girls than for boys (Raffaelli and Ontai, 2004; Killoren and Deutsch, 2013). Latino children also receive socialization messages promoting *familism*, a strong value emphasizing the family and its collective needs over personal and individual needs. Familism helps buffer hypermasculinity (machismo) in boys and serves as a source of prestige for girls, who early in life help with the care and nurturing of the young and the old (Chapter 8).

African American Families Compared to other racial and ethnic groups, research on gender socialization in African American families is more extensive as well as more inconsistent. On the one hand, compared to children of other races, African American children are socialized into views of gender that are less rigid and less stereotyped. African American girls from homes with nontraditional gender roles have high achievement motivation and self-esteem. Compared to white males, African American males—both older children and adults—participate more in housework and child care. Views of what is considered masculine and feminine are often blurred in African American homes (Chapter 8).

Raising Daughters On the other hand, evidence suggests that African American women encourage independence and self-reliance in their daughters but at the same time encourage them to accept other parts of a female role that are highly traditional. Mothers are less likely to grant freedom to explore expanded roles. Daughters report that their mothers are overly protective, and mothers report that their daughters' behavior needs to be closely monitored, especially in relation to sexuality (Townshend, 2008). Both mothers and fathers prepare their daughters more for racial bias than for gender bias (Cole and Guy-Shetfall, 2003; Shearer, 2008).

Raising Sons That being said, however, mothers of sons are more concerned about racial discrimination and mothers of daughters are more concerned about gender discrimination. Fathers send stronger racial socialization messages to their sons. Fathers communicate racial pride and offer strategies for coping with racial discrimination. They underscore the importance of positive male role models for their sons with an emphasis on masculine values of strength and leadership. At the same time, some fathers send messages to their young sons about "toughening up," to be strong physically and emotionally (Howard et al., 2013; Cooper et al., 2014). Racial discrimination concerns generally trump gender discrimination concerns. Perhaps it

is difficult for parents to perceive sexism (gender discrimination) for boys. This pattern is not a benign one. Mothers with higher concerns for racial discrimination have lower expectations for children's academic success, especially for their sons (Varner and Mandara, 2013). The net effect of these socialization practices is a reinforcement of traditional gender roles.

African American views about gender are also mediated by family and school, and the race/social class intersection in these settings. In father-present lower-income homes, for example, sons hold more rigid beliefs about masculinity. In father-absent lower-income homes, socialization fosters daughters to adopt more masculine roles and sons to adopt less masculine roles (Mandara et al., 2005). Young African American girls attending predominantly white middle-income schools are less assertive than those attending predominantly African American lower-income schools (Scott, 2000).

Intersectionality To sort out findings that appear to be contradictory for African Americans, a host of factors need to be accounted for. The socialization work of African American parents is strongly influenced by social inequalities in American society that work against beliefs about gender equity (Hill, 2005). African American children who are already facing a rough road because of racial discrimination may find it easier to adopt rather than challenge traditional gender roles if it means one less barrier to overcome. Historical patterns of gender role configurations in African American subcultures also help in understanding the contradictions. High regard for the independence and initiative of African American women is normative. In this sense, the "traditional" gender role of women is one of strength and resilience rather than weakness and resignation (Chapter 8). Mothers teach daughters not only to resist oppression, but also to accommodate African American institutions, such as the church, that may be more in line with patriarchy existing in the broader culture (Pittman, 2005). Most important, African American children tend to adopt less polarized views of gender. Males and females are not "opposites" with completely different expectations. Both men and women are encouraged to be nurturing and assertive. As we will see in this chapter, concepts of masculinity and femininity are not theoretically useful or productive for social life if they continue to be polarized. Supporting an intersectional model, the research is inconsistent when race, class, and gender are separated and when white middle-class standards of masculinity and femininity are applied to all of the African American experiences.

The concepts and research reviewed here are important for understanding the three major theories of gender socialization—social learning, cognitive development, and gender schema theories—and the newest variety, social cognitive theory.

Theories of Gender Socialization

All theories of gender socialization focus on primary socialization and how children learn **gender identity**, when they become aware that the two sexes (male and female) behave differently, and that different gender roles (masculine and feminine) are proper. Like socialization overall, gender socialization is mediated through a number of important elements, such as biology, personality, social interaction context, and the social institutions. Different theories give different

weight to each element. Freudian psychologists and sociobiologists contend that unconscious motivation and biologically driven evolutionary demands are powerful socialization forces (Chapter 2). Sociologists, social psychologists, and many personality psychologists emphasize social interaction over biology as the key socialization force. This focus on the context of social interaction has allowed for significant interdisciplinary work between psychology and sociology in building theories of gender socialization.

Social Learning Theory

Unlike Freud's psychoanalytic approach, which focuses on internal conflict in socialization (Chapter 2), social learning theory focuses on observable behavior. For social learning theorists, socialization is based on rewards (reinforcing appropriate behavior) and punishments (extinguishing inappropriate behavior). They are concerned with the ways children model the behaviors they view in others, such as cooperation and sharing or selfishness and aggression. Imitation and modeling appear to be spontaneous in children, but through reinforcement, patterns of behavior develop that eventually become habitual.

As with other behaviors, gender roles are learned directly through reprimands and rewards and indirectly through observation and imitation (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Mischel, 1966). The logic is simple. In gender socialization, different expectations lead to differential reinforcement from parents, peers, and teachers for doing either "boy" or "girl" things. Boys may be praised by peers for excelling in male sports such as football but derided for excelling in female games such as jump rope. Girls may be praised by peers for embroidering table linens but derided for preferring to play with toy soldiers rather than baby dolls. Gender identity is developed when children associate the label of boy or girl with the rewards that come with the appropriate behavior and then act out gender roles according to that perception. Parents and teachers model gender roles during the critical primary socialization years, and children imitate accordingly. This results in continued reinforcement of the valued gender identity. Social learning theory thus assumes that "knowledge about gender roles either precedes or is acquired at the same time as gender identity" (Intons-Peterson, 1988:40).

Gender Socialization for Boys According to social learning theory, boys and girls are not parallel in the acquisition of gender role knowledge during the primary socialization years. Early research on gender socialization conducted by David Lynn (1969) accounts for his assertion that boys encounter more difficulty on the socialization path than girls. Lynn asserted that because fathers are not as available as mothers during early childhood, boys have limited opportunities to model the same-gender parent. And when the father is home, the contact is qualitatively different from contact with the mother in terms of intimacy. Given that adult male role models are generally scarce in early childhood, boys struggle to put together a definition of masculinity based on incomplete information. They are often told what they should not do rather than what they should do. "Don't be a sissy" and the classic "big boys don't cry" are examples. Girls have an easier time because of continuous contact with the mother and the relative ease of using her as a model.

Lynn further contended that it is the lack of exposure to males at an early age that leads boys to view masculinity in a stereotyped manner. For males, masculine gender roles are more inflexible than those offered to females. It is this gender role inflexibility that is a critical factor in making male socialization difficult and may explain why males express more insecurity about their gender identity. The consequences of this narrow view of masculinity are many. Male peer groups encourage the belief that aggression and toughness are virtues. Males exhibit hostility toward both females and homosexuals, and cross-gender behavior in boys ("sissies") is viewed more negatively than when it occurs in girls ("tomboys"). Women are more accepting of children who cross gender lines in their behavior. Fear of ridicule propels males, especially adolescents, to use homophobic and sexist remarks to ensure that they are protecting their masculinity (Chapter 9). Although research does not confirm that modeling per se is responsible for gender role acquisition, it does suggest that gender-appropriate behavior is strongly associated with social approval. Although laden with uncertainty and inflexibility, boys express adamant preference for the masculine role. A boy learns that his role is the more desirable one and that it brings more self-esteem.

Gender Socialization for Girls Other social learning theorists state that it is a mistake to conclude that the socialization path for girls is easy simply because mothers are more available to girls as models during early childhood. Even young children are bombarded with messages suggesting that higher worth, prestige, advantages, and rewards are accorded to males compared to females. Boys can readily embrace the gender roles flowing from these messages. Girls, in contrast, are offered subordinate, less prestigious roles that encourage deference and dependence, and they must model behavior that may be less socially valued. Research on teen movies shows that girls are often portrayed in negative, gender stereotypical ways—as socially aggressive, bullying, selfish, and disloyal to female friends (Behm-Morawitz and Mastro, 2008). If modeling and reinforcement are compelling enticements to behavior, as social learning theory suggests, a girl would understandably become quite anxious about being encouraged to perform roles or model behavior held in lower esteem. For socialization overall, girls have the advantage of gender role flexibility, but boys have the advantage of a higher-prestige gender role.

Critique Children are not the passive recipients of rewards and punishments that social learning theorists envision. Because children routinely choose gender-inconsistent behavior, the reinforcement and modeling processes are far more complex. First, children may not model same-gender parents, teachers, or peers or may choose other-gender models outside the family who offer alternatives to gender role behavior that enhance self-esteem. A girl may be rewarded for a masculine activity, such as excelling in sports, but she keeps a tight hold on other aspects of her feminine role. Second, social learning theory minimizes the importance of social change, a significant factor in gender socialization. Families are more diverse than the stereotyped "at-home mother and outside home father" that are used to explain the rocky socialization paths for girls and boys. Divorce, blended families, single parenting, and an increasing number of nonresident parents who are mothers instead of fathers have created a wide range of models for gender socialization (Chapter 8).

Third, other statuses also vie for the attention of both child and parent during primary socialization. Birth order and age of child may be as important as gender in determining how parents behave toward their children. Finally, children experience subcultural family influences in which siblings and adults take on a range of nontraditional roles, such as in single-parent families. And regardless of the different paths offered to them, both girls and boys learn to prefer their own gender and strongly endorse the roles associated with it.

Cognitive Development Theory

Cognitive development explanations for gender socialization contrast sharply with social learning theory. Jean Piaget's (1896–1980) interest in how children gradually develop intelligence, thinking, and reasoning laid the foundation for cognitive development theory. His work is consistent with symbolic interaction theory regarding his ideas that cognitive abilities are developed in stages through ongoing social interaction. Simply stated, the mind matures through interaction with the environment. Behavior depends on how a person perceives a social situation at each cognitive stage (Piaget, 1950, 1954). Cognitive theory stresses a child's active role in structuring and interpreting the world.

Building on Piaget's work, Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) claimed that children learn their gender roles according to their level of cognitive development—in essence, their degree of comprehension of the world. One of the first ways a child comprehends the world is by organizing reality through his or her **self,** the unique sense of identity that distinguishes each individual from all other individuals, and a highly valued part of the child's existence. Anything associated with the self becomes highly valued as well. By age 3, children begin to self-identify by gender and accurately apply gender-related labels to themselves and often to others. By age 6, *gender constancy* is in place. Gender is permanent: A girl knows that she is a girl and will remain one. Only then, Kohlberg asserts, is gender identity said to be developed. Gender identity becomes a central part of self, invested with strong emotional attachment. Studies on gender concepts of children ages 3–5 offer support for the cognitive development approach to using gender identity to organize and label gender-related behavior. These labels form the basis for gender stereotypes and expectations about gender-related behavior (Martin et al., 2004). Thus, cognitive development theory offers a good explanation for the development of gender-typing during primary socialization: When children finally figure out what gender means in their lives, they embrace that understanding in ways that create and then reinforce gender stereotypes.

Once gender identity is developed, much behavior is organized around it. Children seek models that are labeled as "girl" or "boy" and "female" or "male," and in turn, identification with the same-sex parent can occur. Although children base much of their behavior on reinforcement, cognitive theorists see a different sequence in gender socialization than do social learning theorists. This sequence is "I am a boy; therefore, I want to do boy things; therefore, the opportunity to do boy things (and to gain approval for doing them) is rewarding" (Kohlberg, 1966:89). Reinforcements are important, but the child chooses behavior and roles according to the sense of self. Even young children use their knowledge of gender roles to bolster this sense of

self by engaging in gender-typed behaviors. In this way, cognitive development theory supports a self-socialization process. Children choose whom they want to imitate and how the imitation may be played out (Zosuls et al., 2011; Patterson, 2012). Individual differences in gender roles are accounted for by the different experiences of children. Children may subsequently repeat these experiences based on reinforcement, so there is some consistency with social learning theory. There is wide support for the cognitive development approach to gender role socialization. Children are gender detectives. Their interests and activities—such as appearance, play, toys, and friendships—are based on their beliefs about gender compatibility, a pattern that cuts across race, ethnicity, and social class (Alexander and Wilcox, 2012; Halim et al., 2014). Children value their own gender more and believe theirs is superior to the other. Early in life children develop the ability to classify characteristics by gender and choose behavior according to that classification (Miller et al., 2006).

Critique Like social learning, cognitive development theory cannot account for all gender role socialization. The cognitive development model also has been criticized because a key assertion is that children will actively choose gender-typed behavior only after they understand gender constancy. Gender constancy appears by age 6, but gender-typed preferences in play and toy selections are already in place by age 2 or 3. Cognitive development theory assumes that these preferences are based on gender identity. For the model to fit neatly with the stages outlined in cognitive development, gender identity must come before an understanding of gender constancy. To date, research has been unable to confirm this sequence. In countering this criticism, cognitive theorists suggest that all that is needed for gender identity is simple, rudimentary knowledge about gender. *Gender stability*, where the child views the same gender role behavior over and over in a variety of contexts, will suffice even if the child cannot fully comprehend gender constancy. Simple knowledge about gender stability allows children to begin to label accurately who is a girl and who is a boy. Critics still argue, however, that the acquisition of knowledge about gender stability is not as simple as cognitive development theorists describe. For children to determine patterns of gender stability, they must experience social interaction in a relatively large number of contexts. It is unlikely that this interaction will be either uniform or consistent in terms of gender. Understanding the supposedly simple idea of gender stability may be as complicated for children as understanding gender constancy (Renk et al., 2006; Stockard, 2007).

Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory is an important subset of cognitive development theory. **Schemas** are cognitive structures used to understand the world, interpret perception, and process new information. Sandra Bem, one of the most prominent gender schema theorists, contends that once the child learns cultural definitions of gender, these schemas become the core around which all other information is organized (Bem, 1981, 1983, 1987). Consistent with cognitive development theory, before a schema is created to process gender-related information, children must be at the cognitive level to identify gender accurately. Infants as young as 9 months can distinguish between male and female, but it is between ages 2 and 3 that this

identification becomes associated with giant leaps in gender knowledge. Schemas tell children what they can and cannot do according to their gender. Even coloring books are highly gender stereotyped. Equalitarian images are hard to find, and very few female characters engage in male activities or occupations. Gender schema theory suggests that limited and stereotyped images for girls may disallow them from thinking about different alternatives in life (Fitzpatrick and McPherson, 2010). Schemas affect children's behavior and influence their self-esteem. A child's sense of self is linked to how closely his or her behavior matches accepted gender schemas. When a girl learns that prescriptions for femininity in her culture include being polite and kind, these behaviors are incorporated into her emerging gender schema, and she adjusts her behavior accordingly.

Gender schemas of parents impact how they behave toward their children and, in turn, how this influences their children's development. Significant, positive correlations between parent and child gender schemas are consistently reported. Parents with traditional gender schemas are more likely to have children with gender-typed cognitions than are parents with nontraditional schemas (Leaper and Friedman, 2007). By 18 months, children can associate cultural symbols with gender—pictures of fire hats and hammers are associated with males; pictures of dolls and teddy bears, with females (Eichstedt et al., 2002). As adults, gender-based processing directs people to use language according to gender role orientation (Chapter 4). These studies support Sandra Bem's contention that the way parents behave toward children and the way symbols are classified are directed by a gender schematic network of cultural associations that we learn to accept. In cultures that rigidly adhere to beliefs about gender differences, gender schemas are likely to be even more complex.

Other support for the influence of gender schemas comes from research indicating that people have a selective memory bias for information congruent with gender. Children and adults can recall personal experiences, activities, people, media, and reading material more accurately and vividly when the information is presented in gender stereotypical ways (Ruble et al., 2006). Schemas are guided by gender to fill in gaps when other information is ambiguous. In the absence of relevant information about the strengths of a political candidate, for example, people default to gender of the candidate to process the information (Chang and Hitchon, 2004). We also revert to gender schema to sort out information that is gender inconsistent. Gender stereotype–congruent tasks are completed more quickly. Boys can manipulate mechanical toys faster than girls; girls can dress a doll quicker than boys (Knight et al., 2004). Children presented with pictures of girls and boys engaged in nontraditional roles, such as a girl sawing wood or a boy sewing, will recall the picture in a gender-consistent way—the boy is sawing, and the girl is sewing (Martin and Ruble, 2004:68). Even young children exaggerate or invent male–female differences even if none exist, a pattern carried through to adulthood.

Cultural Lenses The cultural impact on gender acquisition can be refined further using a gender schema model. Referred to as *cultural lenses*, every culture contains assumptions about behavior that are contained throughout its social institutions and within the personalities of individuals. Sociologists assert that these lenses consist of a society's values, beliefs, and norms. Sandra Bem (1993) suggests

that in American culture, three gender lenses are most prominent: gender polarization (shared beliefs that females and males are different and opposite beings), biological essentialism (biology produces natural, inevitable gender roles), and androcentrism (males are superior to females). Despite massive research evidence against gender polarization and biological essentialism, the beliefs persist and in turn are used to justify androcentrism. These beliefs become another set of gender schemas in which to organize behavior. Children accept them without recognizing that alternatives are possible. As adults, they cannot envision their society—or any other for that matter—organized according to a different set of gender schemas. Gender schema theory helps explain why a person's world becomes so differentiated by gender over the life course.

The notion of cultural lenses provides a good interdisciplinary link to macro-level sociology. Functionalists are interested in identifying core cultural and subcultural gender lenses that influence social order and social change. Monitoring these gender cultural lenses over time can offer insight into the functional and dysfunctional consequences of gender roles for society as a whole. In cultures that rigidly adhere to beliefs about gender differences, gender schemas are likely to be even more complex. The influence of gender schemas may help explain why it is so difficult to dislodge gender stereotypical thinking once it is placed during childhood.

Gender schema theory may be the best alternative in explaining not only how people develop gender identities, but also how gender stereotypes can be modified. Boys who view reading as a feminine activity can be introduced to boy-friendly books to encourage reading development and enhanced literacy (Sokal et al., 2005). Research on computer use and information technology (IT) suggests that there is a gendered digital divide, but when people are made aware of the influence of gender on their thinking about computers, gender schematic thinking may be reprocessed to be more aschematic. Several generations of children have grown up with computers being integral to their daily lives, but the centrality of computers to adolescent girls is less important than it is for adolescent boys. Course work on computers and video game imagery are designed according to gender schemas of boys, in turn contributing to the underrepresentation of women in IT careers. However, when girls who identify with more traditional gender roles are introduced to website development with gender-friendly aspects, such as those designed around gender schematic themes of inclusion, social connectedness, and flexibility, interest in computers is heightened. Research also demonstrates that IT women have different gender schema than women in the general public and that IT men have different gender schema than men in the general public (Agosto, 2004; Cooper, 2006; Lemons and Parzinger, 2007). When taken-for-granted notions about gender are examined, course work can be modified to account for gender schemas in a productive manner.

Critique As a cognitive model, gender schema theory is subject to the same set of criticisms noted earlier, but two others also need to be considered. First, gender schema theory has difficulty explaining gender schemas of those who consider themselves transgendered. Are transgendered people who identify only a few traits associated with their own sex "gender aschematic"? Gender schema theory rests largely on the assertion that virtually everyone is gender schematic.

Second, gender schema theory has difficulty explaining inconsistent developmental aspects of gender-related perceptions and behaviors. Gender schema theorists would predict that because early childhood is so rigid and inflexible in gender stereotyping, the path is set for gender intensification to continue to increase. Adolescents, especially girls, however, are more flexible and less stereotyped in many of their gender-related activities and choices (Ruble et al., 2006). Environmental cues shift as contexts change. These appear to be powerful influences on role preferences even if they are inconsistent with gender schemas (Signorella and Frieze, 2008). Other schemas—such as those based on age, ethnicity, and religion—may compete, crosscut, or intersect with gender schemas as guides to behavior (Campbell et al., 2004). Gender stereotypes may be in place by adulthood, but ample evidence suggests that they tend to weaken over time (Campbell et al., 2004; Cherney, 2005).

Social Cognitive Theory

Notice that the criticisms of the theories of gender socialization reviewed here fall short in accounting for inconsistent messages children receive about gender from a variety of ever-changing sources. As a newer model, social cognitive theory taps into the strong points of all three theories to understand the degree to which children actively choose their gender roles (a key element in cognitive development and gender schema theories) and how much imitation and reinforcement are needed for gender roles to be learned (a key element in social learning theory) (Kunkel et al., 2006). As articulated by Albert Bandura, a prominent name associated with social learning theory, a social cognitive approach to gender socialization highlights the rapid expansion of knowledge from observations, the self-regulation of behavior once knowledge is gained, and the self-reflection that evaluates the selected behavior (Bussey and Bandura, 1999; Bandura and Bussey, 2004).

Social cognitive theory has been used to explain the connection between gender and the selection of sports role models. As predicted by social learning theory, girls and boys overwhelmingly nominate role models of their own gender. However, when girls choose role models from among sports figures, they often pick males rather than females. Social cognitive theory explains these choices according to the image of sports as a male domain and the level of influence wielded by men in the domain (Adriaanse and Crosswhite, 2008). Although girls are more likely than boys to be outsiders, sports from an outsider perspective makes their gender stereotypes stronger. Level of inference also is accounted for when children evaluate their parents on the importance of sports for health behavior (Shakib and Dunbar, 2004). Adolescents receive subtle messages about gender and sports from fathers and mothers and evaluate how their parents act out these messages. Do both parents actively participate in sports for the benefit of physical exercise? Do fathers participate more or less than mothers? Social cognitive theory might argue that gender stereotypes about sports communicated in families during primary socialization make fathers more influential role models than mothers for boys but mothers are more influential role models than fathers for girls. In this way, social cognitive theory accounts for apparent contradictions in selection of gender role models for children.

When combined with a symbolic interaction perspective, social cognitive theory provides a good foundation for interdisciplinary approaches to gender role

socialization. In emphasizing the importance that symbolic interactionists attach to role-taking, social cognitive theory may suggest that when children take on a variety of roles, including those related to gender, opportunities are available for behavior to be rewarded, punished, and imitated. Roles are also carefully evaluated to determine the relative influence of some people as models compared to others. For example, self-reported homophobia aggression in high school youth is predicted by their observations of aggression among peers they use as role models (Prati, 2012). Adolescents take into account parents, peers, and teachers as role models and judge the importance of each for determining future behavior in many contexts. Adolescents use both processes, but the judgment of the level of influence (symbolic interaction and social cognitive theory) is more important than the modeling (social learning theory). Congruent with gender socialization, same-gender parents, peers, and teachers would be judged as more influential than other-gender parents, peers, and teachers.

Critique Of all the theories of gender socialization, social cognitive theory appears to offer the best integrative model to explain contradictory research results on gender related to the influence of a child's choice of role models. However, social cognitive theory has yet to provide answers to two important questions about primary socialization: First, when does "active self-socialization" occur—before or after the selection of role models? Second, which is more important in the process—the child's active choices or the availability of the role model itself? In other words, can a child internalize and act out beliefs about gender if there are no role models already in place?

Social cognitive theory does resonate with sociology's assertion that various subsystems, or agents, operate interdependently in the process of gender socialization. Social cognitive theory is a psychological view of social interaction that focuses on the individual and how social interaction shapes his or her feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. Nevertheless, for social cognitive theory to be a good bridge between the disciplines, it needs to incorporate more fully a sociological view of social interaction and to account for ongoing social interaction in social situations according to how individuals change because of the interaction. How are gender stereotypes of adolescent boys altered when they interact with star school athletes who also enjoy activities such as cooking and child care?

Social cognitive theory offers very productive leads for explanations of gender role socialization, but it is not a fully integrative model. Such a model must incorporate key elements of social learning, cognitive development, and gender schema theories as well as integrate the psychological and sociological approaches. Understandably, this tall order has yet to be filled.

Agents of Socialization

Agents of socialization are the people, groups, and social institutions that provide the critical information needed for children to become fully functioning members of society. Functionalists point out that if these agents do not carry out their socialization tasks properly, social integration may be compromised. Conflict theorists point out

that these agents offer varying degrees of power, allowing socialization advantages to some groups and disadvantages to others. These agents do not exist independently of one another and are often inconsistent in the gendered messages they send. Later chapters will be devoted to each agent, but the focus here will be on those agents that are the most influential in determining gender roles during primary socialization.

The Family

The family is by far the most significant agent of socialization. Although social change has increased family diversity and created more opportunities for children to be influenced by other social institutions, the family continues to play the pivotal role in primary socialization. The family is responsible for shaping a child's personality, emerging identity, and self-esteem. Children gain their first values and attitudes from the family, including powerful messages about gender. Learned first in the family and then reinforced by other social institutions, gender is fundamental to the shaping of all social life. Gender messages dominate and are among the best predictors of a range of later attitudes and behaviors.

Do You Want a Boy or a Girl? The first thing expectant parents say in response to this question is "We want a healthy baby." Then they state a gender preference. Preference for one gender over the other is strong. Most couples agree on their preference for male over female children, especially for a first or only child, a consistent finding for over half a century in the United States (Newport, 2011). We will see that it also holds true for most of the world. Males are stronger in these preferences than females. There are important exceptions, however, to the son-preference finding when surveying individuals rather than couples. Reviews of data from the United States and some European countries, including gender-equitable Scandinavia, find that college women, first-time pregnant women, and middle-class young adults state a daughter preference or no preference more often than a son preference (Andersson et al., 2006; Dahl et al., 2006; Strow and Brasfield, 2006).

A key issue in understanding parental gender preferences is parity. The ideal for couples in the United States and much of the developed world is to have two children, one boy and one girl. It is well documented that couples with two children of the same gender are more likely to try for a third child than those with one son and one daughter (Andersson et al., 2007; Kippen et al., 2007). Parity is also related to sex selection technology (SST), which increases the chances of having a child of the preferred gender.

Data on attitudes toward use of SST for a firstborn child show a preference for a firstborn son. When considering the gender balance issue, couples who use SST are more likely to try for a boy if they have two girls compared to couples who try for a girl if they have two boys. Such choices have a major impact on these families because the number of children is significantly higher in families with firstborn girls (Swetkis et al., 2002; Dahl and Moretti, 2008).

Internet sites spawned by SST increase public awareness and bolster its legitimacy. Regardless of whether a boy or girl is preferred, it is clear from blogs, self-help

sites, and Internet support forums that SST strongly reinforces the gender binary. The following research examples from such sites suggest this legitimacy.

> These women do not question whether the sex of the child should matter. They take it as a given. Just as it is different being a boy or a girl, they say it is equally different being a parent to a boy than to a girl (As described by an SST research participant). I wanted have someone to play Barbies with and to go shopping with; I wanted the little girl with long hair and pink and doing fingernails. They speak of Barbies and ballet and butterfly barrettes. They also describe their desire to rear strong young women. (Cited in Bhatia, 2010:268, 271)

Gender Socialization in Early Childhood Gender-typing begins in the womb. Evidence suggests that when the sex of the fetus is known, mothers modify activities according to beliefs about male strength and female fragility. She may engage in more rigorous exercise and physical activities if she is carrying a male. Parents talk about the fetus in gendered terms. Males may be described as active and kicking; females, as quiet and calm. Gender of the child is one of the strongest predictors of how parents will behave toward their children, a finding that is reported globally and one that crosses racial and ethnic lines in the United States (Raley and Bianchi, 2006; Carothers and Reis, 2013). Parents are likely to describe infant sons as strong, tough, and alert and infant daughters as delicate, gentle, and awkward, regardless of the weight or length of their infants. Fathers are more stereotyped in their assessments than mothers. Socialization by parents encourages gender-appropriate norms allowing separation, independence, and more risk-taking for boys and connection, interdependence, and more cautious behaviors for girls (Kline and Wilcox, 2013). While Dick is allowed to cross the street, use scissors, or go to a friend's house by himself, Jane must wait until she is older.

Gendered Childhood: Clothing, Toys, and Play Proud parents deposit their newborns in a household ready to accommodate either a boy or a girl. The baby also is welcomed into the home by greeting cards from friends and family that display consistent gender-stereotyped messages. Indeed, gender-neutral cards for any age are largely nonexistent. Pink- and pastel-colored cards for darling, sweet, and adorable girls and cards in primary colors for strong, handsome, and active boys are standard. The first artifacts acquired by the infant are toys and clothes. In anticipating the arrival of the newborn, friends and relatives choose gifts that are neutral to avoid embarrassing themselves or the expectant parents by colors or toys that suggest the "wrong" gender. When they know the gender of the child in advance, these selections are much easier. Teddy bears and clothing in colors other than pink or blue are safe bets.

Most parents, however, do know their baby's sex before birth and decorate the child's room accordingly. If parents choose not to know the sex of the baby in advance, decorations for either gender will be chosen. But within weeks of the baby's arrival, the infant's room is easily recognizable as belonging to a girl or a boy. Until recently, toys for toddlers were likely to be gender neutral, but that pattern has changed dramatically in less than a decade. Manufacturers offer gender lines for almost all their toys, even if the toys have the same function. Girls and boys play with

the same building blocks but in different colors; girls' are pink and purple and boys' are in darker primary colors. Infant girls cuddle pink-clad teddy bears and dolls, and infant boys cuddle blue-clad teddy bears and dolls. When you inspect toy ads, note that these dolls are virtually indistinguishable in all of the features except the color of the clothing. By age 2, children begin to reject toys designed for the other gender and select those designed for their own gender. By preschool, children have a firm commitment to own-gender toys and tend to reject other-gender toys as well as the children playing with other-gender toys, especially if a boy is playing with a girl's toy.

Color-coded and gender-typed clothing of infants and children are widespread and taken for granted (Paoletti, 2012). Pink and yellow on girls are sharply contrasted with blue and red on boys. Although pants for school and casual wear are now more common than dresses, girls' clothing is likely in pastels with embroidered hearts and flowers. Given that pants for girls often do not have pockets, a purse becomes a necessity. Both boys and girls wear T-shirts and sweatshirts. Boys wear those that have superhero and athletic motifs, and girls wear those depicting female television characters or nature scenes. Pictures of outstanding male athletes are typically represented in nonathletic clothing for boys and sometimes for girls, but it is unusual to find female athletes depicted on clothing for girls. Halloween costumes provide a good example of gender-typing in clothing. Gender-neutral costumes are rare at Halloween, with hero costumes highly favored by both boys and girls. Girl heroes are clustered around beauty queens and princesses, and boy heroes are clustered around warriors, especially villains and symbols of death. Animal costumes are favored for younger children, but these, too, are gender-typed. The pink dragon is female, and the blue teddy bear is male (Nelson, 2000). Gender-oriented clothing and accessories provide the initial labels to ensure that children are responded to according to gendered norms. If an infant girl's gender is not readily identifiable by her clothing, she may have a bow attached to her bald head so that she will not be mistaken for a boy.

Dolls A clothing–toy link carries a formidable force for socialization, especially for girls who buy "fashions" for their dolls. Dolls for girls, especially Barbies, and "action figures" for boys (advertisers will never call them dolls) are standard gifts to children from parents. Not only are messages about beauty, clothing, and weight sent to girls via Barbie, but girls also learn about options and preferences in life. Barbie has held a variety of jobs, including flight attendant, ballerina, fashion model, teacher, and aerobics instructor. At the height of the women's movement in the 1970s, she graduated from medical school as a surgeon and joined the army in the 1980s. Regardless of job, she prefers pink and purple outfits and accessories. She broke up with Ken after 43 years together, but they recently reunited. Barbie does have nonwhite friends, but except for skin color, they are identical in shape and size to classic white Barbie. Celebrating her fiftieth birthday in 2009, Barbie remains a powerful socialization icon for girls throughout the world.

Dolls for girls are increasingly sexualized, a trend Barbie has largely avoided. Dolls wear black leather miniskirts, thigh-high boots, and thongs, with the same items appearing on shelves in clothing stores for tween girls, often under "eye candy" and "wink wink" slogans. The theories of socialization reviewed in this chapter may explain the process differently, but all recognize the gender detriment that is associated with childhood sexualization. With its powerful media connection, the

sexualized dolls and clothing for tween girls are linked to self-objectification, feelings of powerless and vulnerability, and threats to desires, competency, health, and overall well-being (Hatch, 2011). Parents who are dismayed by the grip of Barbie in their households may find an advantage to encouraging their preadolescent daughters to continue to play with Barbie-type dolls until they are out of the doll stage of life.

A generation ago the male counterpart of Barbie was G.I. Joe. Although today G.I. Joe is sold mainly to nostalgic adult men, it was the prototype for subsequent action figures. The action figures currently sold to boys have larger body frames and are more muscular than the original figures. These figures can be bent, and their bodies can be manipulated to emphasize movement and complex activities. Except for baby-type dolls, girls play with dolls that have few joints and limited options for staging movement. Girls equate beauty and style with Barbie. Boys equate good looks and ruggedness with heroic action figures. Messages about masculine and feminine embodiment ideals are sent to both boys and girls through these toys. Today G.I Joe has his own franchise, including movies in a military-themed universe (Truitt, 2013). Combined with an entertainment-based youth culture, gendered toys are another link to lower self-esteem, damaging notions regarding physical activity, and the origins of eating disorders in children (Chapter 2).

Toys and Gender Scripts Toys for girls encourage domesticity, interpersonal closeness, and a social orientation. Boys receive more categories of toys, their toys are more complex and expensive, and the toys foster self-reliance and problem solving. Toys for boys are likely to be designed for action (race cars, trains, weapons, building, and outdoor play. Toys for girls are likely to be designed for housework (ironing, cooking, sewing, cleaning) and beauty (hairstyling, cosmetics, glamorous clothing for dolls). As they get older, Dick and Jane acquire toys that encourage more imagination, pretense, and role-taking. Pretend play is developed earlier in girls, but by second grade, boys surpass girls in imaginative play. Girls script their play and stage their activities more realistically, largely having to do with caretaking of dolls and playing house. The major exception to this pattern is the prevailing "princess" scenario that girls embrace, often to the chagrin of their nontraditional parents (Orenstein, 2006). Boys script their play around fantasies related to superheroes, dragons and dinosaurs, wars in space, and aliens. The toys associated with the scripts are rated as competitive, violent, exciting, and dangerous (Blakemore and Centers, 2005). Girls do have one advantage over boys in their toy selections: They are allowed to cross over and play with toys designed for boys. Even so-called gender-neutral toys still resemble toys for boys in color, such as primary color blocks. These keep the appeal for boys but allow them to be purchased for girls (Auster and Mansbach, 2012). Playing with male-oriented toys in childhood is associated with sports participation and early development of manipulative and mechanical skills. Given that boys are discouraged from playing with toys designed for girls, if boys are restricted in their play, it is due to lack of encouragement in scripting activities suggestive of domestic roles, such as caring for children (no dolls allowed) and doing housework.

Both parents and children express clear preferences for gender-typed toys. These preferences reinforce the persistent gender-related messages that are sent to children through the toys. On your next outing to a toy store, note how shelves are categorized

according to gender and how pictures on the boxes suggest how boys and girls should use the toys. Little Jane uses her tea set to give parties for dolls in her room, whereas same-age Dick is experimenting with sports or racing trucks outside in the mud. Siblings and peers ensure that the children will play with toys or stage games in gender-specific ways. The gender-related messages, in turn, show up in differences between girls and boys in cognitive and social development in childhood as well as differences in gender roles as adults. Despite massive social change impacting the genders, gender-typed preferences in toys not only persist, but also appear to be growing.

Gendered Parenting As social learning theorists suggest, through the toys and clothes children receive during early childhood, parents send powerful messages about what is or is not gender appropriate. In turn, children come to expect that their mothers will respond to them differently than their fathers. Parenting practices thus vary not only according to the gender of the child, but also according to the gender of the parent. By preadolescence, children expect responses from their parents according to traditional instrumental-expressive gender role stereotypes. Children as young as 3 years believe not only that their parents will approve of them more when they play with gender-typed toys, but also that fathers will disapprove more if boys play with girls' toys. Children expect mothers to soothe hurt feelings more than fathers. They expect to have more time with their fathers for recreation, especially rough-and-tumble play. Household chores are usually divided according to gender, but mothers are more likely than fathers to encourage both their sons and daughters to take on chores that would usually be assigned to the other gender. These patterns of gender intensification increase as children get older (Galambos, 2004; Freeman, 2007). Fathers may be more traditional than mothers in their stereotypes, but both parents have strong convictions about which gender is better suited to which activities. Parents perceive the competencies of their children in areas such as math, English, and sports according to their children's gender, even if these influences are independent of any real differences in the talents or abilities of the children (Marmion and Lundberg-Love, 2004; Kline and Wilcox, 2013). Children may recognize the inequity in their parents' actions, but largely accept the behavior as gender appropriate. Parent–child similarity about gender attitudes carries throughout childhood and adolescence (Degner and Dalege, 2013). This acceptance of stereotypes is consistent with cognitive development theory by suggesting that the development of gender role identity is linked to children's perception of adult behavior.

Sons and Daughters Gender of parent does not predict the level of responsiveness—both parents respond swiftly and appropriately to the demands of their children—but it does predict the type of response. There are clear differences between men and women in gender role expectations concerning child rearing. Children of all ages spend more time with women than men. Girls do housework with mothers, and boys do yard work with fathers. Fathers spend more time with their sons and focus activities on instrumental learning—how to repair things, how to compete successfully in sports, and how to earn and manage money. Regardless of the child's gender, mothers talk to their children, are emotionally expressive, and stay closer to them more than fathers. Both mothers and fathers expect riskier behavior from their sons and believe that there is little they can do to prevent it. Fathers believe that overprotecting their children, especially their sons, limits opportunities for physical risk-taking that is unproductive (Morrongiello and Hogg, 2004). Risk issues show up in messages about sex and sexuality. Both parents send their daughters more restrictive sex messages than they do their sons (Morgan et al., 2010; Brussoni and Olsen, 2012). Although mothers spend more overall time with their children than fathers, parental time spent with same-gender children is considered more productive in terms of socialization benefits (Gugl and Welling, 2012).

Today's parents are much more likely to support beliefs about gender equity and feminist values than did their parents. A growing new generation of feminist parents is socializing the next generation of feminist children. Parents who are forerunners of change, however, face difficult obstacles. This ideological shift toward equity is more strongly supported by mothers than by fathers. Fathers have less support for gender equity when they have sons only, but more support when they have daughters only. Feminist fathers may lag behind feminist mothers because the fathers tap into the gender differences that were part of their own socialization experiences (Risman and Myers, 2006; Blakemore and Hill, 2008). According to symbolic interactionists, beliefs about equity cannot fully erase these early family influences. In addition, children from egalitarian households—whether their parents are defined as feminist or not —are continually exposed to patriarchal families outside their homes, especially in the media. Until egalitarian behavior becomes normative throughout all social institutions, a cultural lag persists (McCorry, 2006). On the other hand, we have seen that socialization is a powerful force serving both gender role continuity and gender role change. As beliefs about gender equity become more widespread, the next generation of parents should socialize their children in less traditional ways than they were socialized.

Peers and Preferences

Children transfer gender role patterns established in the family when they begin to form friendships with their peers. With family gender role models as a foundation, peer influence on children's gender socialization is even more powerful. Parents initiate the first peer relationships for their children, with these often developing into later friendships chosen by the children themselves. Two- and three-year-olds delight in playing with their same-age companions, and parents are not compelled to separate them by gender at this early age. As school age approaches, however, this situation is altered dramatically.

Activities, games, and play are strongly related to gender roles and become important aspects of socialization. These are easily seen when a brother and sister play together. When Jane pressures Dick into playing house, she is the mommy and he is the daddy. Or she can convince him to be the student while she is the teacher and relishes the prospect of scolding him for his disruptive classroom behavior. On the other hand, if brother Dick coerces Jane into a game of catch, he bemoans her awkwardness and ridicules her lack of skill. What would social learning theory say about the likelihood of Jane becoming an expert in catch? Games such as these usually are short-lived, dissolve into conflict, and are dependent on the availability of same-gender peers with whom siblings would rather play.

Games Peer play activities socialize children in important ways. The games of boys are more complex, competitive, and rule-governed and allow for more positions to be played and a larger number of participants than games played by girls. Girls play ordered games such as hopscotch and jump rope in groups of two or three, which take up less space, minimize competitiveness, and tend to enhance cooperation. Both boys and girls play kickball, but boys play it at a younger age than girls and graduate to more competitive, physically demanding sports sooner than girls. There are significant consequences of gender differences in games and play. Girls prefer to socialize and talk at recess rather than engage in any physical activity, a pattern more pronounced with African American and Latino girls (Kim, 2008; Holmes, 2012). When girls are weaned from sports and physical activities in early childhood, they lose strength, are less interested in exercising, stay indoors, and watch television more than boys (Cherney and London, 2006). By adolescence, they show some loss in bone density and are at increased risk for obesity. An important early study of these effects bitterly concluded that girls' games "teach meaningless mumbo-jumbo—vague generalities or pregame mutual agreements about 'what we'll play'—while falsely implying that these blurry self-guides are typical of real world rules" (Harragan, 1977:49–50). Decades later the pattern still holds. Skipping rope is a shared activity for girls in smaller spaces on playgrounds that are dominated by boys who play soccer and basketball. Boys and girls are proud of these activities and seize opportunities to show them off to the other gender. Boys act out hegemonic masculinity in their sports skills, and girls demonstrate friendship and precision in their skipping skills (Martin, 2011).

Later research lends support to the notion that girls lose out in early skill development related to competition. Girls also may take longer to develop the ability to take on the roles of several people at once—referred to as the *generalized other* by symbolic interactionists—which is valuable in understanding group dynamics by anticipating how others will react in a given group situation. Complex games such as team sports require this ability. Yet this learning process may have negative effects for both girls and boys. The games of young boys do provide early guidelines that are helpful for success later in life, such as striving for individual excellence through competition as emphasized in American culture. However, boys may be at a disadvantage because it takes them longer than girls to learn values such as consensus building, cooperation, and intimacy, which are also essential for interpersonal and economic success.

Cognitive development and social learning theory highlight the importance of peers in fueling gender segregation during early childhood. With strong gender cognitions about similarity, peer group influence increases throughout the school years, exerting a powerful effect on children. As any playground in the world demonstrates, children quickly gravitate toward same-gender peers. When children interact, positive reinforcement for the behavior of same-gender peers occurs more frequently than with other-gender peers (Martin et al., 2011).

Young boy show stronger gender-typed preferences in activities when they are with peers than when alone (Goble et al., 2012). Boys are mocked by other boys for displaying fear or for crying when they are picked on and applauded when they are aggressive. Even with zero tolerance school policies about bullying and fighting, think about when boys fight or taunt other boys, their peers on the sidelines cheer and spur them on. Boys are more tenacious in their gender typical behavior and exhibit strong masculine stereotyped preferences through preadolescence. But boys must walk a fine line between openly displaying too much or not enough aggression (Kochel et al., 2012). Boys are more likely than girls to be expelled from school for aggressive behavior. Both gender-typical and gender-atypical behavior is risky for boys who are concerned with maintaining positive peer relationships. Children prefer to interact with other children who have the same style of play as their own. In preschool, gender segregation is enforced by peers but high-activity girls originally interact more in games with boys. Over time, gender resegregation occurs, but low-activity girls and high-activity girls interact in separate groups (Hoffmann and Powlishta, 2001; Pellegrini et al., 2007). Boys interact in larger groups and have more extensive but less communal peer relationships; girls interact in smaller groups and have more intensive and more communal peer relationships. Early intimacy with peers carries over to higher levels of self-disclosure and trust between women, especially best-friend pairs (Chapter 7). The trust and openness that enhance same-gender relationships could inhibit later cross-gender friendships. Gender boundaries are strictly monitored and enforced by peers in childhood, and the worlds of male and female are further divided. Because they learn different styles of interaction, when boys and girls meet as teenagers, they may do so as strangers.

Shifts in Gendered Peer Behavior Recent research suggests that the peer socialization experiences of girls and boys differ depending on type and context of the experience. Since girls are often rewarded for masculine activities, they are able to be more gender atypical in their activities, However, peer harassment, social exclusion, taunting, and name-calling are associated with withdrawal. Adolescents withdraw from both masculine activities (for example, sports) and feminine activities (for example, cheerleading). As expected from ample research, peer harassment of boys predicts fewer feminine activities. Boys with fewer male friends and many female friends experience more peer harassment, but surprisingly, gender-atypical (feminine) behavior increases rather than decreases. The more excluded boys are from other boys, the *less* they engage in masculine activities (Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011a; 2011b). As we have seen in this chapter, boys and girls undergo different socialization processes for gender role development. These findings need to be incorporated in the theories to explain both the similarities and the differences.

School

Family life paves the way for education, the next major agent of continuing socialization. The intimacy and spontaneity of the family and early childhood peer groups are replaced with a school setting in which children are evaluated impersonally with rewards based on academic success. School will play a critical role in the lives of both parents and students for the next 12–20 years. We will view the gender impact of the educational institution fully in Chapter 11. The intent here is to briefly consider its role in primary socialization. Regardless of the mission to evaluate children impersonally—by what they do rather than who they are—schools are not immune to gender role stereotyping and often foster it.

Teachers who sincerely believe they are treating boys and girls similarly are unaware of how they inadvertently perpetuate sexist notions. When Jane is ignored or not reprimanded for disruptive behavior, is encouraged in her verbal but not mathematical abilities, or is given textbooks showing women and girls in a narrow range of roles—or not showing them at all—gender stereotyping is encouraged, and Jane's self-esteem and achievement motivation decrease (Skelton, 2006; Brown, 2008). Dick discovers that his rowdiness will gain attention from his female elementary school teacher, that he can aspire to any occupation except nurse or secretary, and that he is rewarded for his athletic skills at recess. Unlike Jane, who may be grudgingly admired when engaged in "tomboy" behavior, Dick is loath to even investigate school-related activities typical for girls, lest he be called a "sissy." A decade of research on students of all grade levels conducted by Myra and David Sadker (1994) brings this point home. Their study asked: What would it be like to become a member of the "opposite sex"? Both boys and girls preferred their own gender, but girls found the prospect intriguing and interesting and were willing to try it for a while. As girls wrote, "I will be able to be almost anything I want" or "I will make more money now that I am a boy." Boys, on the other hand, found it appalling, disgusting, and humiliating. Comments from two sixth-grade boys suggest the intensity of these feelings: "My teachers would treat me like a little hairy pig-headed girl" and at the extreme: "If I were turned into a girl today, I would kill myself" (Sadker and Sadker, 1994:83).

Functionalists emphasize the responsibility of schools to socialize children to eventually take on positions necessary to maintain society. Schools provide experiences that offer technical competence as well as the learning of values and norms appropriate to the culture. American culture places a high regard on the values of competition, initiative, independence, and individualism, and schools are expected to advocate these values. We have already seen how these values are associated more with masculinity than femininity. Also from a functionalist viewpoint, schools are indispensable in bringing together a diverse society through the acceptance of a common value system.

Unfortunately, many schools unwittingly socialize children into acquiring one set of values to the exclusion of the other. Stereotypical thinking assumes that to fill breadwinning roles, boys need to be taught the value of competitiveness and to fill domestic roles, girls need to be taught the value of nurturance. Although both are positive values and both are needed to function effectively, they are limited to, or truly accepted by, only one gender. As schools begin to foster gender-fairness in the curriculum and in school culture, gender role socialization harmful to both girls and boys can be altered.

Television

Television aimed at young children is a commanding source of gender socialization. This observation is empirically justified, considering that a child may spend up to one-third of the day watching TV. Heavy television viewing is strongly associated with traditional and stereotyped gender views. Children are especially vulnerable in believing that television images represent truth and reality. Television is by far the most influential of all the media. Television establishes standards of behavior, provides role models, and communicates expectations about all social life. Children are increasingly using messages from television to learn about gender and sexuality—a pattern found for both genders and for children of all races in the United States. When television images are reinforced by the other mass media, such as movies, magazines, and popular songs, the impact on socialization is profound (Chapter 13).

Television Teaches Strongly supportive of social learning theory, children as young as 2 years of age copy what they see on TV, with imitation increasing through the elementary school years. Television encourages modeling. Children identify with same-gender characters. Boys identify with physically strong characters, especially athletes and superheroes. Girls identify with beautiful models, girls who are popular and attractive in school, and plain girls who are transformed into lovely and rich princesses.

Television is gender stereotyped. Gender role portrayals in shows that are deemed acceptable for children are highly stereotyped. Even *Sesame Street*, arguably the most popular children's show for preschool children of all time, highly underrepresents female characters—human or Muppet—and portrays males more than females as dominant and in roles of authority. In cartoons for preadolescents, male characters outnumber female characters ten to one. Females are portrayed more in family roles and are more physically attractive and sexualized than male characters (*The Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast*). Cartoons usually have all males or have one or two females, often in helping or little sister relationships. Many of you may recall from your childhood the lone *Smurfette* among all of the other male *Smurfs*. When girls are portrayed with boys in dangerous situations, boys determine the story line and the code of values for the group. Girls are defined in relation to the boys. Television influences self-image. On Saturday morning TV, boys are more significant persons than girls, if only by the sheer number of male characters compared to female. This is bolstered by television's consistent and stubborn portrayal of stereotypical female characters, especially teenagers, existing primarily as add-ons to males (*SpongeBob, Phineas and Ferb*). It is interesting that children's programming that deviates from gender stereotypes is not only successful, but also hugely popular. Females are lead characters that are portrayed as heroic, smart, and adventurous; male and female characters are partners in adventures (*Dora the Explorer, Adventure Time, Doc McStuffins; Powerpuff Girls*). Although these are positive signs, Dora has taken on a more sexualized appearance, the *Powerpuff Girls*, alas, are still more puff than powerful, and it is difficult to find boys in roles that show caring and warmth. Factoring in race, young white boys are the largest beneficiaries in bolstering overall self-esteem from television programming for children.

Advertising Children's television is supported by commercials aimed at products for children—mainly toys, fast food, and sugared cereal. In the early days of television, advertising for children's items was targeted to adults. Today children are more likely than adults to actually watch the commercials. Marketing to the "child consumer" is a key tactic of the toy industry with age- and gender-linked ads designed to entice a specific niche of children (Pike and Jennings, 2005; Desmond and Carveth, 2007). Advertisers prompt children to believe that doing without these toys or other products is an unfortunate hardship. Commercials are blatant in creating desires for toys encouraging domesticity and passivity in girls and high activity in boys; girls play cooperatively, and boys play competitively and aggressively. Not only do these patterns show no sign of decreasing, but gender stereotypes are intensifying.

The entertainment industry has melded toys into television, and the child consumer it increasingly caters to is getting younger. Toy manufacturers such as Fisher-Price and producers of children's programs such as Disney have joined in creating a "baby market" targeting the 0–3 age niche. This industry defines babies as "early learners" and markets products such as Baby Einstein as "educational" and "developmental" (Hughes, 2005). As social constructionism tells us, when these definitions are accepted, the product is approved as more than merely a toy. The fact that these toys are packaged and sold as "gender appropriate" is ignored.

Regardless of how gender stereotyped toys are, television succeeds in pressuring parents to buy "learning tools" that also are fun for their children. Those who resist the pressure to buy products or find that the products children want are unavailable are made to feel guilty by advertisers and children alike. Remember the frantic search for limited supplies of Cabbage Patch Kids, Power Rangers, and Tickle Me Elmo by parents who feared a disappointed child during holidays or on his or her birthday? Picture, too, the angry exchanges we have witnessed between a parent and child in front of the toy, candy, or cereal displays. Parents searching for nonstereotyped toy alternatives may feel demoralized when the offer of a tea set to their son or a truck to their daughter is met with resistance. Tantalized by television, the child's desire is within reach. The desire is likely to be gender role–oriented. The parent stands in between. Who is likely to give up the fight first?

Socialization for Gender Equity

Socialization is neither consistent nor uniform. It occurs via diverse agents at the cultural and subcultural levels. Yet identifiable gender role patterns still emerge, and children are taught to behave in feminine or masculine ways. But major contradictions also arise in this process. Girls climb trees, excel in mathematics, and aspire to be surgeons and professors. These same girls are concerned about being physically attractive, being financially successful, finding the right husband, and raising a family. Boys enjoy cooking and babysitting and cry when they are hurt or sad. These same boys are concerned about being physically attractive, being financial successful, finding the right wife, and raising a family.

Androgyny

The socialization theories and research overviewed in this chapter strongly support the notion that views of masculinity and femininity need to shift in the direction of gender role flexibility. Such flexibility offers two important positive outcomes. First, gender roles appear to be more constraining rather than liberating for the human experience. Second, socialization toward gender flexibility paves the way to increased gender equity. Regardless of how the various theories explain gender socialization, it is quite clear that they all agree that masculine and feminine traits are changeable. What socialization options might offer paths to achieving this flexibility? Ideally, then, socialization toward gender flexibility paves the way to increased gender equity. If gender constrains rather than liberates the human experience, perhaps "gender role" is an outmoded concept.

The concept of **androgyny** refers to the integration of traits considered to be feminine with those considered to be masculine. Large numbers of people can be identified as androgynous on widely used scales to measure the concept. Both men and women can score high or low on either set of traits or have a combination of them. People not only accept their biological sex (being male or female) and have a strong sense of gender identity, but also acknowledge the benefits of gender role flexibility. Gendered behavior does not disappear, but we adapt it according to the various situations and contexts confronting us and at the same time act on our own talents and desires. Parents who are identified as androgynous are less stereotyped about masculinity and femininity and offer a wider range of behavioral and attitudinal possibilities to their children. Many of these are the forerunner parents to the feminist kids mentioned earlier.

Critique Although androgyny is an encouraging concept, it has moved out of favor as applied to socialization for several reasons. It suggests that people can be defined according to a range of gendered behaviors and then classified accordingly. This in itself is stereotypical thinking. Media-inspired popular conceptions stereotype the "androgynous man" as feminine and often portray him as weak or ineffectual. When a woman exhibits masculine traits, she is less likely to be portrayed negatively." Androgyny is associated more with femininity than masculinity; thus, it lacks the envisioned positive integration of gender traits. It may be masculine-affirmative for women, but it is not feminine-affirmative for men. According to Sandra Bem, a pioneer in measuring androgyny, even if we define what is masculine and feminine according to our culture and subcultures, we need to stop projecting gender onto situations "irrelevant to genitalia" (Bem, 1985:222).

For parents and teachers to embrace a socialization model for gender equity enthusiastically, they must believe that feminine traits in boys are as valuable and prestigious as masculine traits in girls. Because of lurking stereotypes and the higher cultural value given to masculinity, an androgyny model for socialization has been less successful.

Gender-Neutral Socialization

Given the power of the gender binary that generally values masculine traits, some parents who want to break its constraints adopt a gender-neutral approach to socialization. It may be akin to the degendered model discussed in Chapter 1 that

considers "what if" children were not divided and, in this case, not raised according to gender?"(Lorber, 2005:7). Gender-neutral parenting may exist on a continuum, with androgyny as one pole.

Raising Baby X The other pole would be raising a "Baby X," maintaining a genderless existence for the child, even by concealing the child's gender from others for as long as possible. Lois Gould's (1980) charming children's story published in *Ms*. magazine represents this pole:

> Once upon a time, a Baby named X was born. It was named X so that nobody could tell whether it was a boy or a girl. Its parents could tell, of course, but they couldn't tell anybody else. They couldn't even tell Baby X—at least not until much, much later. (p. 61)

The story revolves around how little X and its parents encountered and eventually overcame resistance from everyone who wanted to know what X was so that X could be treated as a boy or girl.

Raising a gender-neutral Baby X is virtually impossible. Parents cannot be gender blind as much as gender vigilant. They cannot ignore how gender roles seep into every aspect of our lives. A few examples, however, have surfaced in the media from Swedish, Canadian, and British couples who embraced such a parenting style as much as possible. These parents did not reveal their child's gender except to a very few people. Couples mention they want their kids to be just kids and not force their children into a gender mold. Like Baby X, clothes and toys were neutral, but although the British parents banned Barbie and guns, toy and clothes, selections were child driven rather than parent driven (Alleyne, 2012; Leaper and Bigler, 2011; Weiss, 2012).

Parents as Innovators

Given the obstacles that parents face in gender-neutral parenting, a more pragmatic approach is demonstrated by parents who want to raise their children in less gendered ways but also account for their children's preferences that may be more traditional. Referred to as "Innovators" in Emily Kane's (2012) research on gender socialization, these parents promote crossing gender boundaries but also support "gender typical patterns." Sons and daughter are offered a variety activities, toys, and games that do not assume traditional interests. It is difficult, however, for parents to determine if they are indirectly gendering. Is a daughter really expressing an interest in dolls, for example, or are parents instilling that interest on her behalf? (Kane, 2012:143). Innovative parents reject biological essentialism but largely accept their children's preferences, whether traditional or nontraditional.

Critique Media reports notwithstanding, we know very little about the successes of gender-neutral socialization. In these cases, comments by a range of psychiatric and mental health experts mention the pitfalls related to the potential failure of these children to develop a sense of self and gender identity. Others voice ethical concerns about such parenting (Cutas and Giordano, 2013). It will take a generation to see if these children resurface as adults with painful or happy stories full of

the highs and lows that all children encounter as they grow up. In Kane's study, the innovators expressed concerns about accountability, gender identity, and essentialism, issues we discuss through this book. These parents recognize gender pitfalls for their children if they are raised traditionally, but are reluctant to deny these very traditions for their sons and daughters.

Androgyny, gender-neutral parenting, and the midrange of innovative parenting all recognize that children raised in two nonoverlapping gender roles is not productive in meeting the demands of a rapidly changing society. Nor do such roles offer the best options for fulfilling a person's human potential and individual desires. Efforts at even minimal degendering in agents of socialization have only recently emerged. Although such efforts are met with resistance, advantages are gradually making their way to a larger public audience. Consider this pronouncement when we view language and communication (Chapter 4), other powerful agents of socialization.

Baby X had a happy outcome. At the story's conclusion, Baby X emerges as a well-adjusted and popular child:

> "X isn't one bit mixed up! As for being a misfit—ridiculous. X knows perfectly well what it is! Don't you, X?" The Xperts winked. X winked back. . . . Later that day, all X's friends put on their red and white checked overalls . . . and found X, in the backyard, playing with a very tiny baby that none of them had ever seen before. The baby was wearing very tiny red and white checked overalls. "How do you like our new baby?" X asked the Other Children proudly. "It's got cute dimples," said Jim. "It's got husky biceps, too," said Susie. . . . What "kind of baby is it?. . . Then X broke into a big, mischievous grin. . . . It's a *Y!* (Gould, 1980: 64)

Global Focus: Son Preference in Asia

Any decreasing son preference in the developed world does not predict its decline globally. Level of economic development is strongly associated with preference for sons. In regions where economic development is higher, such as in North America and Northern Europe, son preference appears to be weakening. In less developed regions, particularly throughout Asia, favoritism for sons is bolstered by the poverty of the couple, women's subordinate status, the low economic value given to the work women perform, religious beliefs, inheritance norms, and naming customs.

China

In China, where son preference is centuries old, a family name may be "lost" if there is no son to carry it on. Confucian practices related to ancestor worship, which trace the family name only through male lines, combine with marriage customs requiring newly married rural women to move into the household of their husbands and inheritance laws keeping women economically dependent on their new families. Low-income rural women express stronger son preference than urban women with incomes because sons provide for them in old age. Women are outsiders even after marriage, and women without sons may be abandoned by their in-laws if they are unable to carry out household tasks or farmwork. A daughter not only loses

her name at marriage, but also is viewed as a temporary commodity. The Chinese proverb “Raising a daughter is like weeding another man’s garden” attests to the strength of preference for sons.

East and South Asia

Son preference is pervasive globally, but it is strongest throughout East and South Asia, in developed countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea, and in developing countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Vietnam. It persists in rural and urban areas and among all religious faiths (Yu and Su, 2006). A major shift favoring males in the average *sex ratio at birth* (SRB) is growing throughout Asia. The worst SRB imbalances occur in poor, rural areas in China, India, and Bangladesh. SRB in India and Bangladesh has worsened over the last century, but in China, it has worsened over the last three decades, traced to the introduction of the one-child policy in 1979. The most extreme gender ratio for children under 4 in one Chinese port city is an astonishing 163 boys for every 100 girls (Hvistendahl, 2012). Consequences of this inflation for girls are profound. These include underreporting of female births, female infanticide, neglect of female infants and girls resulting in their premature death, and the use of fetal screening leading to sex-selective abortions of female fetuses (Chapters 2 and 6).

In India and Bangladesh, female infanticide and neglect are associated with the economic survival of the family, which is dependent on the number of sons and the control of the number of daughters, who are regarded as financial liabilities. Even immigrant women from India speak of physical and verbal abuse from husbands and in-laws when they did not have sons or were found to be carrying a female fetus. As in China, a rural woman generally moves to her husband’s household at marriage. She is expected to bring money and goods in the form of dowry to help offset the expenses associated with her upkeep. All daughters add to the financial burden. When dowries are considered too paltry, the bride may suffer emotional abuse or physical violence by her husband or in-laws, which may lead to her suicide. Even immigrant women from India have spoken of such abuse when they did not have sons or were found to be carrying a female fetus (Puri et al., 2011). Violence against women is increasing in India, and dowry abuse is a leading culprit.

Gendered Effects

In addition to the blatant human rights violations, the artificially inflated SRB has huge economic and social implications. Because women continue to have babies until they have a son, larger families consist mainly of girls and have higher poverty rates than smaller families, which consist mainly of boys. Although larger families are more likely to live in poverty overall, it is deepened when girls face lower pay than boys when they seek employment outside the home. This economic issue collides with social repercussions of a serious bride shortage in China, India, and Korea. “Bachelor villages” are growing at alarming rates, particularly in China and India. These are populated by young, jobless unmarried men and few unmarried

young women. China is estimated to have 50 million unhappy unmarried men, and the number is growing. This "surplus" restive population is being closely monitored by government authorities concerned about their potential for social and political unrest (Coonan, 2008).

It may appear that because women are viewed as objects—a commodity of exchange—the principle of scarcity would make them more valuable from a market perspective. The scarcity principle of supply and demand, which would put a premium on women, is not borne out by research. In Asian cultures where the SRB is highest and gender equity lowest, the scarcity of women is associated with selling and kidnapping of young girls and women, unmarried girls cloistered in their homes, and violence and domestic abuse by husbands and fathers. Fewer girls are available to care for the daily needs of infirm mothers and grandmothers, who usually outlive fathers and grandfathers. Because boys will soon shoulder more than the traditional financial responsibilities for their elders, elder abuse by sons is likely to increase as well.

Despite overall improvements in health care, education, and paid work for Asian women and fetal sex screening being outlawed in China and South Asia, son preference persists and has dire consequences for the well-being of females. Socialization practices regarding son preference in much of developing Asia are strong and growing. Given that these practices are in place for over half of the world's population, efforts at economic development and poverty reduction are severely compromised.

Summary

1. Socialization is the process by which we learn culture and become functioning social members. Gender socialization tells us what is expected cultural behavior related to masculinity and femininity.
2. Gender role socialization in children is patterned by important cultural factors, especially race and social class. Middle-class parents are more flexible than working-class parents. Children from Latino and Asian American homes are generally socialized into less flexible gender roles than African American and white children.
3. Four major theories of gender socialization explain how children learn gender identity, an awareness of two sexes, and the behavior associated with them. Social learning theory focuses on the rewards and punishments for acting out appropriate gender roles. Cognitive development theory asserts that gender identity allows children to organize their behavior; once they learn gender identity, they choose their behavior accordingly. Gender schema theory, a subset of cognitive development theory, asserts that of all cognitive structures, or schemas, a child learns, gender is the core one around which information is organized. Social cognitive theory, the newest model, offers ways to integrate the other three theories by accounting for behavior in terms of imitation and observation, self-regulation and self-reflection.
4. Socialization, including gender socialization, occurs through specific agents—people, groups, social institutions—that provide children the information they

need to function in society. These agents are interdependent and often send inconsistent messages. The family, the most important agent, provides the child's first values and attitudes about gender.

5. Expectant parents in the United States usually state a son preference for a first or only child. However, college women and first-time pregnant women in the United States and Europe are more likely to state a daughter preference or no preference.
6. Gender of the child is a strong predictor of how parents behave toward their children and in the selection of the toys and clothes parents give to them. Boys are allowed more independence, separation, and risk-taking, and the toys they receive encourage these behaviors. Toys for girls encourage domesticity and social orientation. Girls have the advantage of playing with toys for boys, but boys cannot cross over and play with toys for girls.
7. The gender of a parent predicts gender role expectations in child rearing. Although today both mothers and fathers support beliefs about gender equity, the shift to these beliefs is much swifter for mothers.
8. Peer play activities are highly gendered. Boys play more complex competitive games in larger groups. The play of girls fosters cooperation, intimacy, and social skills. Peer groups monitor and enforce gender segregation.
9. Teachers are often unaware that they treat boy and girl children differently, such as encouraging more cooperation in girls and more competitiveness in boys. Gender socialization in schools often inhibits learning both of these necessary skills.
10. Television teaches children about gender in highly stereotyped ways. In cartoons, male characters outnumber female characters ten to one. In popular and acclaimed shows, males outnumber females and are in more dominant, important, and active roles. Commercials aimed at children reinforce these gender stereotypes, especially showing girls in domestic settings and boys in aggressive settings.
11. Socialization for gender equity includes androgyny, gender-neutral parenting, and innovative parents who reject essentialism but may accommodate their children's' traditional choices. Androgyny is falling out of favor, and gender-neutral socialization is unrealistic. All approaches suggest that non-overlapping gender roles are not productive for both individuals and society.
12. Son preference has artificially inflated the sex ratio at birth throughout Asia. In China and East and South Asia, son preference is associated with abortion of female fetuses, dowry violence against women, and female infanticide, neglect, and abandonment.

Key Terms

Agents of socialization
Androgyny
Continuing socialization
Culture
Gender identity
Gender socialization
Primary socialization
Schemas
Self
Social control
Social Institutions
Socialization
Subcultures

Critical Thinking Questions

1. With reference to research on parental expectations for behavior, gender segregation, and peer play activities, explain patterns of gender socialization in early childhood from the perspectives of social learning and cognitive development. Which explanation better accounts for the research?
2. Through specific research examples, demonstrate how gender schema theory can help "bridge the gap" between sociological and psychological approaches to gender role socialization.
3. Based on your understanding of the theory and research on gender socialization, what suggestions would you offer to parents and teachers who want to socialize children into more androgynous and flexible gender roles? Demonstrate how your suggestions counter the negative gendered impact of agents of socialization.

CHAPTER 4

Gendered Language, Communication and Socialization

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the generic myth in English and offer examples of its influence on titles, occupations, and children's names.
2. Identify attributes of male and female registers.
3. Provide examples of gender differences in nonverbal communication and why these suggest female advantage in this communication.
4. Compare men and women in their use of online communication and social media and the gendered effects of this usage.
5. Identify characteristics of the language of Japanese women and why manga reflects both tradition and change related to these characteristics.
6. Summarize and critique the dual-culture, dominance, and social constructionist models of gendered language patterns.
7. Argue for or against the idea that linguistic sexism is declining.

What women's language really means:
Yes = No; No = Yes; Maybe = No; We need to talk = I need to complain; I'm sorry = You'll be sorry.

What men's language really means:
I'm hungry = I'm hungry; I'm tired = I'm tired; Can I call you? Do you want to go to a movie? Can we dance? I love you = Let's have sex.

—Adapted from Sara Mills (2008)

Gendered language used by women and men is a staple of humor. The opening examples represent women and men as totally opposite. Women are stereotyped as manipulative and not meaning what they say; men are stereotyped as "plain speaking" but obsessed with sex, also not meaning what they say. As Mills (2008:142–43) suggests, both are presented as ridiculous. As we will see, language, including humor, wields a powerful but taken-for-granted force in socialization. As

Chapter 3 documents, primary socialization bombards children with mountains of information and learning they must absorb. This process includes learning both the verbal and nonverbal rules and complexities of their language. Language reflects culture and is shaped by it; therefore, it is fundamental to our understanding of gender. A child's emerging gender identity is strongly connected to the way words are perceived. Language tells us about how culture defines and categorizes the genders. Symbolic interactionists affirm that language shapes our perceptions and thus our understanding of "reality." In learning language, children are taught that the genders are valued differently. However, as the *end point fallacy* suggests, because language socialization is lifelong, we continually modify it in response to social change. It is the taken-for-granted part of language socialization that makes language such a powerful element in determining gender role continuity and change. For speakers of English, unless stated otherwise, everyone begins as a male. Decades of research on American English suggest that people are male until proven female.

The Generic Myth

The English language focuses attention on gender. The best example of this attention is when the word *man* is used to exclude woman and then used generically to include her. This is demonstrated when we speak of culture as *man-made* or the evolution of *mankind*. Other examples may be less clear, such as referring to a voter as the typical "man on the street" or finding "the right man for the job." Are women included as voters or workers? More often the word is used to distinguish man from woman, such as in the phrases "it's a man's world" and "this is man's work." The word is definitely ambiguous and may be subject to interpretation even within the context. Although it is unclear where women "belong," it does imply that they are "part" of man. Sometimes no interpretation is necessary. Although less frequent today, at a wedding ceremony when a couple is pronounced *man* and *wife*, she becomes identified as his. Generic language is not only ambiguous, but also discriminatory.

It is awkward to change language to make it more precise. If *man* is supposed to refer to *woman*, then *he* also is supposed to mean *she*. Because English does not have a neutral singular pronoun, *he* is considered the generic norm, with *she* as the exception. A doctor is he, and a nurse is she. Most neutral designations are also "he" words. A consumer, an employee, a patient, or a parent is *he*, despite the obvious fact that women represent over half of these categories. Now we see that language is ambiguous, discriminatory, *and* inaccurate. The generic use of *he* is presumed to include all the *shes* it linguistically encompasses. It is quite apparent from research, however, that this is not the case.

People develop masculine imagery for presumed neutral words, a pattern that is firmly in place by preadolescence. The pattern cuts across race, ethnicity, and social class, but males in all of these categories adopt the pattern more than females. Generics are supposed to be neutral, but children and adults report primarily male, sex-specific imagery when hearing generic terms (Gygax et al., 2008). People visualize male and interpret the reference as male rather than male and female. We

saw in Chapter 3 that a child's emerging gender identity is strongly connected to the way words are perceived. The belief that the word *man* is a clear and concise reference to *person* does persist, even if the mass of evidence is squarely against this view.

Titles and Occupations

Linguistic sexism abounds in the use of titles and occupations. Conventional written communication maintains the use of "Dear Sir" or "Dear Mr. Jones" even if we are unsure of the gender of the addressee, especially if it is a business-related letter. Business*men* are considered to be the likely occupants of these positions. The same can be said for chair*men*, fore*men*, congress*men*, news*men*, and garbage*men*. Physicists, attorneys, and astronauts are men. Nurses, schoolteachers, and secretaries are women. If either gender deviates occupationally and enters the other's field, we add linguistic markers (male nurse) to designate this surprising fact. Print media remain inconsistent in use of generics, as a quick read of your Sunday paper will verify. Women are referred to as "chairmen" or "chairwomen" for charitable events or are referred to as "he" when they are business executives and grouped with men who are also executives. The nonsexist designations would be "chair" of the event or "they" to refer to all of the executives.

Children confront this usage issue in their reading material. They may assign meaning to words quite differently from what the adult assumes the child understands. Consider a child's shock upon discovering that a cat burglar is not a cat at all. Children also use linguistic markers in referring to females in traditionally male roles or males in traditionally female roles. What emerges is the idea of a female scientist, lady spaceman, or male secretary. Thus, generic language prompts occupations to become gender appropriate for children. In turn, achievement motivation for pursing the "non-appropriate" occupation can decline (Cimpian, 2010; Vervecken et al., 2013). Course work in computer science for girls and preschool teaching for boys may seem out of their reach (Chapter 11). When they find a mismatch between what they see and what they perceive to be true, they opt for the less difficult route. The stereotyped gender role thus remains unscathed.

When women enter predominantly male occupations, little attention is given to how they are named. A woman may become an engineer and be referred to as a female engineer lest people mistakenly think most engineers are women. Male occupations are linguistically protected from invasion by females. However, when males begin to enter predominantly female occupations in greater numbers, a language shift occurs rather quickly. Although women are the majority of elementary teachers and nurses, men are rapidly entering the fields, making the use of *she* as a label a subject of controversy. It is now considered improper to refer to teachers and nurses as *she* when more than a token number of men enter the occupations. The same can be said for referring to stewardesses as flight attendants and waitresses as servers. Women will soon comprise the majority of clergy, pharmacists, attorneys, and physicians, but the generic *he* is likely to be retained for a longer period of time when referring to them as a group. Another linguistic marker involves adding appendages or suffixes to words to show where women "belong" occupationally. A poet becomes a poetess, an usher becomes an usherette, and an actor becomes an actress.

Women are defined as the exceptions to the male-as-norm rule. The linguistic markers are not necessary for men who already own the occupations.

Titles of address for women also reinforce the idea that women are part of men. The title "Mr." conveys the fact that the person addressed is probably an adult male. But for women, marital status is additionally conveyed in forms of address. When a woman fills out a form where she has the option to check "Miss" or "Mrs," she is conveying personal information not asked of men. These titles define women according to their relationship with a man. This distinction historically served to provide information about a woman's availability for marriage. To counter this titular sexism, "Ms." was offered as an alternative to both married and unmarried women who believe that their marital status is private information they may or may not chose to convey.

Yet language change does not come easily. When first introduced, "Ms." was ridiculed and maligned in the media as a radical feminist invention used by women trying to cover up the shame of being divorced or not being married. Editors bemoaned its style while ignoring its precision. These objections have largely disappeared. Although married women and homemakers tend to prefer "Mrs.," single women and professional women prefer "Ms." As a form of address, Miss has moved into linguistic oblivion for adult women; if used at all today, it is reserved for young girls. Today "Ms." is a normative, standard form of address with a high level of acceptance.

What's in a Name?

A simple one-word answer to this question is "identity." Whereas a name symbolically links us to our past and provides us with a sense of self-definition, in many cultures, girls are socialized early in life to expect the loss of their surnames upon marriage. A woman also may lose her complete name and be called someone different. Jane Smith becomes Mrs. Richard Jones. The new name and title alter her earlier identity legally, socially, and even psychologically. Her husband now linguistically encompasses Mrs. Jones. Today legal requirements for a woman to abandon her name at marriage have all but disappeared, but the belief that a woman should take her husband's surname is strong for both men and women. The change in status from single person to wife or husband carries with it other linguistic conventions. Newspaper articles often identify women of accomplishment according to their husbands' names, such as Mrs. Richard Jones rather than Jane Jones. In dictionaries of famous people, women are typically listed with male names, even if the males did not contribute to the reasons the women are in the dictionary at all. How many of us are aware that Mrs. George Palmer Putnam is Amelia Earhart and that Mrs. Arthur B. Nicholls is Charlotte Brontë (Nilsen, 1993)?

The surname change at marriage has serious implications for women whose accomplishments are recorded under their birth ("maiden") names. These women can literally lose the professional recognition that impact their income, tenure, notoriety, and career choices. Strategies women use to offset such liabilities include retaining their birth name for professional purposes or hyphenating their birth and married surnames. Such strategies are increasing. Research shows that college students have positive perceptions of both men and women who choose to hyphenate their names.

Compared to other married women, those with hyphenated names are perceived to be friendly, well educated, and intellectually curious. Men with hyphenated names are perceived to be accommodating, nurturing, and more committed to their marriages (Forbes et al., 2002). Women students are more positive about hyphenation than men students, but the generally positive perceptions of both bode well for future shifts to more gender equitable naming.

Another linguistic dimension involves the ordering and placement of names and titles. Husband and wife, Mr. and Mrs., and Dr. and Mrs. give prominence to men. If she is a doctor and he is not, Dr. and Mr. would not be used, and if they are both doctors, Dr. and Dr. is a less likely form of address. Men own the province of placement, so their name and title comes first. An exception to this ordering rule is bride and groom. Considering that her wedding is treated as the most important event in the life of a woman, this is understandable. *Her* wedding day, the *bridal* party, *brides*maids, *bridal* path, and mother and father of the *bride* indicate the secondary status of the *bride*groom. His status is resurrected, however, by phrases such as "giving the bride away," usually the prerogative of her father, indicating the groom's new ownership of her.

Children's Names As with occupations, children's names usually ensure that people readily distinguish boys from girls. As you would expect, boys' names are ripe for the picking as girls' names but not the reverse. Popular boys' names for girls include Madison, Morgan, Taylor, Cameron, Dylan, and Bradley. Gender-neutral names are not common, but a few have emerged, including Peyton and Riley. Parents may choose androgynous names for girls since names perceived as masculine are associated with success (Kean, 2007). It also is permissible to append a name normally given to a boy to refer to a girl, such as Paul to Paula, Christopher to Christie, and Gene to Jean or Jeanette. A boy's name is often used to designate girls, especially in shortened form. Pat, Lee, Dale, Chris, and Kelly are examples. But when boys' names are co-opted by girls, such as Shirley, Jody, Marion (late actor John Wayne's given name), Ashley, and Beverley, they quickly lose their appeal for boys. The following was expressed by a concerned writer for a devastated boy whose name had been co-opted by girls.

> In schoolyards . . . permanent damage is already inflicted on budding male psyches of defenseless . . . Taylors and Jodys. . . . It's not like little guys have names to spare. Even before the young ladies hijacked Bradley and Glenn, there were fewer boys' names than girls. … Girls' names were more like fanciful baubles for the decorative sex. (Goldman, 2000:22)

The obvious sexism in such comments bears out the taken-for-granted assumption that the superiority of boys over girls must be preserved. The equity option is ignored.

Linguistic Derogation

English can be very unsympathetic to women. Women are typically referred to in derogatory and debased terms that are highly sexualized. There are several hundred such sexually related terms for women and only a handful for men. A few of the examples for females include *broad*, *chick*, *doll*, *bitch*, *whore*, *babe*, *wench*, *fox*, *vixen*,

tramp, and *slut*. When men want to insult other men, they often use these same terms. Sexually derogatory terms are used almost exclusively by men and frequently in the context of sexually related jokes. Men who use and hear sexist jokes find them more amusing and less offensive than women do, but both men and women judge the object of the jokes or the person who is sexually degraded as foolish, less intelligent, and less moral (Greenwood and Isbell, 2002; Sunderland, 2006). And consider the sexual connotations of *mistress* and *madam* and the male counterparts of *master* and *lord*. The word *girl* suggests both child and prostitute. It is insulting for grown men to be called "boys," but grown women are routinely referred to as "girls." College students take for granted the "guys–girls" distinction so that males do not have to be referred to as boys. Linguistic practice regularly implies that males are complete beings who take on adult qualities and females are childlike and incapable but at the same time seductive and sexual. Females linguistically retain these statuses throughout their lives.

Over time, English words for women acquire debased or even obscene references. Words such as *lady*, *dame*, *madam*, and *mistress* originally were neutral or positive designations for women (Henley, 1989:60). The masculine counterparts of lord, baronet, sir, and master escaped becoming pejorative. Another example is the word pair *spinster/bachelor*. Which word would you select to fill in the blank? "One attractive eligible _____ is always invited to their parties." When a man chooses to remain unmarried, he is a "confirmed" bachelor. A woman may be a "spinster" (old and unmarried) or an "old maid." Although these words are unfamiliar to young people today, positive terms for an adult, unmarried female are unavailable or, if available (for example, bachelorette), are not commonly used. If women occupy a secondary position in society, stereotyped language continues to reinforce this placement.

Language frequently trivializes women. The phrases *women's work*, *women's place*, and *wine, women, and song* suggest this fact. When the word *lady* is substituted for *woman* in other contexts, implicit ridicule occurs. The nonseriousness of the "lady" designation is demonstrated by substituting it for "women" in the following: National Organization for Women and League of Women Voters and *The Subjection of Women* by John S. Mill and *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* by Mary Wollstonecraft (Bosmajian, 1995:390). If the terms *man* and *woman* imply maturity, the term *lady* minimizes a woman's adultness. A wife or child may be referred to as "the little lady" of the house. When the term *woman* is used in this context, an adjective often accompanies it, serving to bolster the childlike reference. Thus, we have "the little woman." The male equivalent term is nonexistent. Until our linguistic consciousness is raised and such references are abandoned, women internalize a language that is belittling to them.

Gendered Language Usage

We are socialized into the language of our culture and subcultures. Increasing cultural diversity expands the way we use language. Women and men occupy overlapping subcultures but ones that also have distinctive differences. Although overlap is more apparent than it was even a decade ago, it is well documented that subcultures continue to be differentiated according to gendered language.

Registers

Sociolinguists use the term **register** to indicate a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations. Registers are gendered in that males and females who share the same formal language, such as English, also exhibit distinctive styles of communication, including vocabulary, grammar, sentence structure, and nonverbal communication. They are socialized into overall linguistic systems that are culturally shared but also into speech communities that are subculturally separate.

Female Register Research identifies important aspects of female register that also highlight issues related to gender equity (Clearfield and Nelson, 2006; Stockwell, 2007; Murphy, 2010; Sneed at al., 2013)

1. Women use more qualifiers than men. These words usually hedge or soften evaluative statements: A friend is defined as "sort of" or "kind of" shy rather than simply "shy" to soften the statement. Another qualifier is when the sentence already begins with words that make it doubtful. "This may be wrong, but . . ." is an example.
2. Women may end a sentence with *a tag question*. When tags are used, a question follows a statement: "I enjoyed the concert, didn't you?" or "It's a beautiful day, isn't it?" Less assertive than declaratory statements, tag questions appear as if she was asking the other person's permission to express her opinion or feelings. Use of qualifiers and tag questions may suggest that women are uncertain, tentative, or equivocal in what they are saying. They may be used as defenses against potential criticism. Consider the impact of the following statements that use both qualifiers and tag questions in the same sentence: It's everything we imagined probably, isn't it? This sort of makes sense. Does it to you? I kind of liked the movie. What do you think?
3. Women use more intensifiers than men. Many of these words are employed as modifiers—adjectives and adverbs—that make up many word lists used by females: "This is a divine party," "Such a darling room," or "I think croissants are absolutely heavenly" serve as examples. Men do use intensifiers, but a pattern exclusive to women is literally to intensify the intensifier by heavily emphasizing and elongating the word. In describing a fine dining experience, for example, both men and women may say "It was so wonderful," but women will draw out and accent the adverb to become "It was so-o-o-o wonderful." An emotional overtone is added to a simple declarative sentence.
4. In those areas where women carry out their most important roles, vocabulary is more complex and descriptive than men's. Women express a greater range of words for colors, textures, food, and cooking. They are able to describe complex interpersonal relationships and emotional characteristics of themselves and others using a greater variety of words and communication styles that are adapted to the setting, a pattern found cross-culturally. Parents talk to daughters more than sons, but compared to those of fathers, mothers' conversations with both sons and daughters are longer and more detailed, explanatory, and interactive. African American mothers more than fathers talk with their children about sexual matters.

5. Female register includes forms of speaking that are more polite and indirect. By keeping the conversation open, asking for further direction, and not imposing one's views on another, polite requests rather than forced obedience result. Women will make polite requests to others, including children ("Please answer the phone" or "Will you please answer the phone?"). Men are more likely to use imperatives ("Answer the phone.").

Both men and women share the same view of what is considered polite speech—by what is said and who says it.

Male Register For both men and women, specialized vocabularies and communicative styles emerge from specialized roles and gendered expectations. Male register, like female register, has important implications for gender equity (Coates, 2007; Andersen, 2008; Athanases and Comar, 2008; Talbot, 2010; McConnell-Ginet, 2011).

1. Men use a wider range of words related to mechanics, finance, technology, sports, and sex. They choose words related to objects and properties of objects and to topics that are impersonal. Men use sexually related words much more frequently than women. Males in all age groups, but especially at adolescence, direct derogatory sexual slang to females ("bitch," "cunt") and gay men ("fag," "prick"). When boys use homophobic language, it is rarely challenged, especially by other boys who are present.
2. Although the use of profanity in public by both genders is now normative, profanity in general, especially sexual profanity, remains the province of men. Men and boys do not mask profanity. They use it more frequently, use it in more settings, and, compared to women, are not judged harshly—and may be judged more positively—when they use it.
3. Because men are more likely than women to be in authoritative roles, features of male register include being direct, succinct, instrumental, and personal. The personal feature may appear contradictory, given a man's tendency to distance himself emotionally from others. In the male register context, however, personal usage denotes language that is more informal and less precise. Men in leadership positions can be relaxed and friendly and therefore more personal with subordinates of either gender. They also can be more direct and less polite. When men use tag questions, for example, they tend to be more coercive: "Just get on with it, won't you?" (Hepburn and Potter, 2011).
4. Men talk more than women. Contrary to the stereotype of the bored man listening to the talkative woman, in mixed-gender conversations in a variety of contexts, research clearly indicates that men do the bulk of the talking. In classroom interaction at all educational levels, male students talk more and talk for longer periods than female students and are listened to more by teachers. Men talk more than women opponents in arguments, political debate, business negotiations, workplace meetings, and trials. Men are offered extra time to speak and exceed formal and informal time limits more often than women. However, the perception that women are more talkative than men persists. When men outspeak women by large margins, men do not believe they had a fair share of the conversation.
5. Because men dominate women in amount of talking, it is not surprising that communication domination of women by men carries over to what is talked

about, how topics are switched, and the frequency of interruption. In conversing with women, men interrupt more and use interruption to indicate boredom and impatience and pave the way to a topic change. In conversing with men or with other women, when women interrupt conversations, they do so largely to indicate interest in what is being talked about, to respond, and to show support. Gender role expectations regarding a man's right to dominate a conversation are taken for granted by both men and women.

The Language of Friendship

Gendered registers are important contributors to conversational strategies in building friendships between the genders and within single-gender groups. It is common to see several women in a restaurant engaged in lengthy conversation long after they have eaten; young girls intently and quietly conversing in their rooms; or teen girls talking on the phone, in text-messaging, or on Facebook for hours. When comparing talk within same-gender groups, women talk more frequently and for longer periods of time, enjoy the conversation more, converse on a wider variety of topics, and consider coming together to "just talk" to be a preferable social activity.

Gossip All of these talk-related activities may suggest that a great deal of gossiping is going on. The term *gossip* is used almost exclusively to indicate a specific kind of talk engaged in by females—talk that is often viewed as negative and pointless. To the contrary, research clearly shows that in all age groups, friendships are cemented between females when experiences are shared and dissected and personal information is revealed (Mandelbaum, 2003; McDonald et al., 2007). In gossip begins friendship. Gossip allows girls and women to talk to one another in their common roles, share secrets, and support the needs of each other as well as themselves. These high-affiliation strategies serve to strengthen their friendships.

Conversation strategies of males are frequently defined as low-affiliation ones: using commands, threats, withdrawal, and evasiveness to get their demands met. Adolescent boys, for example, are less concerned with the needs of who they are talking to than getting their own needs met, a pattern that carries through to adulthood (Leaper and Ayres, 2007; Watson, 2012). When men want to encourage or cement friendships with other men, they play golf or tennis, go to football games, fish and hunt, or play poker. These activities tend to discourage lengthy conversations but encourage time together and open possibilities for more intimate discussions. Whereas women use open, free-flowing conversations in bonding and appreciate self-disclosure, men often feel uncomfortable in this regard. Safe topics such as sports and politics deter men from revealing details of their personal lives to one another.

Do women gossip more than men? It depends on how gossip is defined. If it is defined as talking about others, then men and women do not differ. If it is defined as talking about others or oneself by revealing *personal* information, then women may gossip more than men. Men gossip about others and reveal personal information about the people they gossip about. But when men talk about themselves, they do so cautiously and minimize the amount of personal information they reveal. There are

no significant gender differences in derogatory tones of gossip. Although men gossip more about acquaintances and celebrities and women gossip more about close friends and family, gossip topics are converging. Both genders gossip about dating, sex, celebrities, colleagues, and personal appearance. As topics converge, male self-disclosure will likely increase in gossip with other males.

Except for the greater reluctance of men to self-disclose, any gender differences in gossip depend on which aspect of gossip is being investigated. If men "talk" and women "gossip" but are conversing on similar topics in the same manner, what separates the two is simply the gender stereotype associated with gossip. Gossip defines women but not men (Leaper and Holliday, 1995; Bastin, 2011).

In mixed-gender relationships with romance as a goal, conversational strategies differ over time. At the beginning of a male–female relationship, men talk more than women, but once the relationship "takes hold," communication decreases. Women would like to talk more; men would like to talk less. The more she attempts to draw him out, the more he resists. He often uses silence as a means of control (Tannen, 2001). Women fear that lack of communication indicates that the relationship is failing or that he has lost interest in her. Married women are more likely than married men to identify communication as a marital problem (Chapter 7).

Nonverbal Communication

The language we verbalize expresses only one part of ourselves. Communication also occurs nonverbally, often conveying messages in a more forceful manner than if spoken. In addition to bodily movement, posture, and general demeanor, **nonverbal communication** includes eye contact, use of personal space, and touching. Women are better at communicating nonverbally and appear to be more accurate in decoding nonverbal messages, but men may have an advantage in communication online.

Facial Expressions and Eye Contact

In decoding nonverbal cues, females rely more on facial information and exhibit a greater variety of facial expressions than men do. The accurate decoding of emotions is associated with better social adjustment of children, with girls doing better than boys, a pattern found in many cultures (Leppänen and Hietanen, 2001). Females of all ages can accurately identify an emotion more often than comparable males and have less difficulty distinguishing one emotion from another (Hall et al., 2006; Beek and Dubas, 2008). Although the context may explain why males and females display certain facial expressions, the nonverbal expression of smiling is clearly gender differentiated.

Smiling Photographs throughout the twentieth century show steady increases of both genders smiling, but women are still more likely to smile and smile more fully than men (Ellis and Das, 2011; Wondergem and Friedlmeier, 2012). At all age levels, females smile more than males, a pattern that peaks in adolescence and remains relatively constant through adulthood. As a test of this, take a look

at your high school yearbook. Smiling increases for females in situations where gender-appropriate behavior is more conspicuous (being in a wedding party) or more ambiguous (entering a mixed-gender classroom for the first time). In candid and posed photographs, females smile more, but also are more rigid in posture, seeming to show a higher level of formality than males (Hall et al., 2001; LaFrance et al., 2003). Gender roles for females appear to offer less latitude for ease in situations where they feel they are "on display." In these cases, smiling is likely to be staged and less spontaneous.

Anger Boys are taught to resist displaying emotion and to mask it in facial expressions. Parents and teachers allow girls to display their emotions more openly (Chapter 3). The notable exceptions to this pattern are fear and sadness and anger. Girls are allowed to display fear and sadness but not anger, and boys are allowed to display anger but not fear and sadness (Chaplin, 2013). What happens, then, when girls get angry and boys get sad and fearful? For girls, anger may be masked by crying, an acceptable outcome for young children in some settings. In contexts such as the workplace, when a woman's anger results in tears, she is judged as weak. If she does not confront the aggressor, she can be exploited. If she counters the anger with a verbal barrage, she is too aggressive. Compared to men, however, women have a greater repertoire of acceptable anger-coping styles and anger diffusion strategies (Linden et al., 2003; Guerrero et al., 2006).

For boys, anger is often expressed during sports, physical fights, or barrages of profanity, which are more acceptable for both younger and older boys in some settings. For adult men, overt aggression in the workplace is certainly discouraged, but occasional outbursts of anger are often overlooked. There are few instances where males of any age can express fear and sadness by crying. Parents and teachers frequently use the "big boys don't cry" reprimand. Peer disapproval for male crying is another effective mechanism of social control. For adult men, the expression of fear and sadness by crying in a workplace setting can amount to career suicide.

Some changes are evident however. The public expression of sadness by politicians and media figures of both genders is now acceptable and expected in tragic situations, such as President Obama's expression of grief in addressing the nation in the wake of the mass killing of children at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut.

Regarding research on gender differences in anger and fear, people are usually surprised by data showing that women engage in more eye contact than men. The stereotype is of a woman who modestly averts her eyes from the gaze of an adoring man. In both same-gender and other-gender conversational pairs, females of all ages look at the other person more and retain longer eye contact. Men have more visual dominance than women—a pattern of looking at others when speaking but looking away from them when listening. Direct eye contact increases perceptions of power, competence, and intelligence whether it comes from a man or a woman (Kirkland et al., 2013; Wagner, 2013). When men look at one another "eye to eye," it is often in an angry, confrontational manner. In countering verbal and nonverbal behaviors that may put women at a disadvantage in certain settings, to gain prestige and power, women may capitalize on their ability to retain eye contact without expressing anger.

Touch and Personal Space

Because touch can suggest a range of motives—affection, dominance, aggression, sexual interest, or sexual domination—the context of the touching is extremely important. Men touch women more than women touch men, and women are touched more often than men overall. Subordinates are touched by superiors, such as a hand on the shoulder or pat on the back. But when female flight attendants and bartenders are pinched and poked or when a man nudges and fondles a status equal in the office, sexual overtones cannot be dismissed. The increase in sexual harassment cases calls attention to the fact that women feel threatened, especially if the "toucher" is a boss or superior. With the glaring exception of spontaneous displays related to sports, men seldom touch one another. Touching is even more rare when it is associated with emotions such as fear, nervousness, timidity, or sadness.

Space Invasion Men are more protective of their personal space and guard against territorial invasions by others. In his pioneering work on personal space, anthropologist Edward Hall (1966) found that in American culture, there is a sense of personal distance reserved for friends and acquaintances that extends from about 1½–4 feet, whereas intimate distance for intimate personal contacts extends to 18 inches. Men invade the personal space of women more than the reverse, and this invasion is more tolerated by women. The space privilege of males is taken for granted. The next time you are on an airplane or at a movie, note the gender differences in access to the armrests. In walking or standing, women yield their space more readily than men, especially if the person who is approaching is a man—more so if he is an angry man. Men retreat when women come as close to them as they do to women and feel provoked if other men come as close to them as they do to women (Khan and Kamal, 2010; Miller et al., 2013). Even in their own homes, women's personal space is more limited. An office, study, or "man cave" used by the husband may be off limits to the rest of the family. Wives and mothers rarely "own" such space.

The Female Advantage

The ability to understand nonverbal language accurately for the sender and the recipient in a variety of settings can be of enormous benefit. In the workplace, female managers who accurately perceive emotional expressions of their employees and then use that information to support them receive higher satisfaction ratings. Male managers who are more accurate in decoding emotional expressions of their employees receive higher employee ratings if they use the information to be more persuasive (Byron, 2007:721). Female supportiveness and male persuasiveness may suggest gender stereotypes, but accuracy in decoding nonverbal cues that works to women's advantage is the key element in employee satisfaction. In schools and in dating and romantic contexts, research clearly shows that men often misperceive women's friendliness as sexual intent, regardless of the extent of the couple's relationship (Kelly et al., 2005; Humphreys, 2007; Farris et al., 2008). A women who recognizes the misperception via accurate nonverbal decoding can adjust her behavior accordingly, offering a more satisfying, safer dating relationship as well as a

better work environment. In any relationship, couples can be taught about verbal and nonverbal cues to enhance their communication, even for topics that are difficult to confront emotionally (Parr et al., 2008).

In health care settings, patients attended by physicians and nurses who adopt nonverbal behaviors that are supportive and empathic show better medical and psychological outcomes (Mast, 2007). Holistic health care, a rapidly emerging medical norm, relies heavily on accurate reading of the nonverbal behavior of patients that works to the advantage of female medical personnel and all patients. In recognizing this benefit, course work for health professionals incorporates material on effective communication strategies, including understanding patients' nonverbal cues. Since women are socialized early in gaining nonverbal expertise, the female advantage also translates to higher grades in these courses and better success rates on licensing tests.

Gender Online: Communication and Social Media

The explosion of the Internet and other ***computer-mediated communication*** (CMC), human communication through computerized technology occurring on a variety of electronic devices, offers insight into how language is adapting to technological evolution. With an overwhelming array of applications available, the mobile (cell) phone is now the CMC device of choice for young people. Forsaking laptops and notebooks, over half of teens prefer mobile phones as their main type of communication. With *social networking sites* (SNS) as the most frequent applications accessed on all Internet devices, these media spaces are transformative, allowing users the freedom to maintain anonymity or carefully craft an identity. These formats, however, are not genderless (Dare, 2011). Whether CMC occurs via written form, such as email or text-messaging, through speech and visuals on a computer screen or mobile phone, or through other virtual worlds, gendered interaction is occurring. Rapidly changing forms of computer-based and phone communication are hybrids of verbal and nonverbal—overlapping what is seen and unseen. The *frequency* of CMC appears to be converging for men and women, but *how* messages are sent and received mirrors gendered communication in other contexts. The majority of online time for both men and women is spent accessing social media on a SNS. Females and males attach different value to social media. With Facebook as the platform of choice, online women access the sites more frequently than online men. Gender is a critical marker of how CMC on these sites is carried out.

Men Online

Computer-mediated communication is a boon for men. CMC has increased the overall communication of males in all age groups. Men are much less likely than women to keep in contact with friends and family by phone or postage, but they now turn to email, texting, and social media for these purposes. Men's relationships can be enhanced with more frequent communication, even if its computer-based format is less personal—or perhaps *because* it is less personal.

In online written communication, men prefer to use style and content that are impersonal. They use authoritative language and are more formal in messages to both friends and colleagues, regardless of the gender of the recipient. We can inspect

our own work and school emails, for example, to demonstrate these patterns. In emails related to answering questions, discussing issues, or planning meetings, men send fewer emails to resolve the issue. Their emails tend to be terse and to end abruptly. Compared to women's emails, sentences are shorter and more direct ("Meet in the cafeteria at 12:30."). In online discussion groups, men are less supportive and tend to respond more negatively to interactions (Guiller and Durndell, 2007). In online situations that are more ambiguous because of the lack of visual cues, men are likely to rely on formalized, prescribed language styles.

Virtual environments with visuals paint a gendered online picture for males. Men may be more comfortable in virtual worlds where they can manipulate the environment and stage events. Virtual interpersonal touch may be a gratifying form of social interaction (Bailenson and Yee, 2007). Gendered space and *interpersonal distance* (IPD) in the virtual world mirror the nonverbal norms in the physical world. Research on nonverbal patterns in "Second Life," a virtual community allowing for control and manipulation of avatars, demonstrates clear gender patterns. For both male and female avatars, the closer the IPD, the less likely the avatars look directly at one another. However, male-to-male avatars with less IPD are least likely to look at one another (mutual gaze) than any other combination of gender and location (outdoor/indoor) (Yee et al., 2007). In both virtual and physical worlds, males avert their gaze when their interpersonal space is invaded, especially when other males invade it. Males as avatars or as "real" people express their discomfort by widening IPD as soon as they can. Males may be less accurate in nonverbal communication when compared to females, but when visual cues are present and men have a measure of control over their space, interaction with other avatars in a virtual world appears to offer "relationship" satisfaction.

Males and Social Media Patterns of social media usage also mirror gender roles. Like females, males in all age categories use social media to stay connected and to reconnect with friends. Unlike females, they express their usage in more specific, goal-oriented terms. They may expect social capital to be accrued so that they can use it in their personal and professional lives. Men point to SNS benefits in terms of functionality, efficiency, and convenience, such as the relative ease in finding people who share similar interests (Tufekci, 2008). This extends to photos that serve as strong identifiers of "who they are." Choice of photos for Facebook profiles, for example, is associated with poses, dress, and activities that remain markedly gender stereotyped. Males present themselves as active, independent, and dominant in settings highlighting competitiveness, strength, and physical activities (Rose et al., 2012).

Compared to Facebook, the 140 character limitation imposed by Twitter makes the site an attractive one for men looking for efficiency, simplicity, and ease of managing content. Since its introduction in 2006, men have embraced Twitter quickly and until recently were the majority of users. Today there is gender parity in Twitter usage. Perhaps the perceived social capital benefit explains why men access it less for entertainment and leisure and more for professional, business, and news information (Hughes et al., 2012; Duggan and Smith, 2014). Still in its infancy, Twitter is the fastest ascending SNS. It remains to be seen if this rare

gender parity in a SNS holds and if content and interest become more or less gender focused.

Security and privacy are deemed less important issues for men, thus they are more willing than women to share their location, email address, and personal information, a pattern demonstrated globally (Taraszow et al., 2010; Kuo et al., 2013). Although willingness to share personal information may translate to a greater number of online friends, male teens and young men with more online friends and fewer face-to face friends is associated with greater loneliness and lower self-esteem (Donchi and Moore, 2004). College men may see SNS as “friend finding,” but they also tend to be suspicious of people on the sites, seeing them as less honest. This may explain why males are less likely to share personal feelings on Facebook, especially with other men (Goldner, 2008; Clipson et al., 2012). Men also are less likely than women to self-disclose on SNS, but surprisingly, some research shows that they have more intimate discussions with new Facebook friends (Sheldon, 2013). Women may self-disclose more frequently overall, but they choose to learn more about their recently added Facebook friends, Self- disclosure may be mediated less by security issues for men compared to women.

Given that online men are attracted to social media in goal-oriented ways, they also appear to get burned out or fatigued quicker than women. The benefits, lure, and excitement of Facebook fade quicker with men in all age groups. Research is needed to determine if the upsurge of interest in Twitter by midcareer and older men who experience Facebook fatigue will help recapture the lure of social media exploration.

Women Online

We saw that women decode information and read nonverbal cues more accurately than men. Nevertheless, when the nonverbal environment extends to the virtual environment, women’s advantage appears to diminish. Men create the games, the rules, and the language used in most all virtual worlds. Virtual entertainment is based on masculine gender preferences. Women are less likely to be socialized into the technological expertise that enhances their enjoyment of online entertainment.

CMC for women mirrors their verbal communication. As expected, therefore, emails and text messages used by girls and women are frequent, longer, supportive, and affiliative. Women use more intensifiers, tentative language choices, and polite requests, and they respond more positively to interactions (“Let’s meet in the back of the cafeteria for lunch, OK?”). Women reference emotions and personal connections more than men, regardless of the gender of the recipient. In both style and content, they are more relational and expressive, especially when communicating with other women (Palomares, 2008; Brody, 2013).

Even as mobile phones become the preferred CMC device, females still send more and longer text messages than males. In online discussion groups, women post more messages and have significantly higher participation rates than men (Caspi et al., 2008). Because men dominate face-to-face classroom discussion, women may feel more at ease in the online environment. Overall, women are more likely than men to write the way they speak—both in the choice of words and in the manner in which the words are conveyed.

CMC, however, lacks important nonverbal cues women rely on to enhance the satisfaction they receive from online interaction. Women's lack of comfort with the technology and the enormous amount of effort needed to compensate for the nonverbal void in text-based language may explain the decrease in the number of female participants in virtual learning environments (Stokar von Neuforn, 2007:209). These factors also may explain why females use computer technology more for education and instruction and less for entertainment and diversion.

There is a definite gender gap in how communication is perceived in the virtual world. However, females are now the driving force in building and sustaining virtual communities. Compared to males, they more actively participate in seeking information and participating in activities that build the social life to make the communities successful (Choi et al., 2012). Rapid advancement of accessible and inexpensive CMC visuals on mobile phones or through sites such as Skype and YouTube, is allowing women to regain their nonverbal advantage.

Females and Social Media Fully 76 percent of online women use Facebook compared with 66 percent of online men (Duggan and Smith, 2014). For every age category of SNS users, females far exceed males in time spent accessing all types of social media, the number of Facebook friends they report having, the feelings of closeness to their friends compared to those who do not participate in Facebook, and the importance attached to Facebook in their everyday lives (Hoffman, 2008; Pempek et al., 2009). Adolescent girls, for example, assign great importance to adding to their "friend count." For adult women, social networking allows them to explore new friendships, express their feelings more openly, strengthen existing relationships, and reconnect with people from their past. Social media is not considered a substitute for face-to-face contact, but frequently enhances it (Young, 2011).

These benefits come with a price. For both males and females, self-selected Facebook profiles are gender stereotyped. Although recent research does not find females profiling themselves as generally submissive, traits related to dependence and attractiveness still appear in "appropriate" feminine ways (Bryant, 2008; Rose et al., 2012). Consistent with Erving Goffman's (1959) pioneering research on impression management, the selection of the Facebook picture is of enormous importance in crafting one's attractiveness (Strano, 2008). The concern for attractiveness matches decades of data correlating self-esteem with body image, a more prominent pattern for females than for males (Chapter 2). Females report that photos posted by others on Facebook give them a negative self body image (Gefter, 2007; Rose et al., 2012). The "fear of peers" online carries to negative peer attitudes and social adjustment in other settings (Kalpidou, 2011; Koles and Nagy, 2012). Teen girls report that Facebook is a cause of stress. Those girls with high reliance on Facebook for emotional support have more negative school outcomes. Girls feel anxious or upset when they are unable to access Facebook, often checking it several times during the night (Thompson and Lougheed, 2012). Facebook "addiction" may be the female counterpart to Facebook fatigue among males.

All social media are fraught with issues related to safety and privacy as cases of cyberstalking and Internet predation continue to emerge that outpace legal and technological fixes to control them (Hoy and Milne, 2010; Thierer, 2013). Gender is a stronger predictor than age in level of vigilance and sharing of personal

information on SNS. Females, especially teens, report bullying, threats, and harassment at higher levels than males, particularly when speaking out on controversial topics, a pattern that is found globally (Donnelly, 2011; Seymour, 2012). Because women and girls experience heightened psychological and physical vulnerability, self-censorship is common. Their right to expression is silenced in the very medium that is expected to provide a forum *for* such expression.

> The sense of what is private and what is public is creating contradictions for many in the Web 2.0 age and particularly those trying to promote social justice and protect women's rights. (Harcourt, 2011:21)

Global Focus: The Language of Japanese Women

The language of Japanese women has been recognized as a separate social dialect for a thousand years. Its origins can be traced as far back as the eighth century. One of the most important novels in all of Japanese literature, *The Tale of Genji*, was written in 1016 by Lady Murasaki, in women's language. Although Japanese women's language today is an expression of language used in women's quarters for centuries, with young women at the forefront, it is being reconfigured in response to gender role change in Japan.

Style and Syntax

Japanese women's speech is highly formal and polite, much more than the polite gendered varieties of other languages such as English. Japanese women's speech exceeds the politeness norms in a language system that is already one of the "politest" in the world. Japanese women, for example, rarely use profanity. Politeness also is expressed by their use of honorific and humiliative speech much more frequently than men's use of these forms. Women use far fewer interrogatives, assertions, and requests and construct them differently from men when they are used. These patterns are demonstrated in the media, in the workplace, at school, and even at home. In addition to style of communication, Japanese female register has distinctive formal linguistic patterns in vocabulary, topic, grammar (syntax), and phonology (sound and intonation). Unlike English, there are grammatical forms in Japanese that are used exclusively by women and numerous forms for which men and women use entirely different terms. Women speak of different things than men and say things differently when they converse about the same topic. Rules of grammar and syntax also may differ according to the gender of the speaker. For example, the words for "box lunch," "chopsticks," and "book" differ depending on whether they are spoken by a female or male. Women are obliged to select verb endings that render their sentences ambiguous, indirect, indecisive, and less assertive. Although age and social status of the speaker are markers in language in Japan, gender is the key identifier in usage. All other markers are subsumed under gender. Linguistic femininity is so normative and expected that deviating from these norms risks peer disapproval and shame (Endo and Smith, 2004; Ogi, 2014; Okamoto, 2013).

Women in Business When styles of discourse are combined with the formal linguistic features of Japanese women's language, woman may appear to be timid

and lacking self-confidence. The consequences of these speech forms are linked to social powerlessness, putting women at a disadvantage when they venture into non-traditional roles outside the home. Japanese women who are in positions of authority may experience linguistic conflict when they use less feminine forms of even the polite speech used by men. (Takano, 2005).

Consider the case of managers in Japanese corporations. If a woman manager displays normative femininity, she may give the impression that she is indecisive or indirect. At the same time, however, she cannot be as authoritative as her male counterparts. She must not be too informal with employees she supervises or with other managers, the majority of whom are male. If she masculinizes her speech too much, she may be perceived as a threat to established business and social norms, which she has already violated by becoming a manager in the first place. Men must maneuver their language to account for the politeness of Japanese language as well, but they have much more linguistic flexibility. Japanese women's business etiquette training propels them to speak "politely, kindly, and beautifully." On the other hand, they recognize that this discourse serves larger strategic ends. In the exceedingly polite world of Japanese business, exceedingly *more* polite linguistic femininity can be advantageous for their businesses. American corporations might refer to it as using the "soft touch" to get what they want in a competitive environment. For better or worse, Japanese language has a much greater impact on the way Japanese women carry out their professional lives (Ohara, 2004; Takemaru, 2005; Dickel, 2013).

Manga

Despite these patterns, language change follows social change, and Japanese women are adopting linguistic strategies to deal with linguistic conflict. Fueled by media, globalization, and social diversity, women from a variety of social classes and subcultures are using various formats to gradually defeminize traditional language. Research on *manga*, the hugely popular Japanese comics consumed by Japanese from all backgrounds and across the age spectrum, supports this trend. Manga is niched to serve all varieties of readers. *Shojo manga* targets elementary through high school girls, and *ladies manga* targets women in their forties and older who are in more traditional roles, especially home-based mothers whose lives revolve around family, children's schooling, and accommodating in-laws (Ito, 2002).

As expected, shojo manga pushes linguistic limits with discourse that is less traditionally feminine than what is found in ladies manga. Shojo's characters use language defined as moderately feminine, moderately masculine, or neutral. When angry, they may use strongly masculine forms. Ladies manga reflects stronger feminine forms but this, too, demonstrates that "unconventional" feminine speech linguistic changes are creeping in. Gendered formal linguistics can be readily identified in written Japanese. Manga for all audiences shows less feminization. What is written about, however, is still likely to mesh with traditional roles stereotyped by gender and age (Ueno, 2006:22–23).

LADIES MANGA

An irritated mother-in-law talking to her son: You just heard it, didn't you? Isn't it awful? Your wife yelled at her husband's very important mother.

An irritated mother talking to her daughter: Things like your childhood dreams often change, so for now, just study hard. Understand?

> **SHOJO MANGA**
> Daughter speaking to her friend about her father: He is just
> a stubborn old man. I wonder why mom married someone like that.

Manga reinforces other communication styles that are rapidly emerging in subcultures of young women throughout Japan. Online virtual communities have "reappropriated" women's language in enactments of "gothic/Lolita" displays of fashion and appearance. Referred to as "costume play," or *kosupure*, young women create subcultures that are linguistically and role distinctive, but definitely nontraditional (Gagne, 2008). The virtual worlds transfer to the physical world as young women congregate on safe Tokyo street corners in their online "outrageous" costumes and speak a language only they understand. On Monday morning, they return to high school wearing their traditional, conservative uniforms almost indistinguishable from those worn by their mothers and grandmothers.

Research is needed to determine the degree to which women's language will be enacted as the youthful occupants of the gothic/Lolita subcultures and the readers of shojo manga get older. We will see in Chapter 6 that gender roles associated with marriage and the family in Japan remain quite traditional.

Explaining Gendered Language Patterns

Explanations for the gendered language patterns revealed in this chapter can be grouped according to what sociolinguists describe as dual-culture, dominance, and social constructionist models. Each of these models is also generally compatible with one of the three guiding perspectives in sociology and, as such, is associated with corresponding strengths and criticisms.

The Dual-Culture Model

The **dual-culture model** argues that the interactional styles of males and females are separate but equal. Also referred to as the difference or separate world's approach, the dual-culture model emphasizes that because childhood socialization puts boys and girls into separate subcultures, they develop different communication styles. If miscommunication occurs, it is due to lack of cultural (subcultural) understanding rather than male power or deceit (Burleson and Kunkel, 2006). Girls learn language to negotiate relationships and establish connections, and boys learn it to maintain independence and enhance status. The dual-culture model avoids women-blaming or female deficit in language.

In important ways, the dual-culture model is compatible with functionalism. Functionalists maintain that language serves to bind people to their culture and that social equilibrium is helped when one language, including its nonverbal elements, is used and accepted by everyone. Functionalists suggest, therefore, that any gender differences in language are useful for maintaining this equilibrium and minimizing confusion in communication. As noted earlier, children's use of linguistic markers (lady caveman) when there is a mismatch between perception and reality suggests this argument. From this perspective, it is better to avoid the confusion than to change the pronoun. It also implies that when people communicate in ways that reinforce traditional gender roles, there is less possibility for disrupting social patterns.

Critique There is support for the separate tenet but not the equal tenet of the dual-culture model. The model overlooks the cultural context of conversation and does not consider that along with gender, people bring with them other statuses that offer varied degrees of power that influence communication and perception of the speaker. Intersecting statuses of race and gender highlight this criticism. Housing agents and employers have the opportunity to discriminate against people of color because they can determine race if the first contact is from a phone conversation. African American linguistic styles are associated with perceptions about lower academic achievement regardless of the actual achievement. A white woman compared to a man or woman of color is likely to have an advantage in these situations. Whether perceptions of speaker stem from gender or race, they are not value neutral and can lead to inequity. Overall, stereotyped beliefs about style of speech are stronger for race than gender (Craig et al., 2012; Nitri, 2013; Fix, 2014). Although these patterns suggest that racism is more prevalent than sexism, separate is not equal.

The Dominance Model

Robin Lakoff's (1975, 2005) groundbreaking work was influential in the **dominance model**, arguing that gendered language is a reflection of women's subordinate status. Nancy Henley (1977, 2002) extended this hypothesis to nonverbal behaviors, including facial expressions, body movements, gaze, and interruptions. Compatible with conflict theory, the dominance model explains gendered language use according to the power differences between men and women. The structure and vocabulary of English, such as the accepted uses of male generics, have been fashioned by men, and they retain the power to name and to leave unnamed. Data on interruptions provide another example. Interruption is an attempt to dominate and control a conversation by asserting one's right to speak at the expense of another. The dominance model views men's interruption of women as the right of a superior to interrupt a subordinate. Female subordination is reinforced through their use of hedges, tag questions, and conversational cooperativeness. Gender differences are explained by socialization of girls into less powerful feminine roles that teach them to be demure, attractive, and aiming to please. Girls and women adopt language patterns that keep them from acting as independent or nonsubordinate agents.

Speaking in the cyberworld offers a good example of the contemporary view of the dominance model. Although it is not supposed to be "owned" by any one group, the Internet is dependent on seemingly undetectable technical language and codes without which all CMC would be impossible. Both in the literal and symbolic sense, code literacy is virtually owned by males. Men who sexually harass online and who use adversarial, combative, and sometimes violent and abusive communication styles manifest the dominance model.

> To have the last and decisive word grants the virtual speaker possession of the field. Instead of facilitating a gender-neutral environment, in terms of communication, cyberspace has magnified a devaluation of female-identified speech. (Herbst, 2012:138)

Critique Contrary to the dominance model, differences in status do not explain gender differences in nonverbal behavior and why the gender differences persist

even when men and women occupy the same status. For example, females still smile more than males and talk less than males, even when they share equal statuses. For verbal behavior, the dominance model's emphasis on the superiority associated with male speech and the inferiority associated with female speech implies that women are victims of culturally determined speech patterns that they may not be aware of or cannot control. Feminist reinterpretations of the dominance model suggest that women gain power by using gendered communication patterns to their advantage (Burgoon and Dunbar, 2006). For example, a greater amount of direct eye contact may be interpreted as assertive, with strength rather than meekness being communicated. Status equals look directly at each other. Status unequals do not. Women who want career advancement can adjust their eye contact so that they appear not quite as watchful but still deferential to their superior. A female executive in the boardroom adjusts her nonverbals—such as amount of eye contact—to the situation according to the image she wants to project. She is practicing *impression management* to highlight her (superior) executive status and to de-emphasize her (subordinate) gender status. If men dominate women in verbal arguments, women's visual behavior during the argument may be more dominant.

If the language of cooperation is more beneficial than the language of competition in certain contexts, then women's communication skills honed in developing friendships may offer an advantage. It is sexist to conclude that women's speech is weak just because a woman is doing the talking. If female register is associated with powerlessness, it occurs in a society that values consensus less than competition and connection less than independence.

Finally, social change in the direction of gender equity in other institutions is making its way into language. Since female and male communication patterns are demonstrating more and more similarity, the dominance–power explanation is losing research support (Aries, 2006; Kalbfleisch and Herold, 2006). Although this may bode well for the decrease of linguistic sexism overall, evidence is still uncertain as to how this will play out in CMC.

The Social Constructionist Model

The ascending explanation for gendered language is the social constructionist approach. By highlighting how language as a symbol shapes our perception of reality, how reality is redefined by altering language, and how interpersonal communication is negotiated, the social constructionist model is embedded in a symbolic interaction view. Much evidence indicates that the use of masculine generics, for example, makes it difficult to actually "image" women mentally. The use of male generics gives more prominence and visibility to men. During the crucial primary socialization years when language learning occurs, children internalize views that contribute to the marginalization of women.

In a language framework, the social constructionist model focuses on the setting of the conversation and on the use of impression management in interpreting gendered language. It is clear that both women and men organize their talk via gendered norms but alter it to their advantage as they move between conversational settings. Gender differences in conversational topics are largely determined by speakers' opportunities to express their interests regardless of the power they

bring to the setting. For example, women may reframe negotiations to adhere to the expectation of politeness associated with female register, but they still get what they want out of the negotiations (Small et al., 2007). Research suggests that for moderated online courses, the constructionist model offers more support than either the dual-culture or dominance model. Men and women use nuanced gendered language that is manipulated according to the specific features of the online context (Hayslett, 2008). This may explain why women prefer social media as a bonding mechanism. As we move into more multicultural, diverse contexts of speaking, social constructionists alert us to be attuned to not only gender, but also the backgrounds and cultural characteristics of all speakers. The flexibility and choice offered by various contexts of conversation is what distinguish social construction from other models.

Critique The very strength of the social constructionist model's reliance on the conversational setting and the impression management practiced within it, makes it difficult to generalize explanations for gendered language to other settings. Generalization is a necessary ingredient for science. Research is lacking on the features of various communication contexts to predict how speakers adjust their linguistic strategies as they move between contexts. In addition, contrary to social constructionist claims, the harmful effects of gender stereotypes are not overcome with individual attempts at impression management through the altering of language. Gendered social structures are ushered in to all communication contexts. An emerging social constructionist paradigm bridging micro-macro perspectives (Chapter 1) may offer a better model to understand the persistence of these stereotypes, in turn offering suggestions for reducing their negative effects.

The Impact of Linguistic Sexism

We have seen that language subtly, and not so subtly, transmits sexist notions that are harmful to both men and women. Language influences our perceptions of what is proper, accepted, and expected. When we hear the words *man* and *he*, we conjure up male images. When *she* is associated with nurses and homemakers, men are linguistically excluded. Alternative images remain unexpressed because they remain unimagined.

Cognition and Self-Esteem

Ambiguous interpretations of masculine generics not only bias cognitions, but also differentially affect the self-esteem of people who read, hear, and use them. Those who use sexist language in written form are also likely to use it in oral form. During primary socialization, boys internalize masculine generics that they apply to their expanding environment. Their own sense of well-being is linked to that environment. When girls begin to expand their environments, they have no such set of referents. They must adopt symbols that are different and separate from the symbols used to identify people in general.

Language learning also produces a double bind for women who are socialized into believing they must speak politely and refrain from "man talk." Women's

language is associated with maintaining both femininity and civility. Whether it is an acceptable assessment or not, female register may serve to deprecate, ignore, and stereotype women. In turn, women can internalize beliefs that they are lesser persons. Research on sexist remarks and jokes made by men suggests that women respect women when they confront the person who made the remark but that men do not like being confronted. The typical responses to women who express their dislike of being the targets of profanity and degrading sexual humor are "Can't you take a joke?" and "Don't take it personally." As evident in many CMC formats, with the negative repercussions that come with confrontation, women may believe silence is justified. Language learning for girls may be the counterpart for the difficulty boys may experience in gaining a sense of identity from incomplete information they are offered during primary socialization (Chapter 3). In either case, the socialization road is not easy.

Resistance to Language Change

The evidence that sexist language creeps into our perceptions and does damage to both men and women is strong. Yet despite this evidence, people who would work fervently on other gender issues, such as equal pay or violence toward women, are mystified or even angry at calls to change language to make it more inclusive. Similar to the type of ridicule that surfaced when *Ms.* was introduced, media reports tell us that *he* is now a loaded word and that no one

> dares to show insensitivity to gender-neutral terminology in public, with people preferring to offend against rules of grammar rather than against women's sensibilities. Women should not be insulted but should remember that gender may be unrelated to sex in language. (*Economist*, 2001:20)

In this condemnation, rules of grammar are more important than how they are used against people and women are denied any emotional response by being told how they are supposed to feel about the issue. Those who advocate for gender-inclusive language are often labeled "politically correct" in the media. The label sarcastically implies that people are required to change terminology on frivolous, inconsequential, and unreasonable grounds.

Formal Change Although people tend to oppose what they perceive as invented language, examples from linguistic history show that "artificial" change may not be resisted if gender stereotypes are left untouched. The use of *he* as the required pronoun for referring to a single human being of indeterminate sex came into usage during the eighteenth century in England and the United States. Formerly, *they* or *he* or *she* were considered proper choices. The use of *they* as a plural word to identify a single entity was disdained by several powerful educators and self-styled language reformers who were able to establish *he* as the rightful substitute. An 1850 British Act of Parliament stated that "words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females." In both instances, language change occurred by fiat, not through "natural" evolution. Although the earlier usage may not have been as grammatically sound, it was certainly more accurate. It also created a great deal of interpretive problems. Still used today, *he* is presumed to be both generic

(*he* = *he* and *she*) and nongeneric (*he* = *he*). The quick acceptance of the generic rested on cultural definitions that gave males more worth than females. To make language gender neutral today, it is necessary to challenge the taken-for-granted belief that males are regarded more highly than females.

Language Change as Gender Success

Despite resistance and inconsistent usage, linguistic sexism is on a rapid decline. In formal communication, such as in academic and corporate settings and in broadcast journalism, inclusive language is an emergent norm. Many writers use he/she, she/he, or s/he, or they explicitly note that both males and females are being discussed, using forms you will find throughout this book. Of these options, *they* is most accepted. Inclusive replacements for outmoded terms also are being ushered in. For instance, some schools use "first-year student" to replace the archaic and noninclusive use of the word *freshman*. Such changes offer the least cumbersome, most accurate, and now largely accepted solutions to the generic problem. Preferences notwithstanding, corporate and government offices, health care facilities, and public settings such as courtrooms and police precincts now typically require the use of *Ms.* when referring to adult females.

Recognition of the harm of sexist language is widespread. At the macro level, people are more supportive for incorporating inclusive language in government, schools, and media. Female teachers are leading the way as agents of change, selecting reading material with inclusive language, and offering students ways to avoid the gender-exclusive generic *he* in their writing (Pauwels and Winter, 2006). Prompted by requirements in virtually all style manuals, organizations, professions, and academic disciplines are adopting inclusive language standards in their correspondence, publications, and websites. These changes support the idea that the use of masculine generics is on the verge of extinction (Earp, 2012). At the micro and mezzo levels, although gender differences cut across context on many linguistic behaviors, girls and boys are more alike than different. Differences that do exist, especially in nonverbal communication, are differences in degree—not kind. Gender differences in conversational topics persist but are getting smaller over time. The language of consensus and cooperation is moving into the workplace. This style of language is being reconstructed as beneficial for both employee satisfaction and company profit. Men are displaying more self-disclosing nonverbal behaviors such as hugging another man as a greeting rather than using the mechanical handshake of the past. Some media portrayals of men support this contention. Watch Jimmy Fallon, Conan O'Brien, or David Letterman as confirmation. Such behaviors are approved by both men and women and improve the rating of the shows and the likability of the male television hosts.

News media have powerful influences on public perception. Broadcasters now routinely report on the "men and women" soldiers or "service members." Ironically this neutral designation explicitly calls attention to gender and marks the fact that both men and women are in harm's way. Written and entertainment and broadcast media also are less likely than even a decade ago to use the generic *he* to refer to politicians, journalists, scientists, and world leaders. There are simply too many exceptions to expect audiences to overlook glaring noninclusive language. Overall, linguistic sexism continues to decline.

Summary

1. Research shows that the generic use of words such as *man* and *he* is ambiguous, discriminatory, and inaccurate. Inclusive replacements are suggested to counter this usage.
2. Linguistic sexism in titles and occupations abounds. Children often use linguistic gender markers, such as lady spaceman, when they see a mismatch between what they see and what they perceive to be true.
3. Customs about names are highly gendered. Upon marriage, women are expected to take their husbands' last names, although hyphenated names are more common and acceptable today. Children's names ensure that boys and girls are distinguished. It is common for girls to take or append boys' names but not the reverse.
4. There are several hundred English words that refer to women in derogatory or debased and obscene ways. Over time, words for women that were originally neutral acquire debased references.
5. People use language according to gendered registers. Females use a register with more qualifiers, tag questions, intensifiers, and politeness. Males use a register with more profanity, directness, and imperatives. Males outtalk females and interrupt females more than females interrupt males. These patterns are largely taken for granted by both men and women.
6. Conversational strategies for females are high-affiliation ones used for creating intimacy and rapport and for cementing friendship. Conversational strategies for males are low-affiliation ones used to get their demands met. If romance is a factor in mixed-gender conversations, men initially outtalk women but later talk less and use silence as a control mechanism.
7. In nonverbal communication, females rely on facial information and decode emotions much better than males do. Females smile more and are allowed to display sadness and fear but not anger. Males can display anger more, but not sadness and fear. Men touch women more than women touch men, and women are touched more than men overall. Men invade the personal space of women more than the reverse. Men are provoked when other men come as close to them as they do to women.
8. Online communication mirrors gender differences in verbal and nonverbal behavior. Men write online using authoritative language. CMC is more frequent, is longer, and is supportive for females compared to use by males. With visual CMC, women are regaining their nonverbal advantage. Compared to males, females use social media more for leisure and entertainment and report higher stress levels. Males have higher burnout rates from social media use.
9. The language of Japanese women is a separate social dialect that differs by vocabulary, topic, grammar, and phonology. Women are often defined as being timid and lacking self-confidence. Led by young women, linguistic strategies through formats such as manga are being adapted to counter these images.
10. The dual-culture model of language is compatible with functionalism and asserts that the language styles of males and females are separate but equal. The dominance model is compatible with conflict theory and asserts that gendered language reflects women's subordinate status. The social constructionist model

focusing on the context of conversation appears to offer the strongest explanation. Although it is compatible with symbolic interaction, it has difficulty generalizing results of gendered language use from one context to another.

11. Language transmits sexist notions, but people often resist changing language to counter sexism. However, with media influence, progress is being made and linguistic sexism appears to be declining.

Key Terms

Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC)
Dominance model
Dual-culture model
Nonverbal communication
Register

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Referencing the gender patterns of generics, titles, naming, derogation, and registers, demonstrate how language is a potent agent of gender role socialization. Which sociological theory best accounts for these patterns? Justify your choice.
2. Explain how both gendered verbal and nonverbal language cement relationships between women but inhibit close relationships between men. How can gender socialization, which is important for bringing men and women together, provide more opportunities for crossing the linguistic boundaries?
3. How can sociological and linguistic perspectives (dominance, dual-culture, social constructionist) combine to explain gendered verbal and nonverbal language?

CHAPTER 5

Western History and the Construction of Gender Roles

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the difference between women's history and gender history, and compensatory history and contribution history.
2. Compare and contrast attitudes and roles of women in classical Greek and Roman societies.
3. Explain why Christianity during the Middle Ages was both helpful and harmful to women.
4. Discuss gender role changes traced to the Renaissance and argue for or against the idea that women experienced a "true" Renaissance.
5. Examine Colonial, Victorian, and Frontier eras in the United States and show how women's roles and attitudes to women both changed and persisted during and after the eras.
6. Identify reasons for the major changes in women's roles during industrialization and World War II and how these shaped subsequent paths for American women.
7. Describe the three feminist waves and their contributions to the women's movement.

Men have had every advantage of us telling their own story. Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands.

—Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, 1818

Echoing Jane Austen's sentiments, in 1801, an anonymous author wrote in the *Female Advocate*, an American publication: "Why ought the one half of mankind, to vault and lord it over the other?" Reflecting an egalitarian model far ahead of its time, these writers identified a critical need to explore the other half of humankind. Distinguished historian Gerda Lerner (1920–2013), also a founding member of the National Organization of Women, extends this message to contemporary scholars. She suggests that the recognition that women had been denied their own history "came to many of us as a staggering flash of insight, which altered our consciousness irretrievably" (Lerner, 1996:8). This insight reverberated throughout the academy, and as a result, the field of women's history rapidly expanded.

It is impossible to understand the present without referring to the past. Historians say that they search for a "usable past," for a record that will clarify and give meaning to the present (Carlson, 1990:81). To explain the differential status of women and men in contemporary society, it is necessary to examine the impact of powerful historical forces constructing gendered attitudes.

Scholarly work is scrutinizing the past with the goal of uncovering hidden elements in the lives of women from all ranks. As we will see, these uncovered elements are vastly different from centuries of discourse that highlighted one set of proper roles for women.

These discourses date back to the earliest writings of the Greek philosophers and center on debates about women's place, women's souls, and women's suitability for domestic functions. Writings of this type were used, and often continue to be used, to justify a patriarchal status quo. What is clear is that the centuries of debate on "women's themes" do not constitute a women's history. Another pioneering women's historian, Mary Ritter Beard (1876–1958), asserted that in the 2,500 years history has been written, most male writers overlooked the histories of females. In historical writing, the whole of human experience has been dominated by the political, economic, and military exploits of an elite, powerful group of men. Through the historical glimpses in this chapter, we will find that throughout history, women have assumed a multitude of critical domestic and nondomestic roles, many of which were ignored or relegated to inconsequential historical footnotes.

Placing Women in History

With a strong feminist thrust, the revitalized women's movement of the 1960s provided the catalyst for the independent field of "women's history" to emerge. In the 1990s, many historians shifted to "gender history." The distinction is an important one. Historians favoring a **gender history** approach focus on the power relations between men and women. Those favoring a women's history approach tend to focus on **social history**, also called the "*new social history*" that studies the lives and experiences of ordinary people. Women are the largest category in this history.

Although there is general agreement as to what is *not* included in these categories, scholars do not agree on what the approach, content, and boundaries of the fields should or must include (Dayton and Levenstein, 2012; Gabaccia and Maynes, 2012). There is broad consensus, however, that because women and men experience the world around them in qualitatively different ways, the starting point must be on those very experiences. Both gender and women's history ask why women have a profoundly different historical experience than men. Since social history employs theories and methods of sociology to understand the interdisciplinary linkage between social and historical patterns, it can be explored from gender *and* women's historical perspectives. This chapter includes both.

Because women have basically been left out of historical writing, the first attempts at reclaiming their historical place centered on combing the chronicles for appropriate figures to demonstrate that female notables of similar authority and

ability to males existed. If there was Peter the Great, there was Katherine the Great. Referred to as **compensatory history**, this approach chronicles the lives of exceptional, even deviant, women and does not provide much information about the impact of women's activities to society in general. Another track is **contribution history**, documenting women's contributions to specific social movements. Their activities, however, are judged not only by their effects on the movement, but also by standards defined by men. Lerner suggests that we can certainly take pride in the achievements of notable women, but these kinds of histories do not describe the experience of the masses of women who still remain invisible to the historical record.

If females are peripheral in history, then some groups of females are even more peripheral. Both compensatory and contribution history parallel historical standards that, until recently, also ignored society's *nonelites*—the men and women of classes and races defined as marginal to society. An inclusive approach to the past must account for their lives and cultures. A balanced history makes visible women and other marginalized groups and, in turn, affirms their identity.

The Intersection of Gender, Race, and Class in History

Despite the fact that the relation of gender to power is the foundation of women's history, African American and Latino women historians are reluctant to use a gender-based male/female dichotomy that falsely homogenizes women. The critical intersection of gender, race, and class must be in the historical foreground. Women's history is again being reconceptualized to understand the power relations between men and women and between the races and classes of women. Related to this is the concern that when the historical experiences of women of color become chronicled, they may be acknowledged according to race, yet within another dichotomy—people of color versus white. Other elements such as sexual orientation and ethnicity, however, are still missing. A diversity (multicultural) framework also should be adopted because it explores simultaneously the interplay of many races and cultures and provides what may be the only way to organize a truly inclusive history of women (Ruiz, 2008). As women's history becomes more sophisticated and mainstreamed, feminist scholars must account for all of these dimensions.

Historical Themes about Women

It is impossible to provide a full historical reckoning of women's and gender history in this chapter. The intent here is to overview key historical periods important in influencing attitudes and subsequent behavior concerning gender. The focus is Western society and the paths that lead to the gender roles of American women and men. As mentioned in the first chapter, history illustrates the impact of *misogyny*, the disdain and contempt of women that propels their oppression. This reflects the first of two important themes to be overviewed. The first stems from gender history and is the theme of patriarchy; it relates to the power of men over women and the subjection and victimization of women. This theme is central to all feminist scholarship on women, regardless of discipline.

Countering the women-as-victim approach, the second theme explores the resistance of women to patriarchy, focusing on stories of courage, survival, and

achievement. This alternative view indicates that although women's history is still unfolding, it has issued a formidable challenge to traditional thinking on gender roles. Feminist historical scholarship has challenged gendered dichotomies, for example, related not only to race and class, but also to categories defined in oppositional terms. This scholarship is abandoning "versus" in describing categories related to nature *and* nurture, work *and* family, and private *and* public spheres of men and women. Similar to feminist scholarship in sociology, this theme reflects the interdisciplinary thrust of social history. Multicultural factors are included in this thrust. This thrust reflects the second theme and considers how gender, race, and class intersect with other cultural components, such as region and religion. Culture is used in the broadest sense to highlight diversity and to provide for more inclusiveness in a gender and a women's historical record. Many of these cultural components will be explored from a global perspective in Chapter 6.

This approach has several objectives. First, the roots of patriarchy will be discovered in a format that is manageable. Second, misconceptions about the roles of women and attitudes toward these roles will become evident. These misconceptions are often at the root of current debates about gender and social change. Third, it is a history of "most women," a massive group whose contributions to their societies and whose response to the multiple oppressions they faced have been overlooked historically. This is the perspective of social history, in that it addresses social change by connecting larger social structures with everyday life and experiences (Elliott, 1994:45). Finally, this overview has a consciousness-raising objective. A discovery of an alternative historical account allows us to become aware of our culturally determined prejudices and stereotypes. *Her* story allows for a balance to the historical record.

Classical Societies

The foundation of Western culture is most often traced to the Greek and Roman societies of classical antiquity. Western civilization is rooted in the literature, art, philosophy, politics, and religion of a time that extends from the Bronze Age (3000–1200 B.C.E.) through the reign of Justinian (565 C.E.). The period between 800 B.C.E. and 600 C.E. witnessed spectacular achievements for humanity. With the achievements came ideological convictions that persist in modified form today. The dark side of classical societies was laced with war, slavery, deadly competitions, and a brutal existence for much of the population. Inhabiting another portion of this cordoned-off world was democracy, literacy, grace, and beauty. These opposites serve as a framework from which to view the role of women. Like the societies themselves, the evidence concerning women's roles also is contradictory. This contradictory evidence must be viewed in light of the fact that it is difficult to find the historical voices of classical woman that survived into the Renaissance. What we know about women and gender relationships in these societies is almost entirely from sources written by men.

The Glory That Was Greece

The Greek view of women varies according to the time and place involved. Greek literature is replete with references to the matriarchal society of Amazons. Although the Amazons are shrouded in mystery, Greek mythology saw them as female

warriors who were capable with a bow and who had little need of men except as sexual partners. Greek heroes were sent to the distant land on the border of the barbarian world to test their strength against the Amazons. Because the Amazons invariably lost and eventually were raped by or married to the heroes sent to defeat them, some feminist historians suggest that these myths are used to reinforce beliefs about the inevitability of patriarchy. Too much evidence exists, however, to dismiss the stories outright (Geary, 2006). We know that throughout Asia Minor and the Mediterranean during this period, there are innumerable references to physically strong women who were leaders and soldiers. The admiration for the skills of these warrior women is used to support the belief that ancient Greek women were held in higher esteem than women of later times.

Partnership Archaeological material from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age period immediately predating the birth of Greek civilization provides substantial evidence of matrilineal inheritance, female creator images, the sexual freedom of women, the goddess as supreme deity, and the power of priestesses and queens (Joyce, 2008; Mina, 2008). Some contend that these ancient societies show neither matriarchy nor patriarchy as the norm. In this view, the inference that if women have high status, then men must inevitably have low status does not necessarily follow. A generally egalitarian or partnership society is also possible.

The egalitarian zenith was reached in the goddess-worshipping culture of Minoan Crete. Cultural historians define it as a high civilization because of its art, social complexity, peaceful prosperity, and degree of technological sophistication. The social structure of Minoan Crete conformed to a general partnership model between men and women (Eisler, 1995b). At the birth of civilization, women enjoyed more freedom, including less restraint on modesty, and partnership roles in emerging religions. Interaction and unity rather than separation and isolation may describe the gender norms of the time (Knoblauch, 2007; Spencer, 2013). The mythology of such cultures points to the absence of warfare, private property, class structure, violence, and rape. Referred to as the Golden Age, the mythology bolsters the view of a society where stratification based on gender was largely unknown. Evidence from the Amazonian myths through to Minoan Crete does not necessarily suggest that matriarchy existed, but it does suggest plausible alternatives to patriarchy. Claims about women's power in prehistory remain contentious, but Minoan civilization "represents a society of well-being and prosperity where woman played a dominant role (Grammatikakis, 2011). This civilization challenges the claim that patriarchy is inevitable today because it was inevitable throughout history. Images of women in powerful, respected roles and of men and women working together as partners prove empowering to all women.

Over time, a *matrilineal* system tracing descent from the female line was replaced with a patrilineal system. Goddesses who dominated the ancient world and then lost their central position as gods were added to religious imagery (Chapter 12). The mother of the later gods may have been an earlier goddess (Munn, 2006). Maternal religion declined as patriarchal theology was grafted onto it. Patriarchy eventually prevailed. Patriarchy did not completely dislodge the revered goddess from later Greek mythology. Religion was the realm where the women of ancient Greece maintained a degree of power and prestige.

Oppression The Amazon legends and goddess images perpetuated the belief that Greece revered women. Except for religion, however, the Greek world saw women as inferior in political, social, and legal realms. Plato called for girls to be educated in the same manner as boys with equal opportunities open to them to become rulers, believing that a superior woman is better than an inferior man. In the *Republic*, he stated, "There is not one of those pursuits by which the city is ordered which belongs to women as women, or to men as men; but natural aptitudes are equally distributed in both kinds of creatures." Alongside his supposed enlightened image of women, however, is Plato's disdain and antipathy of women. In championing the democratic state, Plato was a pragmatist as well as a misogynist. He believed an inferior class of uneducated women might work against the principles of democracy, so he appeared to champion the emancipation of women. Women may "naturally participate in all occupations," Plato continues, "but in all women are weaker than men." Women were excluded from his academy, and no woman speaks in his dialogues. Indeed, women's sexual nature could distract men from reason and pursuit of knowledge, so men and women must exist in separate worlds. Since scholars have difficulty resolving Plato's position that women are equal but inferior, his dialectic on woman continues to be hotly debated (Blair, 2012). In the end, Plato's emancipated women were likely to be illiterate, isolated, and oppressed.

It is Aristotle who is more representative of the Greek view of women. In *Politics*, Aristotle explicitly stated that a husband should rule over his wife and children. If slaves are naturally meant to be ruled by free men, then women are naturally meant to be ruled by men. Otherwise, the natural order would be violated:

> Man is full in movement, creative in politics, business and culture. Woman, on the other hand, is passive. She stays at home, as is her nature. She is matter, waiting to be formed by the active male principle.

Because the active elements of nature are on a higher level than the passive, they are more divine. This may be why Aristotle believed women's souls were impotent and in need of supervision.

Athens The women of Athens can be described as chattels. At one point in Greek history, even a wife's childbearing responsibilities could be taken over by concubines, further lowering a wife's already subordinate status. Divorce was rare but possible. As a group, women were classified as minors, along with children and slaves. Aristotle speaks of a man without property who could not afford slaves but who could use his wife or children in their place. Husbands and male kin literally held the power of life and death over women. Some upper-class women enjoyed privileges associated with wealth and were left to their own devices while their husbands were away at war or serving the state. Considering the plight of most women of the time, these women achieved a measure of independence in their households only because of the absence of their husbands for lengthy periods. But Athenian repression of women was so strong that wealth could not compensate for the disadvantages of gender. From a conflict perspective, the class position of a citizen woman belonging to the highest class was determined by her gender, "by the fact that she belonged to the class of women" (De St. Croix, 1993:148). Her male relatives could be property

owners, but she was devoid of property rights. As a woman, therefore, her class position was greatly inferior. In Marxian terms, women were an exploited class regardless of the socioeconomic class to which they belonged.

Athenian society did not tolerate women in public places except at funerals and all-female festivals; so for the most part, they remained secluded in their homes, which were also segregated. Women had special quarters that were designed to restrict freedom of movement and to keep close supervision over their sexual activities. Similar to some contemporary societies, Athens established a formal police force to monitor and protect the chastity of women (Chapter 6). Mourning was ritualized, and women could not express their grief in public or at the funerals they were allowed to attend.

The major exception to this norm was the "Panathenaia," the most important of all festivals in honor of the patron-goddess Athena, the protector of crops. All Athenian society was involved in the festival—slaves, citizens, and men and women. Less important Athena festivals reflected the daily lives of women, and festival rituals initiated girls at puberty to prepare them for marriage (Haland, 2012). The few successful women in this world of men were in three groups. One group consisted of those women who practiced political intrigue behind the scenes to help elevate their sons or husbands to positions of power. The second group was the *hetairai*, high-level courtesans whose wit, charm, and talent men admired. When pederasty was in vogue, men sought boys or other young men for their sexual and intellectual pleasure. It was common for a man to change his sexual preference to women after spending his youth loving boys. The uneducated wives could not compete with the social skills and cultural knowledge exhibited by either the hetairai, thoroughly trained for their work since they were girls, or the sexually experienced, educated males they frolicked with earlier in life (Murray, 2000). The third and very tiny group was made up of the highly regarded wives and daughters of literate men. Philosophers such as Pythagoras were esteemed in classical Greece, and wealthier families could afford the luxury of becoming their disciples.

> They looked upon Pythagoras as divine, with the result that they turned over their wives to him in order that they would learn some of his doctrines. And so they were called "Pythagorean Women." From Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Pythagoras* (Cited in Pomeroy, 2013)

In Greek mythology, Helen of Troy, also known as Helen of Sparta, was considered to be the most beautiful woman in the world. Like the courtesans of the day, her manipulation of men was her only means of self-preservation (Tsakitopoulou-Summers, 2013). Throughout much of history, however, a courtesan had a better life than a wife.

Sparta The subordinate position of Athenian women extended to most of the Greek world. When comparing Athens to Sparta, some differences can be ascertained. Sparta practiced male infanticide when newborns were deemed unfit enough to become warriors. Whether girls were killed is unclear. Regardless, it cannot be said that male infanticide indicated a higher regard for females in Sparta. It is significant only to the extent that Spartan society was organized around the ever-present threat of war and strongly influenced the roles of Spartan women. If Athenian men were separated from their wives by war, the situation was magnified in Sparta.

Spartan men were either at war or preparing for it. Army life effectively separated husband and wife until he reached the age of 30. These years of separation, marked by infrequent visits by their husbands, allowed wives to develop their own talents and capabilities that would have been impossible in Athens.

While the men were away, the women enjoyed a certain amount of freedom. Although the woman's responsibility was to bear male children who would become warriors, girls were also to be physically fit. A strong value to promote both fitness and beauty in girls was encouraged through rigorous gymnastic training. Although the value was stronger for males, athletics valorized compliance and subordination of *all* individuals to the social order (Christesen, 2012). Compared to women in Athens, young unmarried Spartan women enjoyed a higher degree of freedom. In addition to physical activities, citizen women were expected to manage the household and all of the associated properties. Women retained control of their dowries and were able to inherit property. In comparison to Athens, the free women of Sparta had more privileges, if only because they were left alone much of the time. But in the context of the period as a whole, the vast majority of women existed in a legal and social world that viewed them in terms of their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Subordination and suppression of women was the rule.

The Grandeur That Was Rome

The founding of Rome by Romulus, traditionally dated at 753 B.C.E., led to an empire that lasted until it was overrun by invading Germanic tribes in the fifth century C.E. The Roman Empire evolved and adapted to the political, social, and cultural forces of the times and in turn influenced these very forces. Changes in gender roles mirrored the fortunes and woes of the empire. The prerogatives of women in later Rome contrasted sharply with the rights of women in the early days of the republic. It is true that women remained subservient to men and cannot be portrayed separately from the men who dominated and controlled them. But compared with the Greeks, Roman women achieved an astonishing amount of freedom.

Male Authority Early Rome granted the eldest man in a family, the **pater familias**, absolute power over all family members, male and female alike. His authority could extend to giving death sentences for errant family members and selling his children into slavery to recoup the economic losses of a family. Daughters remained under the authority of a pater familias throughout their lives, but sons could be emancipated after his death. Even after marriage, the father or uncle or brother still had the status of pater familias for women, which meant the husbands could exercise only a limited amount of control over wives.

The absolute authority of the pater familias may have helped women in the long run. The right of guardianship brought with it a great deal of responsibility. A daughter's dowry, training, and education had to be considered early in life. If she married into a family with uncertain financial assets, the possibility existed that she and her new family could become a continued economic liability. The pater familias exercised extreme caution in ensuring the appropriate match for the women under his guardianship. This system allowed for total power of the pater familias, but it also caused a great burden for that very power to be maintained. By the first century

C.E., legislation was passed that allowed a freewoman to be emancipated from a male guardian if she bore three children. The roles of childbearer and mother were primary, but they allowed for a measure of independence later in life. Like Sparta, Rome was always involved in warfare, and a declining birth rate was alarming. The abandonment of the pater familias rule functioned to decrease the economic burden women caused for the family. Emancipation in exchange for babies was an additional latent function.

Female Power Like other women throughout history, Roman women could amass some power without the authority granted to men via law. Compared to the Greeks, Romans recognized a wider role for women. In the civic realm, Romans acknowledged women's productive role in the origins of the state and offered select women citizenship. Religious life still retained vestiges of goddess worship, and women shared in the supervision of the religious cult of the household. The comparative power of women held in the religious life of the empire is reflected in goddess cults and the revered *Vestal Virgins*. These mortal women symbolized Rome's economic and moral well-being. Although vestal virgins were open only to a select few, these women took on roles of great public importance. Roman women in general, however, knew that their lives would be carried out as wives and mothers. Nonetheless, wives also carried out the business of the family while their husbands were on military duty. These roles gradually extended so that it became common for women to buy and sell property as well as inherit it and participate in the broader economic life of the society (Wildfang, 2006; Takacs, 2008; Matz, 2012).

Their expertise was both praised and criticized, especially as women amassed fortunes in their own names. The necessity for economic decision making led to a less secluded lifestyle. The Greeks would have been astounded to see women in public roles and at dinner parties seated with men. Although most women remained illiterate, including upper-class women who had the most independence, women had greater opportunities for learning and were taught to cultivate music, art, and dancing. These women challenged a system where they were chained to their husbands or fathers. Roman women were eventually granted the right to divorce. Although the emancipated woman was a rarity in Roman times, women could use social norms about virtuousness to their advantage. They were required to be modest and subordinate but also loyal and industrious. The latter allowed for more leadership roles in and outside their households (Hylen, 2014). Freedom is relative. Roman society allowed a few women of higher social standing privileges unheard of in Greek society. Religion was the one area where women exercised much control, but with few exceptions, religious dominance did not expand into other realms. That a sexual double standard existed is unquestionable. Women may have been more visible, but they were definitely not autonomous. When compared to almost any free males in Rome, the most assertive, independent, and visible women were still in bondage to men.

The Middle Ages

When the Roman emperor Constantine reigned (306–337 C.E.), the empire was already in the throes of disintegration. Constantine's decision to wed the empire to Christianity was politically astute because Christianity seemed to offer an integrative

force in a period when the empire's decline was accelerating. Constantine's foresight on the impact of Christianity was remarkable. He did not envision, however, that the collapse of Rome would be instrumental in allowing Christianity to gain a firm grip on Europe that lasted throughout the Middle Ages. The Renaissance and feudalism combined did not radically diminish this powerful hold. Christianity profoundly influenced the role of women. Compared to the preclassical era, women's status in the classical era markedly deteriorated. This already bleak situation was considerably worsened when Christianity dominated Europe during the Middle Ages, a time frame most commonly regarded as approximately 500–1500 C.E.

Christianity

To its credit, the Church, in the form of a few monasteries and abbeys, became the repository of Greek and Roman knowledge that surely would have been lost during the sacking, looting, and general chaos following the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The decline of a literate population left reading, writing, and education as a whole in the hands of the Church. The power of literacy and the lack of literate critics permitted the Church to become the irreproachable source of knowledge and interpretation in all realms. The Church's view of life was seen as absolute.

If certain sentiments of the early Church had persisted, Christianity might not have taken on such misogynous overtones. Extending from Jewish tradition, the belief in the spiritual equality of the genders offered new visions of and to women. The ministry of Jesus included women in prominent roles, demonstrating spiritual equality in the steadfastly patriarchal society of the time (Chapter 12). Also, the Church recognized that women provided valuable charitable, evangelistic, and teaching services that were advantages to the fledgling institution. Some positions of leadership in the Church hierarchy were open to women and served as models for women who might choose a religious life. The convent also served as a useful occupation for some women, particularly of the upper classes, who were unsuited for marriage. It provided a place of education for selected girls and a sacred space for women to worship together without interference. Talented nuns were also poets, composers, and artists. Whereas the convent may have offered opportunities for women, the measure of independence they achieved in becoming nuns was viewed with suspicion. Education for nuns eroded, and with more restrictions put on women's ownership of land, it was difficult to found new convents. Distrust of the independent woman in Catholic Europe served to strip nuns of their autonomy, and in Protestant Europe, women were left without an acceptable alternative to marriage (Tibbetts, 2008).

Misogyny eventually dominated as the Church came to rely heavily on the writings of those who adopted traditional, restrictive views of women. Women were excluded from the few covenant communities teaching reading and writing. Biblical interpretations consistent with a cultural belief of the inferiority of women that placed the blame squarely on Eve for the fall of humanity became the unquestioned norm. As a fifteenth-century minister told his flock when Eve conversed with Satan,

> Eve . . . told him what God had said to her and her husband about eating the apple; . . . the fiend understood her feebleness and her unstableness, and found a way to bring her to confusion. (Cited in Bardsley, 2007:173)

Christianity also altered attitudes about marriage and divorce. Unlike classical society, marriage could not be dissolved. Perhaps the only grounds for divorce were extreme cruelty to a wife by her husband. In England, husbands were allowed to beat their wives, but not "outrageously" or "violently." A wife who won her case had to prove that the violence was so great that she was in danger of death (Gowing, 2012). Few women sued for separation, but those who did had a good chance of winning their case. Because divorce was unobtainable, women may have benefited if only for the fact that they could not be easily abandoned for whatever transgressions, real or imagined, their husbands attributed to them. Whereas childlessness was grounds for marital dissolution throughout history, even this was no longer an acceptable cause. However undesirable the marriage, it was inviolable in the eyes of the Church.

Witch Hunts With the medieval Church as a backdrop, misogyny during the late Middle Ages created an outgrowth for one of the most brutal periods of history concerning women—the time of the witch hunts. The woman who deviated from gendered norms generated the greatest distrust. If she remained unmarried, was married but childless, was regarded as sexually provocative, or was too independent or too powerful, she could be denounced as a witch (Briggs, 2002). Women who were not economically dependent on men—husbands, fathers, or brothers—may have been higher in social class, but like their sisters in classical societies, their gender class dominated all other statuses. Money and power condemned rather than protected them from the witch hunts. The power of the Church was directly related to the poverty of the people. Women who survived economically in their paid roles as healer, midwife, and counselor were particular targets of the witch hunts. Such women were admired for their expertise and sought out by the communities in which they practiced their professions. They were transformed into witches who symbolized evil and the wrath of God.

Female power was on trial but so was the fear of female sexuality, reinforced by Christian theology's view that sexual passion in women is irrational and potentially chaotic (Garrett, 2013). The majority of the victims of the European witch hunts were women. Witch hunts displayed an eruption of misogyny that remains unparalleled in Western history. Accused of sexual impurity, thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of women were burned as witches to appease God's anger. It was common for women to publicly confess to such absurdities as eating the hearts of unbaptized babies and, the most common condemning confession, having intercourse with the devil. God and the devil are enemies, and the methods of the devil worked well on weak women with evil temperaments; so burning the witch upheld righteousness and morality and claimed a victory over Satan (Nenonen, 2012; Castell, 2014). It cannot be denied that the medieval Church's attitudes about women played a prominent role in sanctioning the witch craze.

Feudalism

The feudal system was adapted to the ongoing threat of war. Lords, who in turn expected their serfs to fight when called upon, protected serfs and their families. All serfs owed their lives to the lord of the manor, and the wives of serfs owed their lives

to their husbands. The lack of respect for serfs in general and their wives in particular is indicated by a custom that allowed the lord to test the virginity of the serf's new bride on their wedding night.

Women of noble standing fared somewhat better in that they were valued for their role in extending the power of the family lineage through arranged marriages, although here, too, the lord of the manor had to grant permission for any marriage. An unmarried noblewoman was a property worth guarding, her virginity a marketable commodity, ensuring the legitimacy of a male heir. Her marriage united two houses, perpetuated a lineage, and expanded the economic fortunes of both families.

At marriage, the bride would be given in exchange for a dowry of money or jewelry, and in some places, the custom required her to kneel in front of her husband-to-be to symbolize his power over her. As the lord of the estate controlled her husband, she was to be controlled by her lord and husband. Whether serf or noble, feudal wives had much in common.

The Renaissance

The last 300 years of medieval Europe, which included the Renaissance and Reformation, were years of ferment and change that inevitably extended into women's realms. The Renaissance had generally positive effects on women of all social standing. Educated aristocratic women became patrons of literature and art, many of them as authors in their own right. Notably the women who emerged as scientists, writers, and artists were literate women largely of noble blood. As such, they were accorded some prestige for their accomplishments. But other forces were at work that kept traditional images of women from being seriously challenged.

Martin Luther and the Reformation With the Reformation came the startling notion that the Church hierarchy may actually exclude people from worship. Preaching a theology of liberation from the Church he indicted as too restrictive, Martin Luther advocated opening Christianity to everyone on the basis of faith alone. Critical of Aquinas's view that a woman was imperfect, in essence a botched male, Luther argued that those who accused her of this are in themselves monsters and should recognize that she, too, is a creature made by God. Many women embraced Luther's justification by faith principle, but some paid a heavy price as a result. For example, Anne Boleyn was beheaded in England in her effort to introduce Protestantism; Jane Grey and Anne Askew, who dared to criticize the Catholic mass, were tortured and executed. The degree to which the first women embraced Protestantism for personal, political, or social justice convictions is unclear. The Reformation did appear to offer an opportunity to present different interpretations of Christianity highlighting men and women's spiritual equality that would elevate the position of women.

This was not to be the case. Luther himself presents a paradox. Women may not be "botched males," but he still believed they were inferior to men. Although woman is a "beautiful handiwork of God," she does "not equal the dignity and glory of the male" (quoted in Maclean, 1980:10). Theological statements of the time abound with themes of superior man and inferior woman. Women bear the greater burden for original sin because of Eve's seduction by Satan. God's natural order

assigns women functions related to procreation, wifely duties, and companionship to men. Upsetting the natural order, such as a woman's adultery, justified her being stoned to death, but the sentence did not extend to an unfaithful husband. As the Reformation reverberated throughout the Western world, no dramatic changes relative to the Christian image of women occurred.

The Renaissance generated the rebirth of art, literature, and music in a world that was rapidly being transformed by commerce, communication, and the growth of cities. As a force in people's lives, Christianity now competed with education. Literacy expanded to more men and some women, opening up intellectual life that had been closed to most except clergy and nobility. Women made some economic headway by working in shops or producing products in the home for sale or trade. As money replaced barter systems and manufacturing increased, a new class of citizens emerged who were not dependent on either agriculture or a feudal lord for protection.

Critique Like other periods in history, the Renaissance presents contradictory evidence about women. The question of whether women actually "had a Renaissance" depends on the answer to other questions: Which women? Where were they located? What was their social class? Historians have scoured the hundred years (1580–1680) of this assumed Golden Age for records of female notables, and hundreds have been discovered or rediscovered (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). These records provide abundant testimonies to the intellect, talent, and stature of women poets, artists, artisans, and musicians.

Although they provide an image of the past that is affirming to women, they remain, as always, a witness to extraordinary rather than ordinary women of the day. Social history provides a more inclusive view, and from this, several plausible conclusions can be drawn. The Renaissance witnessed women in more diverse roles. Many women, particularly lower-class poor women, migrated to the expanding cities and were employed as servants, barmaids, fishmongers, textile workers, and peat carriers, to name a few. More educated women established themselves as actresses and midwives. Although a woman was protected from financial destitution by marriage, a surplus of women in some European cities such as Amsterdam may have made marriage unattainable, but less disastrous, if she was employed. Prostitution also burgeoned during this period. Compared to wives and unmarried women (spinsters), widows in England enjoyed the most freedom because they could inherit property and were free to continue their husbands' businesses. But misogyny continued to govern Europe. Women who ventured outside prescribed gender roles found themselves in precarious positions both socially and economically.

The American Experience

Women's history and American social history are fundamentally intertwined, a productive association for the growth of both areas. Because social history focuses on previously neglected groups such as minorities and the working classes, women are brought in as part of that cohort. Until recently, the interest in women was

largely confined to issues related to the attainment of legal rights, such as the suffrage movement. Only in the last few decades have gender and women's history in the United States come into their own. This new history issues three challenges: to reexamine gendered social relations, to reconstruct historical generalizations, and to reconfigure historical narrative (De Hart and Kerber, 2003). Similar to the new sociological paradigm based on feminist theory, these challenges from women's history are laying the foundation for a paradigm shift in the broader discipline of history itself.

The First American Women

As a prelude to this paradigm shift, women's history is bringing to the surface a range of taken-for-granted assumptions about women in America. The first American women were Native American women, but this fact has been historically disregarded until recently. In those instances when it was not ignored, stereotyped and inaccurate portrayals based on European, Christian, patriarchal beliefs prevailed.

Prior to colonization, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at least 2,000 Native American languages existed. Given such tribal diversity, it is difficult to generalize about the status of Native American women as a group. The archaeological and historical record (the latter based mainly on diaries, letters, and some ethnographic descriptions from the period) does allow some reliable conclusions, especially for coastal and Midwestern tribes such as the Seneca of western New York, the Algonquins distributed along the Atlantic coast, and a number of Iroquoian tribes scattered throughout the territories east of the Mississippi River.

Accounts of American Indian women during this period can be interpreted in many ways, and much of this is dependent on their particular tribe and who wrote the accounts. Missionary and European views of women on the Eastern shores during the 1600s saw them as beasts of burden, slaves, and "poor creatures who endure all the misfortunes of life" (Riley, 2007). This led to the stereotypical and derisive "squaw" image that was perpetuated by zealous missionaries, who generally saw Native Americans as primitive savages (Fischer, 2005). This image contrasts sharply with the historical record.

Gender Role Balance Ancient tribal systems can be described by balance and functional separation of gender roles. Men and women represented two halves of the same environment (Kowtko, 2006). Gender segregation was the norm, but it provided women with a great deal of autonomy. The success of the system depended on balanced and harmonious functioning of the whole. The work of both men and women was viewed as functionally necessary for survival; so even if a leadership hierarchy existed related to leadership, one group would not be valued or, more importantly, devalued in comparison to the other. In sociology, this would be recognized as the ideal functionalist model, void of judgments that define inferiority or superiority based on the tasks performed. Many tribal units were matrilineal and matrilocal, a man living in the home belonging to his wife's family. Women were farmers and retained control over their agricultural products, feeding hungry settlers with their surpluses and influencing warfare and trade with the settlers through the power to distribute economic resources.

Tribal Leadership Native American women were also tribal leaders, many who represented gynocratic systems based on egalitarianism, reciprocity, and complementarity. Venerated for their wisdom, women were sought as advisers and as arbitrators in tribal disputes (Macleitch, 2007). As early as 1600, the constitution of the Iroquois Confederation guaranteed women the sole right to regulate war. John Adair referred to the Iroquoian gynocracy as a "petticoat government." Among Virginia Indians, women often held the highest authority in their tribes and were recognized as such by white colonists. The English, fresh from the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603), "knew a queen when they saw one" (Lebsock, 1990). Another significant source of authority and prestige for Native American women was through their roles as religious leaders and healers. When roles of shaman and war leader coincided, women held very powerful positions. Spiritual roles were so important that in some tribes, the gods were women (Daly, 1994). In North American creation myths, women are the mediators between the supernatural and the earthly worlds. Men and women sought spiritual understanding through individual quests for vision. Again, the worlds of men and women were rigidly separated. Fasting and seclusion were part of a woman's spiritual quest. Menstruating women were believed to be so powerful that they could drain the spiritual power men required for hunting. Women would withdraw to menstrual huts outside the villages during this time. Is this interpreted as taboo and banishment? Women probably welcomed the respite and saw it as an opportunity for meditation, spiritual growth, and the enjoyment of the company of other women (Evans, 2000). The balanced and cooperative functionalist system represented by these practices would serve to enhance gender solidarity.

Colonization and Christianity Colonization and Christianity were the most disruptive forces of ancient tribal patterns and, by extension, the status of women. The Iroquois Confederacy provided an image to the Europeans of a self-ruling inclusive democracy. But female participation in a democracy that was economically based on matrilineal–matrilocal clans mystified them. With increased European contact, women were gradually stripped of tribal political power and economic assets, becoming more defined, hence confined, by their domestic roles. They began to look more and more like their subordinated European sisters. Christianity further eroded their powerful religious roles. The impact of Christianity on Native American women continues to be debated among historians. There is evidence from the writings of Father Le Jeune in 1633 about the tribes living on the St. Lawrence River that women were the major obstacles to tribal conversion. They resisted being baptized and would not allow their children to be educated at mission schools run by Catholic Jesuits. The women were accused of being independent and not obeying their husbands, and under Jesuit influence, the men believed that the women were the cause of their misfortunes and kept the demons among them (Devens, 1996:25). Women were acutely aware that conversion to Christianity brought severe role restrictions.

On the other hand, New England and Puritan missionaries, specifically the Quakers, had greater success in converting women. If change was gradual and the Indians could retain key cultural elements, the belief was that they would willingly accept the Christian message. This Christian Gospel did not obliterate native culture but "offered membership in God's tribe" and attracted women by "honoring their

traditional tasks and rewarding their special abilities" (Rhonda, 1996). Their culture could remain simultaneously Christian and Indian. Although historians disagree on the extent of Native American women's resistance to Christianity and colonization, most scholars accept that these women had a high standing in precontact societies (Smith, 2006; Stone, 2006; Riley, 2007).

The Colonial Era

The first white settlers in America were searching for religious freedom that had been denied expression in the Old World. The Puritans sought to practice a brand of Christianity without bureaucratic or doctrinal traditions they viewed as hampering devotion to God. In challenging the old order, however, the Puritans retained traditional beliefs about women.

Gendered Puritan Life Christian assumptions about male superiority carried easily into the New World. Males were subordinate to God as females were subordinate to males. Puritan settlements such as the Massachusetts Bay Colony extracted a high degree of religious conformity considered necessary to the well-being and survival of the community. The Puritan community existed on the basis of obedience to the civil and moral law of the Old Testament as defined by the clergy. Social harmony and order were praised. As a sociological functionalist would support, deviation from a clergy-sanctioned order was a threat to the social fabric. Nonetheless, Puritanism placed spiritual power in the individual. Cultivating women's spiritual autonomy and religious development was encouraged, but only within the confines of a rigid patriarchal family structure. In 1637, Anne Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts Bay for criticizing the minister's sermons, for holding separate meetings for men and women who were of similar minds, and as documents from her trial indicate, for not fulfilling her ordained womanly role.

Witchcraft Along with the threat of banishment, the convenient accusation of witchcraft kept potentially ambitious women in tow. An epidemic of witchcraft persecutions ravaged the Puritan colonies, fueled by images of independent and disobedient women who defied authority. The infamous Salem witch trials of 1690–1693 occurred when a few adolescent girls and young women accused hundreds of older women of bewitching them. Invariably the older women were viewed as aggressive and threatening, out of character with the submissive women who knew their proper place in the Puritan community. With the community's strict hierarchy at stake, it was not difficult to condemn people who diverged from their expected roles. Family relationships of many accused witches were marked by conflict. Women were accused of witchcraft for criticizing ("railing") at their husbands, gossiping, or fermenting anger with neighbors (Sicius et al., 2012). There was also a powerful economic rationale to witchcraft. Many women condemned as witches had no male heirs and could potentially inherit larger portions of their fathers' or husbands' estates. These women were "aberrations in a society designed to keep property in the hands of men" (Karlsen, 2004). An inheritance could produce more economically independent women. Burning a witch was a convenient way to rid the colony of its aberrations, foil challenges to gender norms, and maintain the desired social order.

Because religion extended to all areas of life and only men could be citizens, women were denied any public expression. When married, colonial women entered a legal status known as *civil death*. Based on English Common Law, the marital union meant that she could not vote, own property, sue or be sued, administer estates, sign contracts, or keep her children in the event of divorce. She had some control over property she brought to the marriage and could inherit property at the death of her husband, but she could not sell it. Marriage was sacrosanct, but divorce was possible, mostly in cases of adultery or desertion. Family arrangements and limited divorce options ensured family harmony and prevented destitute women from becoming the community's responsibility. Puritan society was rigidly divided into public and domestic spheres. Although women had essential tasks in the domestic area, Puritan men still controlled both spheres.

The other side of the picture required Puritan men not only to provide for the economic and physical needs of the family, but also to love their wives. The revolutionary idea that love and marriage must be connected was historically unprecedented; until this time, marriage was simply seen as an economic necessity (Chapter 7). If the couple happened to love one another, so much the better. The ideal family was patriarchal, and marriage, although supposedly based on love, fit into a family power structure that required a wife's obedience to her husband.

Puritan women also were valued because they were scarce. Most settlers were male, and because many colonies were obliterated by disease or starvation, the colonists knew that it was vital to repopulate or see their religious visions doomed. Some male colonists advertised in England for brides. Contrary to contemporary stereotypes associated with mail-order brides, these first American mail-order brides were independent, respected, and powerful. Like other colonial women, they enjoyed a fairly high legal and social standing. A 1666 ad from the South Carolina colony promised the following:

> If any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over, they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but civil and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other will purchase them for their Wives. (Zug, 2012:92)

Women were also vital for their economic productivity in the family. Family survival, hence community survival, was tied to the efforts of both men and women. But vegetable gardening, weaving, canning, and candle and soap making contributed to the family's economic fortunes, and these tasks were largely confined to women. Subsistence living was the rule, but surplus products could be bartered or sold. The family was the basic social unit for the colonists, and women were integral to its well-being.

A Golden Age for Colonial Women? Historians are at odds about the prestige of women during this period. Because there were far fewer immigrant women than men and women were considered valuable, this leads some to suggest that the colonial period was a golden age for women. Although the colonists came to the New World with patriarchy strongly in place, adapting to the harshness of the environment required the modification of many beliefs. Strict adherence to gender roles was impossible for survival. Women had to be economically productive

and had to have expanded roles. Outside the home, women engaged in merchant, trade, and craft functions. Women had legal rights as persons, not things (Smith, 2010; Witkowski, 2012). English Common Law intruded into the colonies, but it was often circumvented.

If a golden age mentioned in 1666 South Carolina existed, it had clearly declined by the late eighteenth century. The family lost its centrality as the economic unit in society, to be replaced with a wider marketplace dominated by men. Women's work was once again confined to activities that were not income producing. Colonial women became more dependent on their families for how their lives were defined. The American economy did not allow many opportunities for women to be wage earners. Resistance increased for women who, out of necessity more than desire, sought work outside their homes. The crucial element, however, is that Puritan ideology was based on the unquestioned assumption of female inferiority and subordination. The colonial environment was a modified version of Old World notions about women, discrediting the "golden age" thesis. Although there may not have been an idealized golden age; political participation, legal rights, and education enhanced women's position and autonomy during the Revolutionary era. These changes kindled public discourse on women's roles that served as a catalyst for later gender role change serving to benefit women.

The Victorians: True Womanhood

The struggle for survival gradually diminished as Americans prospered on farms and in shops. As judged by customary economic contributions to the family, a middle-class woman's productive role lessened and her life solely revolved around housekeeping and child rearing. By the nineteenth century, her world had changed considerably. Victorian examples of womanhood made their way into magazines and novels directed toward women. Despite an undercurrent of liberal feminism that was fermenting during this period, periodicals targeted to middle-class women presented them with a cult of domestic femininity. Magazines popularized the new feminine ideal as **True Womanhood**, associated with the cardinal virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. The Victorian middle-class home was to set a standard for morality; women were glorified in pulpits and in print as "angels of the home." These were the benchmarks on which society would judge them and on which they would judge themselves.

Tied completely to her family, the middle-class woman found herself with time on her hands, a luxury not shared by her colonial sisters. Idleness was the reality, but it was transformed into gentility that many families strived for. Gentility ushered in attitudes that women should be put on pedestals. Women were to be protected from the harshness of the world outside the home. Victorian femininity was equated with sexual, social, and political repression. The doctrine of separate spheres for the activities of women and men became firmly entrenched in the American consciousness.

The strength of the True Womanhood cult was generally effective in silencing many voices of feminism that were being heard in Europe and America during the Victorian era. From pulpits throughout America, women were told that their home is the route to happiness and to resist voices calling them to other spheres.

Supposedly, a woman did have a choice to define her rights and roles either inside or outside the home, as attested to by the Rev. Mr. Stearns:

> Yours is to determine whether the beautiful order of society . . . shall continue as it has been (or whether) society shall break up and become a chaos of disjointed and unsightly elements. (Welter, 1996:122)

The Victorian era conjures up images of rigidity and repression, some that cannot be denied. Explorations into social history, however, provide alternative views. Many women traversed outside the bounds of propriety. Women of all classes, many by choice rather than necessity, ventured to the public sphere as paid workers, reformers, and even athletes. White-collar occupations were opening for women, drawing America's first female cadre of journalists, retail, health care, and clerical workers. Those who kept to the private household sphere traversed other boundaries as "scribbling women" novelists and poets. Others corresponded with lovers and male friends in sexually expressive ways, a pattern that flowed from the letters of the early nineteenth century (Lystra, 1989; Halpern, 2013). Courtship letters from African American women, like other Victorian women, reflect adherence to norms of decorum, but these women also challenged the separation of spheres doctrine. These women were likely to already be working for pay. Rather than disparaging their public sphere life, they suggest self-determination and empowerment outside the bounds of households (Howard, 1996; Good, 2012; Burt, 2013; Roessner, 2013). Because one's true self is disclosed in writing—whether letters, fiction, poetry, or narratives—it can be argued that women gained a sense of mastery not allowed in other parts of their lives.

Although the Victorian vision of ideal femininity and ideal women was constructed from a white middle-class urban model, the vision was not lost on those who were virtually excluded from attaining it in reality. Black women living on farms in the South, themselves the children and grandchildren of slaves and immigrant women from working and lower-class backgrounds were invited by magazines geared to them to share in the dream (Burt, 2013). The money to purchase the goods and domestic services for middle-class families was unattainable for most women. Clearly, however, women of all ranks exercised active control in adapting conditions of their domestic, sexual, and intellectual lives to adhere to social norms and meet their personal needs. Middle-class women could work toward the causes they embraced, such as movements for social justice and legal rights for women and minorities.

Although the patriarchal family remained firmly entrenched and gender inequities intruded into domestic life, Victorian women were able to achieve a modicum of autonomy. Gender role segregation enabled gender solidarity, which was nurtured by the emotional segregation of men and women. This allowed a female world in which a supportive, intimate network of female friendships and intimacy flourished, serving to empower women. Contemporary functionalism suggests that a focus on the rigidity associated with the Victorian era, particularly True Woman, overlooks the latent functions these very patterns provided for women.

Frontier Life

Idleness was impossible on the frontier. Victorian America extolled the gentility and supposed frailness of middle-class women. Frontier society was disdainful of

these very traits. As with the colonial era, women were needed for any settlement to be successful and were valued for their work both inside and outside the home (Montrie, 2008). During the early frontier expansion, women were scarce, yet colonial society never seriously questioned the notion of woman's inferiority; hence, her relative status remains unclear. Through the hardship and deprivation of frontier life combined with lesser adherence to religious proscriptions concerning gender, the pioneer woman achieved a degree of freedom and respect unlike previous periods of America's brief history.

The frontier experience began with the grueling trip West, which often took six months to complete. Faced with the deprivation of the trail, surviving the trip meant that the normal gender division of labor was suspended, with both women and older children filling expanded roles. Rather than viewing the situation as an opportunity for male–female equality, diaries from these women suggest that they saw themselves as invaders of a male domain. Although few women who emigrated West on the Oregon or Overland Trails came from the northeastern middle classes where the cult of True Womanhood reached its zenith, they were not immune to it either. In the journey West, women and men maintained separate worlds of existence as much as possible. Women created a specific female culture based on their roles of mother, healer, and nurse. Whereas men used the trip to fulfill dreams of bold achievement, heroism and camaraderie, many women found the experience lonely and isolating (LaSalle, 2011). The action and heroism of the trek west perpetuated by East Coast newspapers and magazines revealed more about the romance of heading West and less about the brutal effort in getting there.

Life on the trail and later settlement in the West threw domestic roles in a state of disarray, but women appeared reluctant to redefine their boundaries to create anything but a temporary alteration of affairs. Although women often shared work and had overlapping functions with their fathers and husbands, gender remained the key variable in determining their duties and interests and kept them focused on their domestic lives. Remember, too, that Victorian notions of gender and gentility were fast eroding in this startlingly different environment, but these notions were not dislodged.

It is not safe to conclude, however, that frontier women were passive. They exhibited a spirit of nonconformity, adventure, and extraordinary adaptation. Frontier settlements saw the necessity of woman's labor not being confined to the home. The Homestead Act of 1862 propelled women to own and establish farms independently of fathers or husbands or to maintain their farms as widows. Child rearing was often left to siblings as wives worked in the fields. Subsistence farming required that as many goods as possible be produced and consumed within the home. Women took the major responsibility in this area. Isolated farms, prairie loneliness, and the daily harshness of frontier living generated the understanding that men and women, wives and husbands, depended on each other for physical and emotional survival. Both before and after the Civil War, African American men and women also trekked West, carving out new lives on frontier farms they purchased. In their struggle to eke out new lives on remote farms dotting the Western landscape, African American women and white women had much in common. These experiences served to elevate the status of women. Popular images of women as saints in sunbonnets, Madonnas of the prairies, and pioneer mothers abounded during the

era of westward expansion, as did accounts of the deprivation, ardor, and premature aging associated with frontier life. Theodore Roosevelt himself celebrated frontier women. He evoked the frontier myth and elevated women as rugged individuals equal to men and capable of upholding "her civic responsibility to birth a mighty nation." (Dorsey, 2013:423)

Diaries and letters of pioneer women demonstrate that Victorian domesticity and compliance existed side by side, but with new roles ultimately challenging this compliance (Halverson, 2013). They speak of women who, with their families, endured prairie fires, locusts, droughts, disease, and the ever-present loneliness. Most did not return to their homes in the East, but accepted their new life with stoicism and a hope for making their farms an economic success. Through hundreds of excerpts from diaries, letters, and oral histories, writers provide a picture of matter-of-fact women who adapted to and thrived in their frontier existence.

The intent is not to idealize the brutal existence that pioneer women confronted. It is to suggest that adversity was important in bringing men and women together more equitably on the frontier, even if the participants themselves did not acknowledge the altered gender roles.

Industrialization

It appears incongruous, but as the cult of domesticity ascended, the first mass movement of white women into industrial employment was also occurring. From the founding of the United States, women have always participated in paid labor and were not completely circumscribed by their domestic roles. When teachers or shopkeepers or planters or traders were needed and men were unavailable, women were encouraged to fill these roles. Industrial expansion during the nineteenth century required an entirely new class of workers. Faced with a shortage of males who continued to farm, industrialists convinced women that, although they were too weak for agriculture, work in the mills could suit their temperaments, was good for them, and was good for the nation. For the less marriageable, factory work saved them from pauperism. The famous "Lowell Mill Girls" recruited throughout New England in the first half of the nineteenth century paved the way for the next generations of female factory workers. The Civil War and its aftermath accelerated the need for women in industry. Thousands of women and many children answered the call.

Race and Class By the latter part of the century, the shift from an agricultural to an urban industrialized economy rapidly accelerated. The family was no longer a critical unit of production, and work was to be performed for wages at other locations outside home and farm. By the turn of the century, farm labor required less than 10 percent of America's labor power, with 20 percent of all women in the United States over the age of 16 employed outside the home (Balanoff, 1990:611). These women were young or single or were the wives and daughters of working-class families whose income was necessary to keep the family out of poverty. Married women worked only out of dire necessity, often driven into the labor market by widowhood. With true womanhood still in evidence, middle-class married women were expected to devote time and talent to the emotional well-being of the family. Labor-saving

products and appliances were introduced to the home. By 1900, housework and child care were no longer a full-time occupation, leading to more leisure, boredom, and restlessness for women who were, however, discouraged from seeking paid employment outside the home. There were two important results. First, many middle-class women became involved in social reform work, including the growing feminist movement. Second, the already existing schism between working-class and middle-class women widened. As we will see, to date, this schism has not been completely mended.

Working-class women were confronted with different issues. Industrial growth increasingly demanded cheap labor and looked to poorer women and immigrants to take on this load. The rapidly urbanizing Eastern states accommodated the flood of immigrants who settled in areas close to the factories, mines, and mills in which they worked. Immigrant women were overrepresented as unskilled laborers in jobs that cut them off from wider society and African American women continued to toil on farms and as domestics because factory labor remained closed to them in the North. In the South, an oversupply of African American female labor made their position worse. In the West, Asian women worked in small family-owned businesses. In this era, gender was disregarded as a qualification for factory work; race was not.

The working conditions women faced were appalling, even by the standards of the day. Unsanitary conditions, no rest breaks, rules against sitting down, 54-hour and 6-day workweeks, and grueling rote tasks were characteristic. In combination with an unsafe environment in which machines had no safety guards and buildings were poorly ventilated and lacked fire escapes, it is understandable why job-related injuries and deaths skyrocketed. In 1911, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York caught fire, killing 146 workers, many of them women. Doors were kept locked so that workers could be inspected for theft of company merchandise, and available fire escapes needed repair, buckling under the pressure of those fleeing the fire. The owners of the factory, accused of locking the doors, were tried on manslaughter charges but were acquitted. Civil suits brought by relatives of 23 victims ended with payments of $75 to each family (Getzinger, 2009). The garment industry was notorious in its treatment of lower-level workers. A system of subcontracting finishing work to people, primarily immigrant women, became common. Women would work in what came to be called "sweatshops," in basements and workrooms of low-rent tenement apartments, thereby saving the company much in the way of production costs. What made an already dismal situation worse was that workers had to purchase their own equipment, which would then require years of arduous labor to pay off.

When men and women were employed in the same factories, women held less prestigious jobs and were paid less. Men resisted being employed with women in the same job. Gender segregation by type of activity led to a stratification system that justified the lower wages paid to women. Because both women and their employers viewed employment as temporary, gender segregation of jobs perpetuated low wages and kept women from training programs and job benefits. The nineteenth-century roots of gender-typing in jobs carry over to contemporary debates about comparable worth (Chapters 10 and 14).

The Union Movement The young women of the Lowell Mill era may have been union forerunners since even under their tightly controlled factory and

bordering house lives, they participated in organized protests about poor working conditions. The Triangle fire also ignited massive protests over the scandalous conditions under which people worked, generated much sympathy nationally, and created a ripe atmosphere for unions to flourish. The major growth period occurred from the 1870s through World War I. In 1910, union activist Mary Harris ("Mother") Jones reported the horrendous plight of women and children in "Girl Slaves of Milwaukee Breweries." She comments:

> condemned to slave daily in the washroom (of breweries) in wet shoes, and wet clothes . . . in the vile smell of sour beer, lifting cases . . . weighing from 100 to 150 pounds.

The widely published article riveted public attention on such brutal labor practices. Most attention was on child labor, not that the adult workers were women. The union movement, however, capitalized on publicity that benefited both women and children.

In 1881, the **Knights of Labor** was opened to women and African Americans calling for equal pay for equal work. In 1885, 2,500 women members of the Knights of Labor endured a six-month strike marked by violence in Yonkers, New York, at a mill where they worked as carpet weavers. The *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* (ILGWU) gained recognition in many shops as a result of a strike that lasted through the winter of 1909, involving 20,000 mostly female shirtwaist workers. (With the support of the Women's Trade Union League and public outrage from the Triangle fire, legislation was passed requiring more stringent safety and inspection codes for factories.)

Compared to the union movement involving men, women's attempts to unionize were not nearly as successful. Union efforts were not supported by a broad spectrum of people, including the police and courts. Many unions still refused to admit women, and even with an official policy urging equal pay to women, the most powerful union, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was unwilling to exert the pressure necessary for its affiliates to conform to the rule. The AFL was also becoming a union of skilled craftworkers made up exclusively of men, and there was fear that the success of the union would be diluted if it took on the numerous women still in the ranks of the unskilled. Originally welcoming women as members, a period of economic recession saw members of the Knights of Labor competing with one another for scarce jobs. In 1895, only 5 percent of all union members were female, and by 1900, only 3 percent of all women who worked in factories were unionized. The ILGWU had become the third largest affiliate of the AFL by 1913, and it did capitalize on the power that was being wielded by the AFL. But because men and women were segregated by job, the unions representing women had less success. Unionization was obstructed by men's fears of job competition and the tenacious belief that women's place was in the home. By 1900, women represented half the membership of unions in five industries (women's clothing, gloves, hats, shirtwaist and laundry, and tobacco), and they earned about half of what men earned; African American women earned half of what was earned by white women.

The characteristics of the female labor force also made unionization efforts difficult. Work for women was unstable, temporary, and subject to economic ups and downs. In jobs performed by both genders, men were given preference in slack

periods and women were laid off. Young women worked until marriage, which was the preferred exit out of the factories into a middle-class lifestyle. Although they did provide opportunities for women to develop leadership skills and agendas representing their own interests, unions of women workers tended to be small, more isolated, and financially weak. Overall, unions were most helpful to women when they were allowed to join with men.

Women advanced more in the labor force during periods of growth as well as in periods of war. During the Civil War, women served as nurses, clerks, and copyists and produced uniforms and munitions. World War I also saw an expansion of job opportunities both in Britain and the United States. Government campaigns to rally support for war, its supply needs, and women's labor force participation have been seen throughout American history. World War I was also the first war where women in America and Europe were actively recruited for military service. After the war, British women who had worked in engineering (on buses, railways, and trams), in the services, and in government offices were dismissed and expected to return home. Those who persisted on jobs were often labeled "hussies," or women who stole men's jobs (Beddoe, 1989:3). Such statements were echoed in the United States. Public support for the war effort made the transition to the labor force easier for women who, if they had a choice, had not considered working outside the home. In most instances, women were summarily dismissed after the men returned.

Women who ventured outside the home were caught in conflicting roles, but both industrialization and war were the catalysts for creating the "new woman" of the 1920s. Lamenting the demise of the True Woman, people both hailed and damned her new counterpart as she strove for equality with men. She "entered the 1920s with high expectations, ready for challenge and for choice" (Brown, 1987: 30–31,47). The flapper era saw a loosening of sexual and social restraint. Searching for independence from parents and for excitement from one another, working women migrated to cities, seeking each other out in the crowded boarding houses in which they lived. These furnished rooms created new peer-oriented subcultures where women charted sexual terrain that other women later followed (Meyerowitz, 1990:150). While retaining a separate political sphere from men, many of these new women worked for social and legal change. Prosperity, hope, and the formation of an identity that included volunteer and paid work led many of these women to pursue feminist causes.

The Depression In less than a decade, much of this hope was dashed. The rule that scarce jobs should go to men first continued through the Depression. Job segregation and the belief that there was women's work and men's work ironically protected the jobs of women employed as waitresses, domestics, and clerks. Rather than accepting the loss of prestige that would be associated with doing a "woman's" job, some men abandoned their families because they were no longer breadwinners. In those instances in which a job was not defined completely in gender terms, such as teacher, it was rare to see a woman obtain it or keep it if a man could be employed instead.

In general, industrialization saw women make steady headway in the world of paid employment. Older attitudes about women's functions in the family continued to compete with the needs of an expanding economy. But the precedent for women

working outside the home gained strength and was nurtured by gradual public acceptance for newer roles. Once the industrial era established this trend, World War II provided the most important catalyst for expanding employment options.

World War II

Throughout history, war is latently functional for productive social change that otherwise might not have occurred or would have occurred at a much slower pace. War suspends notions of what is considered typical or conventional and throws people into novel situations, which in turn sensitizes them to an awareness of potential never dreamed possible. In addition to the impacts documented here, for example, World War II gave women the only opportunity in U.S. history to play professional baseball. Novel situations occur both on and off the actual battlefield.

As this chapter documents, by choice and necessity, women have consistently taken on expanded roles in wartime. Considering, too, that the history of the world has been marked by frequent and prolonged periods of war, the roles women assumed during wartime were essential for social stability. Usually these newer roles have been short-lived, with the prewar social order swiftly reestablished when the men returned home. Although this was indeed the case with World War II, it also is true that this particular war profoundly influenced American women in unprecedented ways. The liberating effects of the war effort not only endured, but also had powerful consequences for the next generation of women. The impact was seen most in the areas of employment and family.

Demand for Women's Labor When America officially entered the war in 1941, there was quick recognition that victory depended on the total commitment of the nation. One task of the Office of War Information (OWI) was to monitor public opinion to determine the degree of commitment and willingness to sacrifice for the war. Accustomed to men taking the lead in both politics and war, compared with men, women were less enthusiastic about the war and less receptive to military themes and events staged about the war. Within a few months of Pearl Harbor, when patriotism was at its height, a concerted national policy to fully mobilize the civilian population in the war effort was initiated. Much of this policy was focused on women.

The powerful War Production Board (WPB) and War Manpower Commission (WMC) were set up to convert the country to a wartime economy, coordinate labor for the various sectors of the economy, and allocate workers for both war and civilian production. The booming wartime economy rapidly ended the Depression. It became apparent that the war machine required uninterrupted production schedules and an increased labor supply. Women were essential in filling the roles in the war production industry as the men were called into military service. An efficient propaganda program was put into effect that prompted women to respond to the employment needs of a nation at war.

The battle abroad could be won if women acknowledged and acted on their patriotic duty to be employed on the home front. After the Depression years, many women eagerly sought the higher pay and better working conditions offered in the war industry. When jobs became available, women were first hired in traditionally

female positions, as clerks or semiskilled laborers in factories producing uniforms or foodstuffs. Women were rebuffed from the defense plants that offered higher pay.

Defense industry employers were at first reluctant to hire women, even if it meant paying men overtime or creating shortages in production. If continued, these policies would have had disastrous consequences for the war effort. As labor shortages reached crisis proportions, job training and opportunities for women in almost all phases of defense work soared. Within six months after Pearl Harbor, employers hired women in a variety of semiskilled, professional, and managerial jobs. OWI was responsible for selling the war to women and created images of defense work as exciting, glamorous, and economically rewarding. Campaigns appealed to patriotism and guilt for slacking off when the war effort needed women. "Rosie the Riveter," popularized through a wartime song, became the new home-front heroine. She represented the millions of women who worked at munitions plants, foundries, and quarries as lumberjacks, shipbuilders, and plumbers. OWI was successful in recruiting women for the civilian labor force as well as for the armed services. Women's corps of all branches of the military were formed during World War II, and by January 1944, over 100,000 women joined. The employment of women reached its wartime peak in July 1944, when 19 million women were employed, an increase of over 5 million from 1941.

Women's Diversity in the Labor Force Once the gender barrier eroded, women's opportunities in the war industry flourished, with less concern about age, marital status, and race. However, preferences were still given to women who were white, single, and young. The war allowed African American women access to employment in defense plants, which significantly decreased their reliance on agricultural and domestic labor. Employment prospects for both African American men and women were increased by defense contracts, which contained clauses prohibiting racial discrimination. Nonetheless, some companies refused to hire African American women during the war. Labor shortages did increase their numbers, but they were hired for the lowest-level jobs and, unless a union protected them, were paid less than either white women or African American men. An African American woman who worked in a defense plant poignantly expresses the mixed feelings of this situation—patriotism and pride along with disenchantment.

> I'm not fooling myself about this war. Victory won't mean victory for Democracy—yet. But that will come later . . . maybe a hundred years later. But doing my share today, I'm keeping a place for some brown woman tomorrow. (Johnson, 1943/1996)

As the war continued and the demand for defense workers grew, the demographic balance of the female labor force shifted considerably; both older and married women were recruited. Some industries reported an even division between single and married workers. Near the end of the war, married women outnumbered single women in the labor force. For the first time in U.S. history, African American women found employment in many of the same industries as white women.

What about the Children? The new encouragement for married women to enter the labor force challenged a society that firmly believed a mother's place was

at home with her children. (By the close of the war, 32 percent of women who worked in the major defense centers had children under the age of 14.) Day care centers, foster home programs, and other variations of child care were developed throughout the country. By tying defense production to provisions for child care, day care services increased dramatically. The Federal Works Agency administered a program that, at its height, enrolled 130,000 children in over 3,000 centers.

Rather than viewing child care as a menace to children and an indictment for mothers, such options were praised. Mothers with young children could enter the workforce where they were sorely needed, assured that their children would be well looked after. Overall, day care centers were not that abundant and were used by relatively few employed mothers, with most relying on friends and relatives for child care. Some women remained suspicious of organized day care and preferred to remain unemployed rather than believe the media campaigns. Regardless of whether women took advantage of child care options, when they were needed in the war industry, innovative strategies were developed for day care and traditional beliefs about mothering were suspended. An effective government propaganda program allowed the nation to view day care, at least for a time, as the virtuous, acceptable choice. Mothers were working in defense plants in unprecedented numbers, but their children were not regarded as being socially, physically, or psychologically at risk as a result.

The view that women could and should shoulder more of the responsibility for the war effort was widely accepted. But a paradox remained. Men on the battlefields were seen as protecting the cherished values of home and family, and yet these very values could be threatened by altered roles of women on the home front. To get around this problem, another propaganda campaign was launched. Women were told that they were in it only "for the duration," would return home to domestic duties after the war, and would gladly give up their jobs to the returning men. Although joblessness for men was to be alleviated, female unemployment, of course, was never an issue. Devotion to country meant temporary employment for women, but the home is where women would and should want to be. To a great extent, both men and women accepted this belief after the war.

Japanese American Women Within weeks of Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Roosevelt issued now infamous Executive Order 9066 that displaced thousands of Japanese Americans from their homes. These citizens were transported to ten relocation centers governed by the military. Fearing sabotage, camps were located in remote, barren regions throughout the West and Midwest. Of more than 110,000 people of Japanese descent who were eventually interned, two-thirds were American and most were women and children. Evacuees were met by firearm-wielding soldiers as they were escorted into their new homes—hastily constructed barracks devoid of all but the bare necessities. Privacy, sanitation, and health were compromised. With minimal supplies, women transformed these grim surroundings into reasonably hospitable living quarters. In a few short months, they cordoned off and decorated tiny barracks spaces for family living units. They planted victory gardens, assumed roles as teachers and nurses, and worked in camp industries manufacturing goods for the war effort. They re-created the best possible family life for their children. Photographs of life at Manzanar camp in California by Ansel Adams and internees were widely published.

At first glance, photos and articles about camp life depicted women carrying out activities expected of other American women during the war. We see throughout this chapter how gender expectations are blurred during times of war. Expectations for Japanese American women, however, were magnified in how they displayed "Americanness." Unlike other women, Japanese American women were caught between adhering to traditional gender roles to demonstrate their Americanness and shattering these roles during internment. Communal life with strangers eroded autonomy and loss of connection to family and friends. Displayed as "typical" American woman, they appeared to accommodate the dismal and unjust circumstances of internment. If they resisted, they risked being labeled unpatriotic and disloyal. In this sense, an accommodating, polite, traditional, submissive "Japanese" woman also muted the anti-Japanese racial hysteria of the time. During war, we see women as active players in the situations that befall them. Japanese American women were vigorous participants in constructing their lives during internment to benefit their families, their camps, and their nation. Not one Japanese American was convicted of espionage or sabotage. Order 9066 was rescinded in 1944, shutting down the camps (Lindsey, 2014b).

Peacetime The ideal for which the war was fought—nation and family—remained unshaken. Romantic visions of wives and mothers in resumed postwar lives abounded during the war, alongside the images of capable women working in defense plants. Hovering in the wings during the war years, the cult of the home made a triumphant comeback to entice even the most reluctant women out of the labor force. For some women who remained in the labor force, a return to prewar job segregation caused mobilization and protest. But with no fully articulated class consciousness or feminist movement to bolster them, they had no real basis for a sustained challenge to the system (Milkman, 2003).

The conversion to a peacetime economy was accelerated with soaring marriage and birth rates. Labor-saving devices and technological innovations were introduced that revolutionized housekeeping but, ironically, did not decrease women's domestic responsibilities. Whereas wartime media appealed to a woman's efficiency in the home to keep her productive in the defense plants, propaganda after the war appealed to her homemaking roles. She also was held to a higher standard of excellence for these roles. Wives were deemed responsible for the psychological adjustment of husbands in their return to civilian life. Her needs were to be subordinated to his. Women were cautioned to be sensitive, responsive, and, above all, feminine because this was what civilian life meant for men.

New roles for women created during the war existed alongside traditional beliefs concerning their primary domestic duties. Some suggest that World War II represented a watershed for gender role change; others argue that continuity and persistence of gender roles was the reality (Meyerowitz, 2005; McEuen, 2011; Jaworski, 2014). The women themselves were divided in their postwar plans. Although many enjoyed the work, they saw it as temporary and only for the duration of the war. Many women who gained a sense of independence from their wartime jobs were bitter when postwar cutbacks forced them out of the labor force. Single women, war widows, and those who had to support themselves anyway had no choice but to continue to work. The loss of pay and respect during the postwar years weighed heavily on many women.

The Postwar Era to the Millennium

Despite the emergence of the "back to the home" ideology, the postwar era represents the massive reentrance of women into the labor force over the next half century. Due to its huge gendered effects, this labor force trend (through to the continuing effects of the Great Recession) is the foundation for much material in this text. Debates continue about the level of impact, but it is impossible to ignore the liberating effects of World War II on women. The war itself contributed to broad social changes in American society. The seeds of social change were planted during the war and took root in an atmosphere of economic growth. Recovery from the Depression, narrowing of the gender wage gap, and urban expansion profoundly affected both women and men. Home and family remained integral to women's aspirations, but a doctrine of the spheres that separated women from any other outside existence was doomed after the war. The roots of the sociocultural trends of the 1950 and 1960s can be traced to the war years. World War II was a key catalyst in the emergence of the global economy that profoundly and irrevocably altered gender roles in all social institutions. In later chapters, we will see that the global economy at the millennium is linked to both advantages and disadvantages for women and their families worldwide.

Attitudes do not change as quickly as behavior. Efforts to restrict the nondomestic roles and activities of women in the postwar years that relied on beliefs about biology and physical frailty were difficult to reject. Throughout history, we have seen scores of women who successfully broadened narrow role definitions. But World War II provided models for gender role change on such a grand scale that women's accomplishments could not be conveniently relegated to a forgotten footnote in history. Assumptions about essentialism and separate spheres continue to bolster gendered norms and restrict opportunities for both women and men. Attitudes inevitably erode with massive evidence that contradicts these assumptions. The progress made by women during the war, coupled with rapid postwar social and economic changes, provided the framework for the reemergence of the women's movement in the United States.

The Women's Movement

> In the new code of laws . . . I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. (Abigail Adams, March 31, 1776)

In writing to her husband John when he was attending the Second Continental Congress, Abigail Adams cautioned him that if the ladies were ignored and denied the rights for which the Revolutionary War was being fought, they would eventually create a revolution of their own. Laws that they had no hand in creating should not bind women. To John Adams, she also wrote the following:

> That your sex is naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute; but such of you as wish to be happy, willingly give up the harsh title of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend. Then put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity and

> impunity . . . so whilst you are proclaiming peace and good will to men, emancipation for all nations, you insist on retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are hard, very liable to be broken.

John Adams, later to become the nation's second president, dismissed these warnings while helping to draft humanistic documents that proclaimed that all men are created equal. As he wrote to Abigail, "As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh. . . . We know better than to repeal our masculine system." For the *Founding Fathers*, the business at hand was to build the infrastructure for an enduring democracy. That this democracy denied basic rights to females as well as to blacks was overlooked by most. The challenges that did emerge, even from such influential women as Abigail Adams, did not provide the momentum for organized protest. Although Abigail Adams accurately predicted that women would ferment another revolution, it took another half century before it happened in America.

Two other events helped fuel the rise of feminism and the beginnings of a women's movement in the United States. First, the French Revolution's ideals of liberty and equality inspired the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* in 1789. A reply by Olympe de Gouges came two years later with the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman*, where she declared that "woman is born free and her rights are the same as those of man," that "the law be an expression of the general will," and "all citizens, men and women alike" should participate formulating such law (Bock, 2002). For the first time, humanistic standards were explicitly applied to both genders. More importantly, the democratic fervor was sweeping France and influencing other parts of Europe and England, creating an atmosphere that at least considered these radical writings. Had such a work appeared first in America, it would have been rejected, dismissed, and buried.

Second, in 1792, English writer and activist Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) wrote what was to become the bible of the feminist movement, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. In this remarkable work, Wollstonecraft argued that ideals of equality should be applied to both genders and that it is only in bodily strength that a man has a natural superiority over a woman. As she writes,

> Not only the virtue but the knowledge of the two sexes should be the same in nature, if not in degree, and that women, considered not only as moral, but rational creatures, ought to endeavor to acquire human virtues (or perfections) by the same means as men, instead of being educated like a fanciful kind of half being.

She maintained that women must strengthen their minds, become friends to their husbands, and not be dependent on them. When women are kept ignorant and passive, their children suffer, but society as a whole will be weakened as well. In advocating full partnership with men, Wollstonecraft explicitly called for a "revolution in female manners" to make women part of the human species by reforming themselves and then the world:

> Let women share the rights and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated. . . . (Excerpts from Wollstonecraft, 1792/1970)

The Early Movement: 1830–1890

The Industrial Revolution radically reorganized the process of production. By the 1830s, employed women worked in factories for low wages under dismal conditions. Manufacturing altered home production of items such as soap, bread, candles, and clothing, and middle-class women lost much economic power. Whereas factory women used unions as vehicles for organized protest, middle-class women believed that higher education and political rights could best serve their aims. These women had different class-based ambitions and used divergent strategies to meet their needs. Unique to American history, they organized into their respective groups, but as women meeting the needs of women.

The dire economic condition of women stimulated working-class and middle-class women to first organize. This humanistic catalyst for the early women's movement also provided middle-class women with an outlet to work for a social cause. It was only during the latter suffrage movement that women from both classes joined for a common goal. Before suffrage, the rallying issue for women was slavery. When Wollstonecraft was calling for the emancipation of women, women were already playing a critical role in the abolitionist movement.

It soon became apparent to the women who worked in the antislavery movement that they were not on the same political level as their male counterparts. Women abolitionists were often not allowed to make public speeches, and with the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, they were denied the right to sign its *Declaration of Purposes*. When the World Anti-Slavery Convention met in London in 1840, women members of the American delegation, including Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had to sit in the galleries and could not participate in any of the proceedings. They became painfully conscious of the fact that slavery had to do with gender as well as race.

The Seneca Falls Convention

Women abolitionists began to speak more openly about women's rights. As progressive as the abolitionist movement was, the inherent sexism of the day served to divide and alienate its members. Men feared that abolitionist goals would weaken by the attention given to women's rights. While continuing their work for antislavery, women were now more vocal about legislative reforms related to family rights, divorce, women's property, and temperance issues. Recognizing that the inferior status of women urgently needed to be addressed, in 1848, the **Seneca Falls Convention** was held in upstate New York, an event hailed as the birth of the women's movement in the United States.

The Seneca Falls Convention approved a *Declaration of Sentiments* modeled after the Declaration of Independence. It listed the forms of discrimination that women had to endure and that they vowed to eliminate. Excerpts from the Declaration clearly demonstrate the continuities of past and present concerns of women.

1. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
2. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her.

3. He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she has no voice.
4. He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.
5. He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction that he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine or law, she is not known.
6. He has endeavored, in every way he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

This list of discriminatory practices against women as well as 11 of the 12 resolutions aimed at ending such practices was accepted by the convention. It was agreed that women had to submit to laws they did not help create, but there was no unanimous agreement about whether they should seek the vote. History honors Seneca Falls as originating the suffrage movement, but the suffrage resolution was passed only by a small majority. Although the early women's movement has become synonymous with suffrage, this was the very issue that initially split its supporters. Perhaps difficult to understand by today's standards, many women believed that equality was possible without the vote.

In the following years, conventions for women's rights were held throughout the North and West. Since abolition was part of its platform, the movement never spread to the South before the Civil War. During the war, activities on the behalf of women per se were dormant, but they emerged in earnest soon after. Despite the lack of a national agenda and disagreements on strategy, the movement grew under the leadership of a few women who had the strength and time to work for its causes. Several outstanding women with unique talents are credited for this growth: Lucy Stone, the movement's most gifted orator; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, philosopher and program writer; and Susan B. Anthony, the organizing genius. They spoke on social, economic, and legal issues affecting women and pressed for reforms in education, wages, organized labor, child welfare, and inheritance.

As the movement grew, so did its opponents. First as abolitionists and then as feminists and always as women, many people despised and ridiculed the movement. Suffrage women were accused of being unnatural, masculine, and female sexual inverts who would doom America to sociobiological disaster (Behling, 2001). By the standards of the day, militant methods fueled opposition. Ever-present verbal abuse and threats of mob violence at rallies caused some supporters to downgrade the importance of the vote. The ranks of the movement were divided, and by the end of the Civil War, it was split into two factions.

Division and Unity Although both factions agreed that getting the vote was necessary, they were split on ideology and strategy. In 1869, two organizations were formed. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). NWSA did not admit men, was considered militant in tactics, focused on controversial issues such as husband–wife relations, and wanted the vote to achieve other rights for women. Enfranchisement, then, was seen as a means to a greater end.

The second organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone and Julia Howe, was more moderate, attracting many middle- and upper-class women. To make the suffrage question more mainstream, the AWSA refrained from addressing issues thought to be controversial, such as marriage and religion. AWSA focused its work on state-by-state ways to achieve the vote. In 1869, Wyoming was the first state to grant the vote to women, but did so for pragmatic rather than strictly democratic reasons. Women were scarce in the territory, and the right to vote was thought to encourage more migrants. Wyoming was almost not granted statehood because Southern congressmen argued that the states did not have the right to grant suffrage. Because the legislature was elected with women's votes, supporters for statehood asserted that Wyoming "will remain out of the Union for a hundred years rather than come in without the women." By a small margin, Wyoming was admitted to the Union in 1890.

AWSA strategies succeeded in gaining many advocates, with suffrage gaining the respectability it needed to attract a broader base of support. In the meantime, NWSA increasingly turned its attention to suffrage and campaigned for political and legal rights. In 1890, the two groups merged to form the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)**. A key consequence of the merger and its gain in "respectability" was that the organization generally distanced itself from the plights of black women, immigrant women, and working-class women. African American women worked diligently in the suffrage movement but were aware that a double standard existed for black and white women suffragists. Black suffragists called on their white sisters in the movement to "put aside their prejudices and allow black women, burdened by both sexism and racism, to gain political equality" (Terborg-Penn, 1991:133). Their words were largely unheeded. The exclusion of these potential allies at the turn of the century impacted the movement for the next 50 years. It took another 50 years before the schism appreciably narrowed.

The Nineteenth Amendment

The early history of feminism, both in the United States and Europe, is now known as **first wave feminism**, marked by challenging legal discrimination against women with a focus on obtaining the right to vote. The next 30 years saw renewed energies for passage of a suffrage amendment, although NAWSA actually accomplished very little. Strategies deemed as too radical were disavowed, militant members were expelled, conservatism set in, and a crisis in leadership occurred. Some of the expelled faction joined a group founded by militant suffragist Alice Paul in 1913. Embracing the tactics of the more militant English suffrage movement, Paul headed the Congressional Union, later known as the Woman's Party. To bring the constitutional amendment to America's public consciousness, the Woman's Party staged mass demonstrations. In the meantime, as new president of NAWSA, Carrie Chapman Catt began a rigorous suffrage campaign in 1915. NAWSA distributed leaflets, lobbied, and addressed influential organizations. Woman's Party members held rallies, went on hunger strikes, and used unorthodox, definitely "unfeminine" means to spotlight suffrage. Although tactics varied, the common goal was passage of a suffrage

amendment that had been introduced and defeated in every session of Congress since 1878.

By the end of World War I, giving the vote to women had widespread support. In 1919, the Nineteenth Amendment was passed by margins of 304 to 90 in the House and 56 to 25 in the Senate. The struggle could not be over until two-thirds of the states ratified it. On August 26, 1920, by only two votes, the amendment was ratified in Tennessee, making the Nineteenth Amendment part of the U.S. Constitution.

The Contemporary Movement

Once the right to vote was gained, feminism literally died in the United States for the next 40 years. The end of the arduous campaign resulting in ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment found some feminists insisting that broader social reforms, rather than narrower feminist goals, were now necessary because they believed political equality had been achieved. Others, including Alice Paul, called for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would prohibit all forms of discrimination against women. The ERA was first introduced in Congress in 1923, but even by this time, the unity of support for a specific cause had been dissolved. Coupled with the Depression and a conservative national mood, most activism for women's issues was abandoned.

Second Wave Feminism

It was not until after World War II that the women's movement emerged again on a national scale. Referred to as **second wave feminism**, this phase of the movement (1960–1980s) sought to raise the consciousness of women about sexist oppression in the power structure of society and about the use of political means to eradicate it. Under the banner "the personal is the political," second wave feminists focused on ways to counter sexism in popular culture and other social institutions.

Three major events provided catalysts for this reawakening of feminism. First, President John Kennedy established the Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. The Commission issued a report documenting the inferior position of women in the United States and set up a citizen's advisory council and state commissions to address problems identified in the report. Second, in 1963, Betty Friedan published her landmark work *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan argued that women's only road to fulfillment is as wife and mother. Referring to it as "the problem with no name," women had no identity apart from their families. Despite restrictive roles and a society that condoned and applauded such restrictions, women were beginning to voice their unhappiness. "It is no longer possible to ignore that voice, to dismiss the desperation of so many American women" (Friedan, 1963:21). The second-class status of women, which was pointed to in the Kennedy report, was bolstered by Friedan's assertions and research.

National Organization for Women

The third event heralding the return of feminism was the founding of the **National Organization for Women** (NOW) in 1966, with Betty Friedan serving as its first president. These three events are interdependent. Many of the women first met when they worked on state commissions set up after the Kennedy report. They were also unhappy with the progress being made

on their recommendations and believed that a separate effort to deal with issues related to women was important. The creation of NOW can be viewed as an indirect result of the Commission on the Status of Women.

NOW was formed during the turbulent 1960s, an era of heightened political activism and social consciousness. The drive to organize women occurred during a time when African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, poor people, students, and anti-Vietnam War activists also were competing for public attention through mass demonstrations for their respective causes. In comparison to many of the organizations spawned as a result of these causes, including other women's groups, NOW was, and is, more moderate in its approach. NOW's ability to survive as a viable organization is in part tied to its mainstream emphasis.

White, college-educated, middle-class women were attracted to NOW and became the base for its original growth. However, NOW adopted a top-down structure that tended to limit diversity. NOW remains hierarchically organized with a national body and formal constitution, but with local chapters, more autonomous growth and diversity are aided. In the decades since its founding, NOW's membership has expanded considerably, bringing in more nonprofessional and younger women and women of color. This is vital to the ultimate success of feminism in America. A feminist consciousness among African American women, for example, can only be nurtured through a framework that addresses the ideology of racism in America (Higginbotham, 2003). In 1967, the first NOW national conference adopted a Bill of Rights that included support for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, women's right to work at all types of jobs, maternity leave rights, and the right of women to control their reproductive lives. As suggested by these goals, NOW has a broad agenda of areas affecting women, but it focuses on political tactics to achieve its goals.

Offshoot Groups The second branch of the feminist reawakening consisted of women representing a wider range of backgrounds who came together in loose coalitions to work on common interests. This branch attracted younger women and women who were involved with other social movements of the time, especially the civil rights movement. During the 1960 and 1970s, these women founded many groups, but they tended to match NOW's tactics using mass-based demonstrations, mailings, and media attention for political ends. These included the National Welfare Rights Organization focusing on public assistance to poor women and their families and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), which promotes women as candidates for public office.

Other groups, more radical in orientation, shunned the formal structure of organizations such as NOW and believed that its focus on institutional reforms inhibited individual expression. Unlike NOW, some groups excluded men from their ranks, others worked solely for reproductive rights, and many came together under the broad banner of sisterhood simply for consciousness-raising and dialogue. Known for "street theater" and disruptive vocal demonstrations, groups such as the New York Radical Feminists and Redstockings also used consciousness-raising, but with specific attention to the ongoing power men have over women in all phases of their lives, including sexual and interpersonal relationships. Although less viable in the long run, these groups are good examples of some of the many divergent paths of feminism and the women's movement (Chapter 1).

Third Wave Feminism The extraordinary legal and political successes extending women's rights in the postwar era suggest that the women's movement accomplished many of its goals. In the 1990s, however, backlash to feminist initiatives began in earnest and stalled political progress. The mass-based demonstrations of all the postwar social movements were no longer part of the public consciousness. Unlike second wave feminists, young women were introduced to feminism in college course work (positively) or through media depictions (negatively). Young women embracing feminist causes in the 1990s were less likely to identify with a concept such as sisterhood, with its assumptions of homogeneity of women, and were cautious about identifying openly as feminists. **Third wave feminism** suggests that there is no universal feminism and women define for themselves what it is and what it can become. Despite the lack of a common definition of feminism, third-wavers tend to focus on the intersection of gender with race, class, and sexuality in both scholarship and activism.

Critique Despite the historical chronicle of second and third wave feminism according to post–World War II accounts, the lines may be divided by generation and by tactics, but there is a great deal of overlap in their areas of interest and their goals. They all acknowledge the importance of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, for example, but may disagree on where to place it on an activist priority list (Chapter 14). It is more productive, perhaps, that

> . . . thinking about feminist waves as *movement* highlights the variations within generational groups as well as continuities between them [emphasis added]. (Aikau et al., 2007)

The emergence of third wave feminism with younger women filling its ranks is an energizing force for the movement and the array of agenda items still to be tackled. Like all feminist waves, third wavers still struggle with "how much women are alike and how much women are different" but in a more specific way than first and second wavers (Chapters 1 and 14). With increasing focus on individual experiences even *within* one's specific group, generalizations acceptable to individuals that also reflect their *personal* experiences are often impossible to generate. As it has been for over two centuries, the diversity of its members and the inclusive nature of the movement will be forces for both divisiveness and unity. The next chapter demonstrates that the diversity of women worldwide is more conducive than detrimental for a strong global women's/feminist movement.

Summary

1. Women's history emerged to uncover the hidden elements of the other half of humankind, which had been ignored by male historians writing about the exploits of a few powerful, elite men. The first compensatory and contribution histories focused on exceptional women. Today women's history accounts for the race, class, and gender links. Historical themes include misogyny and women and victims but also the resistance women have used against patriarchy.

2. Predating Greek civilization, Minoan Crete may have been a partnership society with a matrilineal system, Amazon legends, Goddess worship, and high-gender egalitarianism.
3. Illustrated by the writings of Plato and Aristotle, Greek society relegated women to inferior legal and social status. Described as chattels, in Athens, the vast majority of women were segregated and restricted. A few high-level courtesans and wealthy women exercised some privileges. Women in Sparta were expected to be physically fit and manage households when the men were at war.
4. Roman women had more freedom. Vestiges of goddess worship remained, and women had important religious roles. Selected women could become citizens; some amassed fortunes in their own names. But even the most independent and wealthy women were in bondage to men.
5. During the Middle Ages, Christianity enveloped Europe and the misogyny of the Church carried over to the lives of women. The most notable misogyny occurred with witch burning. The Renaissance and Reformation offered some women opportunities for education and more diverse roles overall. But Luther's image of women generally coincided with earlier views, and misogyny continued to govern Europe.
6. The first American women were Native American women from gynocratic tribal systems based on gender reciprocity and balance, often holding important leadership roles. With colonization and Christianity, women's high standing was largely lost.
7. Colonial white women in the Puritan era lived under Christian views imported from Europe. Some scholars argue that because women were scarce and had vital economically productive roles in the household, they enjoyed a measure of prestige and that this era was a golden age for women.
8. The Victorian era saw the rise of True Womanhood—telling women to be pious, pure, and submissive. Despite these messages, middle-class women controlled their lives to meet personal needs and engage in social activities.
9. Frontier women were valued for their work in and outside their homes. They lived adverse lives, but adapted and often thrived on their frontier farms.
10. Industrialization opened up employment to women from all walks of life. The appalling working conditions and the Triangle fire that killed 146 workers, mostly women, helped trigger the union movement. The Knights of Labor was opened for women and African Americans. Women's attempts to unionize were not as successful as men's. Gains in pay and employment for women were lost with the Depression.
11. World War II opened up employment for women. The demand for female labor led to higher-paying defense jobs and acceptance of married women and women of all races and classes in the workplace. Japanese American women in internment camps paralleled women's roles outside the camps during the war. The cult of the home emerged after the war. But World War II altered gender roles, and the next half century saw increased opportunities for women.
12. Several yardsticks mark the Women's Movement and rise of feminism: publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792; the denial of women to sign the *Declaration of Purposes* of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 or

speak at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840; the Seneca Falls Convention focusing on women's rights in 1848; passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920; second wave feminism reawakened with the Commission on the Status of Women by President Kennedy in 1961; publication of the *Feminist Mystique* by Betty Friedan in 1963; and formation of the National Organization for Women in 1966. Third wave feminists are more diverse; are interested in the links between race, class, gender, and sexuality; and offer no one definition of feminism.

Key Terms

Compensatory history
Contribution history
First wave feminism
Gender history
Knights of Labor
National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)
National Organization for Women (NOW)
Pater familias
Second wave feminism
Seneca Falls Convention
Social history
Third wave feminism
True Womanhood

Critical Thinking Questions

1. With the intersection of race, class, and gender as a framework; demonstrate through specific historical examples how the theme of misogyny and women as victims exists alongside themes related to women's resistance to subjugation and women in esteemed and powerful roles.
2. Considering the historical record, demonstrate how periods of gain and loss for women tend to offset one another. Overall, what historical events provided the opportunities to sustain gain in gender equality?
3. Based on your knowledge of gender and history and with specific references to feminism in the United States, what suggestions would you offer to contemporary feminists who are working for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment?

CHAPTER 6

Global Perspectives on Gender

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain why the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing was a watershed for women globally.
2. Evaluate the influence of neoliberal globalization (NLG) on women and development.
3. Define remasculinization in a Russian context and explain why it has as negatively impacted Russian feminism.
4. From its inception in 1979 to the present, list the general effects of China's one-child policy and its specific effects on women and girls.
5. Describe how violence against women and girls in India has recharged the Indian feminist movement.
6. Define domestic hierarchy in a Japanese context and its influence on women and men in spheres inside and outside the home.
7. Discuss the effects of gradualism on feminism in Japan.
8. Discuss the gender divide in Latin America in terms of machismo and marianismo, and in the context of the Catholic Church, demonstrate how the divide is narrowing.
9. Show how Jewish feminism is less successful because of ethnic and political divisions of women and how feminists are working to overcome the divides.
10. Define Islamization and discuss its effect on women in Afghanistan and Iran and in the Arab Middle East.
11. Describe the debate surrounding the procedure known as female genital mutilation (cutting) and demonstrate ways the debate is being resolved to the benefit of women and girls.
12. Identify practices in Scandinavia, specifically Norway and Sweden, that have advanced gender equality.

Development, if not engendered, is endangered.

—*United Nations Development Program*

Social change is a central concern of sociology. The discipline emerged as a way to understand and explain the paths to modernity that transformed the world. This chapter explores the profound gender impact of global social change for women in general and those in selected societies. The focus will be on the two commanding change-related processes—globalization and development.

It is not redundant to say that the globe is globalized. It also is safe to say that no one is immune to the effects of a globalized world on their personal and social lives. The world is globalized because all societies have paths to borrow, learn, cooperate, and compete with one another. How they fare on these paths is largely dependent on the powerful forces of **globalization**, defined as the removal of barriers to increase the flow of capital between and within nations. Implicit in this definition is that globalization is synonymous with capitalism. In the 1980s, **Neoliberal Globalization** (NLG) was rapidly ushered in, intensifying deregulation and privatization with unfettered trade openness and market liberalization as its global mantra. With the World Bank as the leader, NLG aligns with political, financial, and corporate interests to adopt free-market solutions to solve social problems. Virtually all global players serving diverse constituencies, including the United Nations, must adopt NLG strategies regardless of how they might wish it to be otherwise. Neoliberal globalization, therefore, is redundant. Globalization is a highly gendered process; it plays out differently in the lives of males and females. It is clear that globalization *connects* us in a single social and economic space, but it does not *unite* us.

Unlike definitions of globalization, there is more consensus that **development** focuses on programs designed to upgrade the standard of living of the world's poor in ways that allow them to sustain themselves. This chapter focuses on gender issues in **developing nations**, also referred to as the *developing world*, the United Nations designation for those less developed countries with poverty-level incomes per capita. Most of these nations are in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean and include small island nations of the South Pacific. The *Global South* is also used to identify these developing world regions. As we will discover, the processes of globalization and development go hand in hand and are not benign in their effects.

The gender issues selected for review are flashpoints identified by activists, scholars, researchers, and feminists across the globe that serve as culturally defined gender markers on a given nation or region. Even with such a limited focus, the task is formidable. Science demands generalizations, but countless exceptions exist. The sociological objective, therefore, is to identify gendered patterns of life and living and to illustrate what women share and how they fare as a result of these patterns. Of all the globe's institutions, the United Nations, especially through its focus on the gendered consequences of globalization and development, has allowed for many of these issues to be assessed. Unless otherwise noted, statistics and trends mentioned in the chapter are taken from the following sources: UNDP, 2013; UNFPA, 2013; World Bank, 2013.

The United Nations Conferences on Women

In its Charter of 1945, the United Nations (UN) announced its commitment to the equality of women and men. The year 1975 was declared *International Women's Year*; the next decade was designated the *UN Decade for Women*. Official

conferences to work on a global agenda of women's issues were held in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. Under the banner of "equality, development and peace," each conference assessed the progress of commitments made by various nations on behalf of women.

Alongside each official UN conference ran a parallel one, a forum consisting of hundreds of **Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)**—privately funded non-profit groups generally concerned with relief and development and advocacy for the poor—that brought together women from all over the world and all walks of life. NGOs are largely grassroots organizations, representing a diversity of opinions and agendas. Because inclusiveness both enhances and fuels dissent, the conferences were marked by divisive cultural issues. The gendered issues related to politics, religion, ethnicity, and economics created the most friction. Efforts by conservative groups, usually politically motivated and anti-feminist, to discredit and interrupt the proceedings also occurred. Women attending the NGO Forum in Copenhagen saw the conference becoming more and more politicized. The split between women in the developing and developed world appeared to widen, deterring dialogue about what they shared in common. They left the forum, however, with a better understanding of diverse perspectives and priorities. Five years later in Nairobi, dissention was much less evident; dialogue opened and consensus was reached on key issues. A central change from Copenhagen was acknowledgment that political issues and women's issues cannot be separated. Whether called "a women's movement" or "a feminist movement," when women come together to work on common issues, it is fundamentally a *political* movement.

These gains in political astuteness were clearly evident a decade later. In 1995, the international women's movement took center stage when Beijing, China, hosted the largest UN conference in history. With 50,000 in attendance, Beijing was historic not only because of the number of attendees, but also because a woman's agenda moved from the sidelines to the center of global debate.

The Legacy of Beijing: A Personal Perspective

Like past conferences, in covering the largest gathering of women in history, international media focused on controversy and conflict rather than the atmosphere of unity and support that emerged during the conference. The Beijing gathering and the parallel NGO Forum in nearby Huairou represent landmark developments in global understanding and cooperation among women of the world.

As addressed in a number of sessions at the conference, women are a glaring media blind spot. News sources often approach women's issues with stereotypes, misconceptions, and bias. When addressing a world believed to relish controversy, the seeds for reinforcing those stereotypes continue to be sewn. I believe, however, the truly remarkable events in Beijing helped to alter this trend.

Even while attending the conference, many were acutely aware that media dwelled on displays of dissent, especially by religious fundamentalists. The Iranian delegation of fully veiled women and their male "escorts," for example, provided the media with much camera time. Their efforts were met by what I describe as "bemused toleration." Media toddled behind with cameras and microphones and reported on the nightly news that religious fundamentalism was tearing the conference apart.

This was far from the truth. Although religious fundamentalism was one of many controversial topics, the NGO Forum was remarkable in its ability to gather women of all faiths to engage in dialogue on matters that affected their daily lives—including family planning, care of children, domestic violence, and health and well-being—all of which have religious overtones. Workshops brought together women from diverse religious and spiritual heritages. Politics, religion, and cultural traditions were met head on, for example, between Palestinian and Israeli women living under the constant specter of war and between Muslim and other women who disagreed about veiling or female genital mutilation (discussed later in the chapter). Whether practices were accepted or rejected became less important than how they were discussed. Toleration and understanding emerged in an atmosphere where opinions were voiced and everyone could agree to disagree. What became clear, however, is that the die was cast against religious fundamentalism when it restricts women's human rights. Religious fundamentalism was recast so that it became liberating, used as a weapon against sexism and for empowerment (Lindsey, 1995).

What is the legacy of Beijing? From the perspective of attending the gatherings in Copenhagen and Nairobi as well as Beijing, the previous conferences were more divisive, but also smaller and less inclusive, with fewer women in the organizing bodies or as official delegates. Although the Beijing conference was racked with negative media attention, Chinese obstructionism, logistical nightmares, and inadequate facilities, the ability and perseverance of the women who attended and worked to get the Platform of Action adopted were nothing short of spectacular. As then First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stated in her address to the Forum, "NGOs are where the action is." NGOs continue to monitor governments for pledges made to women and their families through the ratified UN document. This document addressed 12 critical areas of concern, including education, health, and employment, outlining action steps needed to implement objectives. The number one issue was women's poverty. Actions for this issue included developing gender-sensitive economic policies, placing economic value on women's unpaid work, and offering increased education and training programs for poor women.

After you review the gender issues from a global perspective, it should be clear how Beijing served as a watershed for women in general and for the women's movement worldwide. Despite the inevitable backlash that any global movement for social transformation must endure, the women's/feminist movement has successfully sent its message across the globe. This message is that women will no longer be ignored, that women's rights are human rights, and that nations will be held accountable for their progress (or lack thereof) in ending gender inequality. Numerous follow-up conferences, seminars, and workshops have been held since Beijing where NGOs monitor progress and ensure accountability. Monitoring is more effective with the increased numbers of **Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)** that include NGOs and an even wider array of groups such as labor unions, professional associations, teacher and scholar networks, community groups, foundations, and faith-based activists. Not all NGOs and CSOs are dedicated to goals of advocacy for women and disenfranchised groups worldwide. Some organizations work against these goals. However, the explosion of such organizations means that it is virtually impossible to halt debate or bury backlash. The gathering of women in Beijing attests to the recognition that women's empowerment is beneficial to everyone.

Women, Globalization, and Development

The United Nations Development Program spearheads major efforts to reduce the gender gap in human development. See Table 6.1 for a capsule view of gender inequality compared to overall human development. Both the *Gender Inequality Index* (GII) and the *Human Development Index* (HDI) capture a nation's achievement using selected economic, education, and health criteria. In addition to selected higher or lower performing nations, Table 6.1 reflects those overviewed in this chapter. Although the indices include different dimensions, the world is doing better on overall human development compared to overall gender disparity. Much of the effort to increase human development and decrease gender inequality is directed at the eight *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs), to be achieved by 2015, that target the major development challenges in the world. Goal 3 is to promote gender equality and empower women. Women in the developing world are the most restricted in important areas of human capability. The good news is that since 1985 the gap in education and health has been cut in half. The poverty reduction MDG was met five years ahead of the deadline. In 1990, almost half of people in the developing world lived on 1.25 per day; in 2010, it fell to 22 percent. The bad news is that the global economic crisis and NLG strategies have stalled MDG implementation and patterns of gender inequality have intensified (United Nations, 2013). These patterns include the following:

- Of the 1.2 billion people worldwide in abject poverty, the large majority are women and girls.
- The gender gap in employment persists and widened in several regions, with about a 25 percentage point difference between men and women; the most gender disparity is in North Africa and South Asia.
- If the unpaid work women perform—such as subsistence farming, child and elder care, and domestic labor—was counted in economic terms, the world's gross domestic product would triple.
- After years of decline, since 2002, the refugee population has steadily increased; half of the world's 43 million refugees are women; women and their dependent children represent three-fourths of the refugee population. Four-fifths are in the developing world hosted by nations that can least afford them.
- In virtually every Sub-Saharan African nation, women constitute over half of all cases of HIV/AIDS.
- Ninety percent of all countries have organizations that promote the advancement of women, but women make up less than 20 percent of parliamentary seats; most of these are in Nordic countries; the fewest are in Arab states.

The underlying cause of the inequality of women is that their roles are primarily domestic (mother, wife, homemaker, subsistence farmer), and although these are vital to the well-being of their families and to society, they are undervalued and unpaid. Most of the world's women work in the **informal sector**, the economic activities of people who work as subsistence farmers, landless agricultural laborers, street vendors, or day workers. Much informal sector work is undocumented because services and goods rather than cash income are often the exchange basis. Globalization capitalizes on the informal sector work of women and reinforces existing gender inequality.

TABLE 6.1 Gender Inequality Index (GII) and Human Development Index (HD) Rank 2012, Selected Countries

Country	GII	HDI
Netherlands	1	4
Sweden	2	7
Denmark	3	15
Switzerland	4	9
Norway	5	1
Finland	6	21
Germany	7	5
Slovenia	8	21
France	9	20
Iceland	10	13
Canada	18	11
Japan	21	10
Israel	25	16
United Kingdom	34	26
China	35	101
USA	42	3
Russian Federation	51	55
Cuba	63	59
Mexico	72	61
Brazil	85	85
Iran	107	76
Bangladesh	111	146
Iraq	120	131
Pakistan	123	146
Egypt	126	112
Sudan	129	171
India	132	16
Mali	141	182
Saudi Arabia	145	57
Afghanistan	147	175
Yemen	148	160

Note: GII ranking is out of 148 countries; HDI ranking is out of 186 countries.

Source: United Nations Development Programme. Selections from Table 4: Gender Inequality Index http://undp.org/dataset/Table-4-Gender-Inequality-Index/pq34-nwq7#revert. Accessed May 3, 2014.

The Impact of Globalization on Women

Rather than treating gender equity as a determinant of development success, neoliberal globalization is better used as the independent (causal) measure. Development is more useful as an intervening variable. Disentangling development from NLG offers a clearer inspection of its powerful impact on gender (in)equality. Beginning with Ester Boserup's (1970) pioneering study on women in development, the argument that development has adverse effects on women—often leading to further impoverishment, marginalization, and exploitation—is well documented (Lindsey, 1996b; Jaquette and Summerfield, 2006; Tiessen, 2007). The path to negative development outcomes for women is deceptively simple. In societies characterized by powerful patriarchal institutions, men and women rarely share equally the limited resources available to families, a situation that deteriorates with globalization.

Rural Families The hardest hits are rural women whose work outside the home usually consists of subsistence farming. Even though they were not landowners, Latin American and African women for several centuries managed farms and retained control over their produce. Colonialism, agricultural development projects, and technology-based cash crop farming virtually eliminated traditional economic resources available to women through farming. Subsistence farming is vital to the livelihood of a family, but it is considered domestic work with no cash exchanged and no surplus for profit in the marketplace (Waring, 1988). Development programs typically use standard international economic definitions, which exclude the majority of work that women perform, such as child care, domestic labor, and subsistence farming.

Development policies have also ignored gender implications of other work activities. At the family level, *the trickle-down model* is supposed to operate. Policies are designed to upgrade the economic standards of families by concentrating on the assumed male head of household, who is the breadwinner, with his dependent wife in the homemaker role. Development programs assume that the whole family benefits by improving the employment of men. This assumption is based on an urban, middle-class model that does not acknowledge the productive roles of women, especially rural women. Women's work, therefore, remains undercounted, undervalued, and underpaid (Staudt, 1998).

Men often migrate to cities in search of paid work, leaving women with loss of help in remaining subsistence activities. The few employment options available to rural women are usually low-paid domestic or commercial farm labor. Some women are recruited for work in the transnational corporations' (TNCs) assembling and light-manufacturing plants dotting urban fringes throughout the Global South. Others migrate internationally, joining the massive ranks of maids and nannies employed in the households of the world's wealthy. The massive numbers of Filipino women who are employed in Hong Kong and elsewhere in richer Asian nations, have been dubbed as the caretakers of the world. Many of these women free their wealthier female employers for work outside the home.

Bangladesh: A Neoliberal Globalization Case Study

TNCs favor teens and young women for their willingness to work for low wages in substandard conditions. Neoliberal globalization as played out in Bangladesh documents the tragedy of their labor. The economy in Bangladesh is driven by

5000 garment factories providing employment for 4 million people, 90 percent of them women. Although wages hover near the poverty line, they are double the wages women earn (or could earn) as agricultural laborers. The necessity of this work keeps the young employed in unsafe work environments. Recent factory collapses in Bangladesh killed over 1,200 workers in 2013, the majority of them young migrant women. These numbers do not account for hundreds of others killed in factories in Cambodia and the Philippines over the last decade. The 1,100 deaths at the Rana factory in Bangladesh was the single largest factory disaster in history. With international advocacy and ongoing media coverage, new laws to address the conditions were enacted. Despite the laws, however, TNCs have not addressed the massive safety issues of thousands of factories, preferring to lay blame on the factory owners subcontracted in many complicated layers removed from those who commission the garments (Lindsey, 2014). A year after the tragedy, inspections still find large safety gaps—inadequate fire doors, malfunctioning sprinklers, and dangerously high weight load. Of the few factories that have been inspected, several have been closed (Greenhouse, 2014). Several thousand factories have been only minimally inspected or not inspected at all.

As a seamstress who survived the collapse of the Rana factory says: "I'd like to find alternative work but I don't know what I can do." Her previous informal position job was as a housemaid paying $20 a month. Bangladesh guarantees a minimum wage of $38 a month in factories. The $18 difference literally keeps her family from starvation (Al-Mahmood, 2013). Like other women surviving the Rana tragedy, she is anxious to return to work.

The magnitude of the tragedy did serve to document yet another correlation between globalization, especially its neoliberal thrust, and its perils for women. Public understanding of NLG's connection to gender inequity and broader social harm has been heightened. Propelled by the international women's movement, strong women-oriented NGOs, and the Beijing Platform of Action, the gendered impact of globalization is being addressed. Development projects funded through the UN and World Bank, for example, must prepare a gender analysis at the planning stages to determine how the project differentially affects women and men.

A Model of Women and Development

Centering on neoliberal globalization as a global driver of gender inequity, a sociologically informed model of women and development can offers planners useful leads for project planning. The following elements should be included in the model (Lindsey, 1995, 2004, 2006; Deutscher and Lindsey, 2005).

1. Account for the market-driven neoliberal globalization that has enveloped the globe and the power relations between global players such as the World Bank, United Nations, NGOs, and CSOs.
2. Identify the intersection of gender and social class and the development outcomes that paradoxically may both empower and disempower women.
3. Be informed by sociological theory and account for the global stratification system that keeps the developing world economically dependent on richer nations. Capitalism and colonialism intertwine to determine the economic structures that ultimately shape the subordination of women.

4. Translate sociological theory to development planning and practice. Fieldwork and policy inform each other and contribute to new ways of using social science concepts for real-world applications. As envisioned by sociology's founders, a "sociology of usefulness" is encouraged.
5. Use economic definitions of productivity to explain the huge influence of women's unpaid work in their homes, as farmers, and in the informal sector.
6. Be interdisciplinary and capitalize on the rich conceptual and empirical work of the social sciences. Sociologists, economists, and anthropologists need to talk to one another, to practitioners who work in development, and (most important) to the women and the community affected by development decisions.
7. Adopt a feminist perspective emphasizing women's empowerment to inform the model. This perspective fits well with conflict theory because it challenges a patriarchal status quo (Chapter 1). Women's empowerment enhances quality of life for women, their families, and their communities.

Development projects that neglect gender analysis and ignore globalization are both unrealistic and unsuccessful. Gender disparities are now being recognized as injustices and obstructions to development.

Russia

The collapse of the Soviet Union ushered in beliefs that democracy would envelop the world. Former Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* ("openness") combined with *perestroika* ("restructuring") were to be the keys in transforming the Soviet Union into a democratic nation with a free-market economy. Gorbachev's vision of a democratized, capitalistic Soviet Union was not to be. The USSR rapidly crumbled into independent nation states, most of which embraced capitalism but not democracy. Russia, the largest and most economically and politically influential of the former Soviet republics, continues on a rocky path in a transitional economy. Russia's economy rebounded from a 1998 financial crisis, then sank again in the global recession. The number of Russians who are better off in the transition is not balanced by the number whose quality of life deteriorated during the same period (Dohmen et al., 2014). Even before global recession, the restructured economy deepened poverty and unemployment and slashed or eliminated subsidies for health and welfare. Russia is in important ways similar to many developing world nations in quality-of-life indicators, particularly with regard to gender.

Russian women have been further marginalized or pushed into poverty by the effects of NLG and the transition to a free-market economy (Dawson, 2002; Glass and Marquart-Pyatt, 2008). The impact of NLG reverberated throughout most of the other post-Soviet republics. In Azerbaijan, for example, educational and health care subsidies were drastically cut and public sector jobs, which disproportionately employed women, were eliminated. Loss of paid work propelled women into poverty; simultaneously, loss of subsidies for child care and elder care increased their caregiving responsibilities. In a decade, Azerbaijan dropped from 71 to 90 in the UN Development Index (Najafizadeh, 2003). Although women's advocacy organizations filled some of the gaps left by the ravages of transition, the Millennium Recession may offset these benefits.

The Soviet Legacy

The Soviet constitution stated, "Women and men have equal rights." In 1917, Lenin's regime mandated upgrading women's position by abolishing all forms of discrimination that women endured in tsarist Russia. Women were granted full equality in educational and employment opportunities, family and property rights, and competition for administrative offices. Women secured almost half of the positions as deputies in state legislatures and were well represented in the trade unions. Political positions with the most influence, however, were essentially devoid of women. The rhetoric of equality masked the continued oppression of women in the former Soviet Union.

Employment

The Soviet Union had a larger percentage of women in the labor force than any other industrial society during its rapid expansion. In no country in the world did women constitute such a significant part of the labor force in so short a time. In today's Russia, the large majority of women are employed. With global recession, however, already pervasive gender stereotypes about women workers run more rampant and males are the preferred employees. Employers view women workers as less profitable. Working mothers benefit from even the limited subsidies for child tworker decreases the time available for training to upgrade her skills; in turn, she is viewed as a "second-rate" employee (Rimashevskaia, 2008). Russian women have high levels of professional credentials in law, medicine, and engineering as well as in the skilled trades. Like women globally, however, they are overrepresented in low-paying and menial jobs, are underrepresented in managerial jobs, and hold lower ranks as managers and less prestigious specialties as professionals.

Despite the official doctrine of equal pay for equal work and regardless of qualifications, gender discrimination in hiring and promotion and in wages is taken for granted. Under the communists, the average female worker earned two-thirds of the average male income; women now earn less than half of what men average (Kazakova, 2007; Pastore and Verashchagina, 2011). With the effects of the recession continuing and entrenchment already evident in unskilled jobs, in feminized professional jobs, and within a gender-based system of job segregation, women's economic losses are expected to increase.

Gender inequity persists in unemployment as well. Globalization moved workers out of industry into a newly created service sector. New businesses rapidly emerged, and government oversight of these companies virtually disappeared. The decline of government bureaucracy and subsidies exert a heavy toll on women and their families. Female unemployment is at an all-time high at the same time unemployment benefits are slashed. Men and women adapt differently to the stark realities of the new labor markets in Russia. Women report lower levels of control but appear to adapt better than men. Given the deep economic divide between men and women, NGOs are more likely to support the causes of women than men during transition (Ashwin, 2005; Sweet, 2009; Stier and Yaish, 2014).

The Collision of Family and Employment The glaring disparity between men and women in the labor force is explained by a unique combination

of ideological and cultural factors. Referred to as a *double burden* rather than a second shift in a Russian context, powerful family barriers hinder women's career advancement. Compared to men in almost every other developed nation (and most nations undergoing economic transition), Russian men take on the least amount of domestic duties when their wives, sisters, and mothers are also in the paid labor force. On average, husbands have 30 hours more free time per week than wives. Both rural and urban women report a slight decrease in work hours outside the home, but a sharp increase in work hours inside the home (Karakhanova, 2003). Women are torn by how to deal with *peregruzhenost* (overburdening). Heightened by the chaos generated by the collapse of the state-controlled economy, traditional views of family roles, coupled with a chronic labor shortage in rural areas, serve to maintain this situation.

The Russian government is alarmed about a falling birth rate and the increased preference for smaller families. Nonetheless, the economy depends on the cheaper labor of women who can be hired part-time or as temporary workers. Professional women are being pushed out of the labor force, but manual workers are still in demand. The economy could not withstand a mass exodus of women from the ranks of paid labor, but private enterprises are not offering benefits such as day care and pregnancy leave to entice women to stay in the workforce. Another confounding factor is that although Russian couples do not want large families, available and affordable birth control options are limited. Abortion is costly, but abortion rates are very high. It is estimated that for every one birth in Russia, there are two abortions. This ratio does not capture the number of illegal abortions, estimated to be as high as eight abortions for every birth. Although it varies by region, by the end of her reproductive life, a woman will have had two or three abortions. The World Health Organization has not recorded such a high rate of abortion in a single country worldwide (Arnold, 2014; Shabunova and Kalachikova, 2014). Russia's pronatalist call has fallen on deaf ears largely because the government is unwilling to subsidize birth control options and employment benefits for new parents. It is a disheartening reality that abortion remains a top birth control option for women in Russia.

Marriage and Family

Led by young adults, male and female differences on attitudes about marriage and the family and sex and sexuality are beginning to shrink (Borusiak, 2013). Tantalizing images of gender partnership resonate with young couples. Progressive attitudes, however, have not translated to behavior that alters the daily lives of Russian women. Despite the fact that women take on virtually all domestic responsibilities, the prospect of marriage and children, albeit a small family, is a strong priority, especially among rural women. Women are more preoccupied with romance and appear to accept the far from egalitarian arrangement that will emerge after marriage. Russian women are more family oriented than men and place a higher value on child rearing. Family, children, and social order continue to be the highest values for women, with the importance of paid work declining significantly as a value. Young women express mixed visions about opportunities for good jobs and great families, as the university trained daughters of a professional couple suggest.

> Tatiana: I want to have three children and enough money to provide perfect lives for . . . my brother, my parents, and my grandparents, and to work in the tourism business.
>
> Irina: When I was younger, I wanted to become a businesswoman. But now I realize that this is very hard. And being female is one of the hardships. . . . I want to have a more or less well-paid job. . . . I want to get married, have children and do everything to make their lives easier . . . in the future my children will be able to not only to dream about a perfect job but to have it. (Clements, 2012:312).

They may be agricultural workers, professionals, or clerks, but their main concern is to be married and raise a family.

Russia is promoting the image of women as homemakers. They may be agricultural workers, professionals, or clerks, but their main concern is to be married and raise a family. Although employed women are needed for national productivity and as income earners for their families, there is no reprieve from social disapproval. Women lament the lost masculinity of contemporary men, and men reproach women for their lack of femininity.

Support or Backlash to Feminism?

In riding out global recession in Russia, women face a number of difficult issues. The restructured economy intensified sexual inequality, but glasnost at least opened discussion on the plight of women, particularly rural women. NGOs and universities began publicizing the benefits of a women's movement and women's rights. Glasnost rekindled a hidden but viable feminist spirit that the Soviet Union had driven underground. On the other hand, the revival of feminism appears to be weak.

Masculinist Discourse Feminism is confronted with what is referred to as Russian "remasculinization." Feminists are portrayed in popular culture as threatening Russian values and leading to a war with men (Williams, 2012). Men's loss of income and jobs is offset by portrayals of employed women as aggressive, vengeful, and dominant (Kay, 2006; Voronina, 2009). Under Vladimir Putin's autocratic regime, nationalism and masculine characteristics are melded. In the 2014 Winter Olympics in Moscow, the world watched as President Putin remained stoic and reserved, barely displaying any emotion, even as Russian athletes performed spectacularly. As if the Olympics provided the masculinist springboard, only weeks later Russia began expansionist drives in the region. The world witnessed an enactment of masculinist discourse.

It is argued that Putin's regime is bolstered with this orchestrated remasculinization. Russia is reascending globally and asserting its power regionally. Masculinist images include independence, strength, power, and risk-taking (Chapter 9). Gone are the days of weak economic power or military fragility. Feminists may be seen as challenging images of national masculinity that are harmful to this regime. Aided by gender discourse in the media, Russians are "creating a positive collective identity" that is popular with Russian voters (Riabov and Riabova, 2014:23). Feminism may be considered dangerous for images that counter this emerging identity.

Feminist Leadership The feminist movement in Russia suffers from a lack of younger women filling leadership positions; the failure of Russian-bred NGOs to become organizationally viable and financially sustainable; and most important with this remasculinist thrust, minimal political representation for women's issues. Feminism has not been reembraced in the postcommunist era; it has a "shadow existence" in contemporary Russia—with few footholds in universities or in the country as a whole (Zdravomyslova, 2002; Kukulin, 2008; Johnson and Saarinen, 2013). Advocates for Russian women are more easily mobilized outside than inside Russia. (As disheartening as it sounds to Western feminists, many Russian women would agree with the words of a woman who, although very poor, has the luxury of being a stay-at-home wife. "Women will never win in the fight within the establishment for power. Why should I try when I can achieve so much more at home?" (Tavernise, 2003:4). Contrary to Marxian assertions, the life of toil inside the home for no pay is eagerly embraced by women who toil for low pay outside the home. Glasnost paved the way to openly debate critical problems faced by women. The government, however, is disinterested in the debate, and women have not mobilized enough to challenge the government to do so.

China

Even before the revolution elevating Mao Tse Tung as head of the new People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) recognized that women were valuable allies in building socialism. For the peasant revolution to maintain momentum during the construction of a new regime, it was believed that women's issues must be given priority. Because women were inextricably bound to an ancient, oppressive, and seemingly immutable family structure, women's rights in the home were given highest priority. Priorities, however, were (and are) mediated with more immediate goals in mind, specifically economic growth. For the CCP, as long as women's rights and economic development conveniently coincide, they remain a government priority.

Similar to the ideology of the former Soviet Union, China's goal to increase women's employment is linked to the argument that when women gain economically, they also gain in the family. Whereas Karl Marx articulated the structure of classical social conflict theory, it was Friedrich Engels who applied this approach to the family (Chapter 1). Engels argued that the family is the basic source of women's oppression. The patriarchal family is a microcosm of a larger, oppressive capitalistic society. By this reasoning, therefore, once women expand their roles outside the family in paid work in the new socialist system, servility to men will cease. Popularized as the "liberation through labor" ideal, women's improved economic status was the twentieth-century foundation for achieving gender equality. Family reform would inevitably follow.

Reform and the Chinese Family

The record of Chinese family reform since the revolution is mixed. The traditional Chinese family was based on Confucian principles, with complete authority to males. The family was patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal. In Confucian classic

writings, females are seen as naturally inferior, unintelligent, jealous, indiscreet, narrow-minded, and seductive to innocent males (Chapter 12). Given these views, it is not surprising that women's lives were severely restricted by custom and law. At marriage, she had to survive under the unquestioned authority of her husband, his father, and his grandfather, as well as other assorted male relatives. A female hierarchy also existed. Her mother-in-law exercised strict control, and she could beat or sell her daughter-in-law for disobedience or for running away. The bride occupied the lowest rung in the domestic hierarchy of the traditional Chinese family.

Footbinding Running at all was impossible for those women who endured the technique of footbinding, which could reduce a foot to as small as three inches. Dating to the early part of the twelfth century, this crippling procedure was more extreme for women from the upper classes who did not have to work in manual labor or in the fields. Besides becoming a status symbol and a prerequisite for marriage among the upper classes, footbinding ensured that women remained passive and under the control of men. Indeed, for the family and hence Confucian-based society to function smoothly, the subordination of women was required, and practices such as footbinding helped ensure this.

Marriage The Marriage Law of 1950 abolished many practices that oppressed women in the traditional Chinese family. The fundamental principle on which the new law was based was free-choice marriage. It was expected that this would lay the foundation for releasing women from their abysmal existence in feudal marriage. Women gained the right to divorce; marriages had to be monogamous; and bigamy and other forms of plural marriage, as well as concubinage, were abolished. Also eliminated were child betrothal, bride prices, and any restrictions placed on the remarriage of widows.

Again with women's rights in mind, in 1980, a sweeping new law was passed to update the older law. The 1980 law specified that husband and wife hold equal legal statuses in the home and both have the freedom to engage in paid work, to study, and to participate in social activities. It is clear that the 1980 law bolstered the rights of women—especially urban women—in their homes. In rural areas, however, the law was met with less enthusiasm. Enforcement was minimal and progress stalled. In the next two decades, China witnessed alarming increases in domestic violence, child abandonment, a quadrupled divorce rate, and large increases in poverty rates of divorced women. After years of legislative debate, the law was amended in 2001. Adultery and cohabitation were outlawed, and property division in divorce was extended to include all property gained in a marriage, including salary, profits, and inheritance.

On the other hand, when laws continue to collide with ancient traditions, enforcement is difficult. Bigamy and forced marriage were already illegal, but ancient concubinage practices continue. It is also difficult to enforce the provision for wealthier men who have second wives and jeopardize the families of all their unions. Thousands of second wives and children of wealthy Hong Kong men live just across the border in Mainland China. Kin customs pervade, and parents of potential partners still wield much authority in arranging marriages. A patrilocal extended family structure in rural areas continues to put new brides at a disadvantage and reinforces the

preference for sons. Parents know that daughters are only temporary commodities. Ancient Chinese proverbs such as "Raising a daughter is like weeding another man's field" continue to be quoted and attest to the strength of the preference for sons.

The One-Child Policy

As noted in Chapter 3, ancient traditions putting a premium on sons has taken an ominous turn for daughters. Since its founding, PRC policy focused on upgrading the status of women and simultaneously introduced a stringent campaign to reduce population growth. These two goals have disastrously collided with each other. In 1979, the **one-child policy** was initiated allowing only one child per couple, with severe penalties for violation. Whereas China had other programs to curb population growth, the one-child policy is unique in that enforcement is stricter, is more uniform, and has more severe consequences for noncompliance. For example, couples receive one-child certificates entitling them and their child to an annual cash subsidy. For subsequent children, an "excess child levy" is imposed as compensation for the extra burden placed on the state in educating and feeding additional children. Rewards for the single child must be returned with the birth of the second child.

There are exceptions to the formal policy. The policy largely applies to China's 90 percent Han population; minorities such as Muslim Uighurs and Tibetans are allowed more than one child or are exempt from the policy. The policy is more relaxed in rural areas for farm families who produce their own food in private plots for subsistence and profit and "excess" children can be pressed into agricultural labor. Birth rates are declining in rural areas, too, but peasant communities know that enforcement of the law is weaker. Farm couples with one or two female children are more successful in getting approval to try for a son. Penalties for excess children for poorer urban couples are much more detrimental in their overall effect. Richer couples in urban areas such as Shanghai and the exploding cities in Guangdong Province are more successful in skirting the policy. Wealthy couples have high-quality housing and can provide private schools to several children. Because they do not rely on government subsidies, they are confident that local authorities will quietly ignore them.

Critique When enacted in 1979, the one-child program was the most unpopular policy in contemporary China. It was announced as a short-term measure that would lead couples to reduce the size of their families voluntarily. Regardless of the one-child policy, Chinese couples increasingly say that they desire only one child, believing the family will be more prosperous as a result (Hardee et al., 2004). A small family frees women for more educational opportunities and employment options. Many say that future generations of women will be better off when the one child is a girl. For urban families, the educational gender gap in single-girl homes and single-boy homes in urban areas is vanishing. Among college-educated urban couples, besides son preference decreasing, females who want one child are now more likely to express a daughter preference (Merli and Smith, 2002; Ding and Hesketh, 2006). Support for the policy peaked at the millennium with a majority believing it was necessary for China's continued economic growth (Li and Zhang, 2007).

Much has changed in a few short years. Despite improved chances for girls in urban one-child families and preferences for smaller families overall, the one-child

policy has been disastrous for females. China's national fertility is below replacement level at 1.5. China has been unable to deal effectively with artificial gender imbalance harmful to females, including infanticide, sex-selective or coerced abortions, and neglect of female infants. Kidnapping, prostitution, trafficking, and selling girls are frequent, increasing in areas with a shortage of females. Estimates suggest that as many as 40 million women are "missing" in China (Ebenstein and Sharygin, 2009; Bulte et al., 2011). In areas with sex ratios as high as 115–140 (males per 100 females), huge security issues are evolving. China's estimated 150 million "floating population" comprises mostly unmarried migrant males. By 2020, China will have 24 million "leftover men" who will not be able to find a wife. China appears more concerned about security issues stemming from legions of unmarried, undomesticated men roaming the hinterland than for the dire consequences of the policy for girls.

Son Preference Preference for boys is the driver of this skewed sex ratio. Each birth cohort of women is smaller than the previous one. Because women marry men who are a few years older, the one-child policy favoring sons makes fewer brides available to grooms. Strong vestiges of ancestor worship exist throughout China. A woman gains ancestral status only through her husband and sons. Without male descendants, she could have no afterlife. Chinese women who trace their family trees back 3,000 years do not find any women on them. Dismal indeed were the prospects of a wife who conceived no male children or who remained unmarried or a childless widow. With one child as the option, that child had better be a male.

Care Crisis The one-child policy also collides with increased life expectancy, which should be a benefit of development. In a culture that prides itself on families who care for and respect the elderly, the one-child policy is on a collision course with the rapidly increasing elderly population. By 2050, the elderly population is projected to increase to 24 percent, with few children available to support them. The looming care crisis is so threatening that China has introduced "filial piety" campaigns to make children aware of their responsibility to their parents. These morality tales have not been successful. Whereas men may take on financial obligations for infirm parents and grandparents, women assume daily caregiving roles, often driving them out of the workplace. China did not expect new debates about the government's responsibility to look after China's retirees (Jacobs and Century, 2012). The one-child policy is becoming increasingly unpopular with large swathes of the population. Concerns about security, caregiving, and the social and economic benefits of employments for both men and women are driving the government to relax the policy. In the first decade of the millennium, a couple both from a one-child family was allowed to have two children. It was further relaxed in 2013, allowing couples to have two children if either parent is an only child. China has eased but not eliminated the policy. Abundant sociological evidence suggests that the feared fertility rebound would be unlikely if the policy ended. Social development driven by female education, in which China has excelled, would be the more likely factor to decrease fertility (Cai, 2010). International discourse on the one-child policy revolves around China's economic and demographic "challenges" rather than as a

human rights violation. Despite the damaging repercussions continuing to unfold, the one-child policy remains a grim reality for females throughout China.

To Get Rich Is Glorious

Under the banner of Chinese-style capitalism, the slogan "To get rich is glorious" is eagerly embraced throughout China. Neoliberal globalization fueled the massive entry of women into paid labor, one of the most consequential socioeconomic transformations in late-twentieth-century China (Cartier, 2001). In rural China, where women are valued for their domestic work, female employment rates are historically low. With relaxed restrictions on migration, however, opportunities for off-farm income continue to accelerate. Women's employment soared, many finding jobs near their villages and others migrating to the mushrooming global factories in China's Special Economic Zones (SEZs). As hosts to foreign investment firms, SEZs are a major engine driving capitalism in China—where the profit motive thrives unfettered. Others migrate as couples, the more educated among them bypassing factories for higher-paying service and technical jobs. The migration of millions of Chinese between village and city constitutes the largest internal migration of any nation in history.

The Gender Paradox of Globalization and Development

State policy and economic reform appear to be mutually supportive, fostering both gender equality and women's economic integrity. Support for this contention is strong. Women's new activities in both rural and urban areas significantly increase household income. Rural poverty among women is eroding. Women carry on farm work when husbands and children migrate, but household decision-making power increases (Matthews and Nee, 2000; De Brauw et al., 2002). College graduation rates for women have skyrocketed. Women welcome market-driven reforms that offer flexibility for their on-farm work and opportunities for off-farm employment commensurate with their education. They report more independence and freedom from patriarchal and parental control over their lives. For urban working couples, women choose jobs according to their educational and professional priorities.

On the other hand, it also appears that China is not that different from the "classic" pattern documenting the downside of globalization for women. Globalization widens gender disparities in state sectors that employ more women, and they are the first to be laid off. On family farms, less-educated women experience sharp increases in domestic responsibilities. Current and future earnings are compromised when family members migrate because not only must additional help be hired, girls often drop out of school to work on the farm. Urban women are employed in gender-segregated jobs and are paid less than men. Women are more likely to be employed in poorly paid clothing manufacturing. Even these jobs are threatened as China is already pricing itself out of garment industry labor with its monthly minimum wage at $138, compared to India at $65 and Bangladesh at $38. For employed rural women, the gender disparity in income is even greater. The government is officially committed to women's equality, but legal means to enforce it in the workplace are weak and virtually nonexistent in the home (Lindsey, 2007).

China's globalization paradox for women has several key dimensions. First, women's employment has skyrocketed at the same time massive increases in unemployment for both men and women occurred. Second, there are major gains in household income, especially in rural households, but women gain less than men. In female-headed households, there is an overall net loss. Third, essentialist beliefs about the proper place of women are reemerging. If job and family are incompatible for women, any problem of unemployment will be "solved" when women return to hearth and home. At the same time, women hear other messages that they are needed in the labor force Conservative attitudes about paid work for women continue to go down—but progressive attitudes about gender equity do not go up. Constrained choices for women are summed up as "being successful" or "marrying well" (Wu, 2010). China is not a democracy, but its enviable position as the world's largest market allows it to navigate neoliberal globalization with more freedom than its developing world neighbors. China still appears to be the puppeteer, pulling its own economic strings. To date, the global recession bringing other nations to their knees has been less severe in China. The paradox is far from resolved. It remains uncertain whether women in China will be culturally permitted to share the "to get rich is glorious" ideal.

India

India is confronting challenges that threaten its economic and political stability. Now with over 1 billion people, it is second only to China as the world's most populous nation. Considering the staggering problems related to population growth, land and food shortage, unemployment, and growing disparity between poverty and wealth, India looks to all segments of its heterogeneous society for solutions. Opportunities for women are a major factor in solutions, but planners have barely acknowledged this reality.

The Religious–Political Heritage

India is similar to Western nations in that its history and religious heritage reflect inconsistencies regarding the role of women. Goddess images, important female religious occupations, and critical economic roles for women in the pre-Vedic and Vedic eras (2500–300 B.C.E) demonstrate a modicum of prestige for large numbers of women. Coupled with technological changes that excluded women, the ascendance of Hinduism gradually eroded this prestige and sent more women into a chattel-like existence. Indian women share a religious legacy with Western women. Their freedom and status are severely compromised when religion gains an institutional foothold (Chapter 12).

By the beginning of the first century, India decentralized the authority of the various Indian states. High-caste Brahmin scholars were powerful enough to interpret the ancient *Smitris* (laws). The *Laws of Manu* enveloped India and demonstrated how much the position of women had deteriorated. Manu made a woman completely dependent on a man (husband, father, or son). Manu forbade widow remarriage and reduced a widow's status to such a lowly extreme that the ritual of

burning widows (satis) steadily took hold (Chapter 12). The Laws of Manu demonstrated "the polarized male perception of the female" but were also used to legitimize gender inequality as well as protect the interests of the ruling Brahmin class (Mitter, 1991:87).

The Social Reform Movement

Shaping the roots of a reform movement, new ideas concerning the status of women emerged by the nineteenth century. Glaring examples of the inhumane treatment of women were attacked, including child marriage, lack of property rights, purdah (seclusion of women), and the dismal condition of widows. Reformists were most successful when accounting for religious proscriptions embedded in these customs. They argued that regardless of caste or religion, such customs were responsible for the condition of women. Education and literacy, however, would make women better wives and mothers. Although many women were helped by these strategies, reformists accepted the belief that a woman's life was restricted to her family life. Today the majority of rural and lower-caste women remain untouched by the reforms. Divorced, widowed, and single women are in peril when they have no source of male support but cannot be employed for pay outside their homes. Cultural beliefs about women and marriage and the patriarchal organization of the Indian joint (extended) family impose huge economic hardships on women.

The Gandhis and Nehru Serious questioning of women's roles came with Mahatma Gandhi, who believed not only that women were essential to India's quest for independence, but also that social justice demanded their equality. Given the nationalist sentiment and the charisma of Gandhi, women of all castes and regions flocked to the independence movement, assuming leadership roles and participating in all manners of political dissent (Desai, 2001; Sarkar, 2001). Jawaharlal Nehru shared Gandhi's vision. As India's first prime minister, against much opposition, Nehru pushed through legislation giving women the right to inherit, divorce, and vote. As with the reforms a century before, however, the effect was minimal for most women. A strong women's movement in India worked for gender equality 30 years before independence. But its effectiveness was curtailed by agendas set by British colonialists and Indian nationalists who supported women only when their interests happened to coincide. Patriarchal bias held on in the post-independence era, and besides the contributions of women being forgotten, women became victims in further conflicts (Anjum, 2000). The overall effect was, and to a large extent continues to be, that the vast majority of Indian women have not seen the effects of a women's movement on their daily lives.

The Nehru factor in Indian politics continued to be played out after independence. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, succeeded to the post of prime minister in 1966 largely because she was a member of the Nehru dynasty and because her party believed they could control her. Her skill and strength proved them wrong. She was politically astute, using her gender as an asset rather than a liability. She identified herself as a member of the oppressed but also appealed to those looking for a mother–goddess figure so imbued in the Hindu tradition (cited in D'Souza and Natarajan, 1986:373). Until her assassination in 1984 by her bodyguards, Indira Gandhi ruled with an authoritarian hand for 15 years.

The Gender Gap in Human Development

Mahatma Gandhi's vision to elevate the position of women in India is far from realized. Half of females are literate compared to three-quarters of males; about 20 percent more boys continue to secondary school level. Education translates into paid employment. When compared with the masses of unskilled female laborers in India, most who work in agriculture, professional women comprise only a tiny minority. Although there has been an expansion of female employment in general, this has not offset the decrease in the employment of unskilled women. The most important statistic related to gender and paid work is that virtually all Indian women are engaged at some level in informal sector work. India's rank of 136 on the Human Development Index and 132 on the Gender Inequality Index (Table 6.1) is directly linked to the fact that women and girls represent the largest proportion of the population living in absolute poverty.

Health India has made progress on key indicators of health and development, including increased life expectancy and lowered fertility and maternal mortality, especially in urban areas. In rural areas, adult illiteracy is improving for both men and women. Due to the rising inequality that has enveloped India, gains in health and development have stalled. The gap in women's health and development is largely responsible for the stalling out. Education is the most glaring inequality that hurts human development in India. Poor people in rural areas have been unable to take advantage of investments in education; the poorest people in India are women and girls living in rural areas.

Improvements in health also are stalling. In some of the poorest regions, infant mortality rates have increased and life expectancy rates have decreased. Similar to China, the sex ratio at birth in India favors males, an increasing pattern. In the most optimistic scenario, the number of prospective husbands will exceed the number of prospective brides by 50 percent for three decades (Guilmoto, 2012). Son preference contributes to higher mortality rates for females than males, with female infants less likely to receive the necessities for survival in poverty-ridden households. The neglect of girls also is linked to a strong, continuing dowry tradition in India. In highly stratified societies such as India, dowries, like other properties, are a means of social mobility. Men use rights over women to compete for social status. Males and females are closer to parity in nutrition and healthy life expectancy, but the harmful consequences of dowry and son preference for females continue (Chapter 2).

Despite knowledge of family planning and the desire to have fewer children, frequent and excessive childbearing severely compromises the health of women. In addition to strong cultural beliefs about a husband's right to have frequent and unprotected sex on demand, many women remain unaware of methods enabling them to space births. The most widely used method of contraception is female sterilization; one-fourth of married women are unaware of or are reluctant to consider male sterilization as a method of contraception. For contraception as well as HIV prevention, can women insist that their husbands wear condoms? "Yes, in an ideal world, but in India most women are forced to treat their husbands like God" (Sify, 2003).

Violence Assessing human development also needs to account for correlates of violence. India is experiencing an epidemic of gendered violence. The nation has been riveted with images of girls being gang raped in public places, maimed women escaping abuse from their husbands, and women being beaten by relatives who deem their dowries too paltry. Appalling, too, is a father's beheading of his daughter in his rage over her dating a disapproved man who would bring dishonor on her family (Associated Press, 2012). Despite the law, husbands are unrepentant, girls are expected to marry rapists, and police are more sympathetic to the perpetrator than the victim. Sex crimes and gender-based violence inside and outside the home are rarely punished legally or condemned socially (Bhatt and Ullman, 2014).

Gender violence is centuries old, but the string of recent brutalities has mobilized women. Strong women's advocacy groups and media outcry have kept the issue in front of the public. As one journalist suggests, to see the faces of these victims, "women had only to look in the mirror" (Faleiro, 2013). This spate of violence has brought together women from unlikely ranks, including previously silenced victims of abuse, migrant women living on urban fringes fearing for the lives of their daughters when they are working, and women living under the threat of violence and revenge in the households of their in-laws. The protest movement may be organized by professional women, but they have been joined by millions—literally—of women representing all castes, classes, and ethnic groups. The protest movement was born of their outraged realization that no matter how accomplished they are, women say "that girl could have been one of us." Women face open harassment in public, on the streets, on buses, and in homes. Harassment often turns to violence. Until fundamental cultural changes occur and such taken for granted practices are penalized, women will be denied the promise of a more prosperous India (Timmons and Gottipati, 2012).

Feminism in an Indian Context

The Indian women's movement remains at the center of effort to combat gendered violence. With violence now a top priority, the disheartening Human Development Index does not go unnoticed by officials. This renewed feminist movement led by strong NGOs is promoting governmental attention in efforts to put beneficial principles of development into practice. The central government has taken steps to combat the negative impact of a restructured economy on poor women and those who toil in the informal sector. Violence against women, especially dowry-murder, has jumped to the forefront as a priority. The Indian women's movement has increased public awareness of domestic violence, calling attention to the power differences between men and women that serve to disempower women in their families, in schools, and in the workplace. The movement also acts as watch guards to ensure that laws are passed and enforced rather than passed and ignored. A five-year plan that specifically addresses the issues of excessive female mortality and low literacy rates of women was recently adopted. Programs designed to curtail violence have a two-pronged thrust: attacking patriarchy and attacking economic inequality (Neogy, 2013; Bamal and Saharan, 2014; Ullman, 2014). Through their focus on

social and welfare measures, women's organizations are increasingly being drawn into the political process. In the world's largest democracy, political parties are recognizing the importance of the women's vote. Training is a component of this process as well. Outreach programs for poor, marginalized women are enhancing their empowerment and self-reliance. Family-owned microenterprises in India are more productive when women share decision making with men. At the community level, women are starting to participate and influence decisions in local self-governing bodies and for the first time are exerting their voting rights at all levels.

As successful as these efforts may be, the feminist movement in India is constrained by many issues that feminism faces worldwide. The movement has not been successful in expanding diversity to attract rural women or to effectively mentor poor women as grassroots leaders. NGOs that make up the movement continue to be led by women from elite castes. Landmark scholarship about women and by women addresses many of these concerns, but applying it to the lives of women outside the academy is difficult (Purkayastha et al., 2009). Whereas the activists working for independence in the early twentieth century were able to create a sense of sisterhood that transcended caste and cultural boundaries, the contemporary movement has been unable to replay that achievement. In addition, second wave feminism retreated from earlier party politics in favor of working with grass root leaders who identify with localized challenges. Women's political power base regionally and nationally has been eroded. Strategies that diminished participation in party politics and the electoral arena have not served Indian feminism. As the power base is eroded, women's issues are further marginalized from the public agenda (Deo, 2012).

In one sense, the feminist movement in India has been revitalized with media attention on gendered violence. In an Indian context, the diversity of women mobilized in the antiviolence campaign is quite remarkable. Feminists can adopt new strategies to address everyday experiences of women in all ranks (micro-level analysis) and to account for neoliberal globalization (macro-level analysis). These are necessary for feminism to achieve the inclusive, gender-equitable social order envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi (Subramaniam, 2006; Gangoli, 2007; Mitra, 2011).

Japan

When comparing gender role patterns in Japan with those of other developed nations, we quickly confront a series of contradictions. During World War II, Japanese and American women had much in common—both were responsible for the functioning of the "home front," yet both were denied leadership positions in the government and industries that relied on their services.

The Occupation

After Japan's surrender in 1945, Occupation forces were determined to establish policies supporting the emergence of a democracy compatible with Japanese cultural values. Japan's remarkable advances in economic growth, health, higher education, and overall prosperity attest to the spectacular success of the experiment in guided social change introduced during the Occupation. Major shifts in attitudes about overall

social equality, especially involving women and men, also occurred. It can be argued that the single largest beneficiary of this experiment was the Japanese woman.

The provisions of the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, mandating that democratic tendencies among the Japanese people be strengthened and that freedom of speech, religion, and respect for fundamental human rights be ensured, in part dictated occupation policy. With the enactment of the *Showa Constitution* on May 3, 1947, five articles provide for rights of women. Included are equality under the law with no discrimination because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin; universal adult suffrage; equal education based on ability (women could be admitted to national universities); women granted the right to run for public office; and marriage based on mutual consent. Beate Sirota Gordon, a remarkable Austrian-American civilian woman proficient in Japanese who was attached to the army of occupation, literally coauthored the constitution that included women's rights. In essence, Japanese women in 1947 had greater rights compared to American women because Article 24 of their new constitution had an unprecedented equal rights clause for women. The clause was inserted after much debate but has withstood over a half century of criticism. In contrast, the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution has yet to be passed.

Gender Equity and Public Policy

Legal assurances of equality had their greatest impact on Japanese employment practices beginning with the Occupation. Laws were enacted guaranteeing women protection from long work hours and providing pregnancy and menstrual leave; the laws emphasized that a new Japan required the strong support of women in socializing the next generation. It is obvious today that such laws inhibit women's advancement, stereotyping them as less physically capable than men. It took 30 years, however, before the disparity was acknowledged. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL), passed in 1986, calls for equal pay and other improvements in hiring and working conditions. Unfortunately, without viable enforcement provisions, many employers simply do not adhere to the law. Others believe the failure of the law is due to the principle of Japanese *gradualism*, which companies use to block unpopular initiatives by invoking cultural norms emphasizing social order. Gradualism can take so long that without continued advocacy, a policy will never be enacted. Some changes have occurred. Blatant discrimination has decreased, and support for women in the labor force has increased. However, EEOL had a negligible effect on the rate of women's regular employment, even as they are highly educated and marrying later. The glass ceiling (Chapter 10) has barely been cracked in Japan. The law remains weak and can neither prevent gender-based personnel policies nor tackle the monumental problems of indirect discrimination (Lindsey, 2010; Abe, 2011).

Gender Equality Bureau Lackluster EEOL prompted the creation of the Gender Equality Bureau (GEB), established in 1994. With public receptiveness and feminist thrust, it was upgraded in 2001 to devise long-term plans related to gender equality. It is tasked with implementing the 1999 *Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society* (BLGES). The GEB research arm provides data on gender norms

in households, employment, caregiving, and health to support implementation of BLGES. Like EEOL, however, GEB is hampered by competing views about traditional values related to women's place in society and by lack of funds to oversee the reforms needed. GEB is directed by almost exclusively male high-level officials who seek input from the few women holding political office in Japan, a scattering of feminist-oriented NGOs, and through UN initiatives on gender equity. Even GEB acknowledges that these policy efforts do not come close to realizing goals related to gender equality, especially in the workplace (Assmann, 2012). Men continue to hold virtually all of the decision-making power about gender equity in Japan.

Support for elements of BLGES is evident. Issues related to human rights and violence against women, gender equality training for teachers, and (on the global level) funding programs aiding women in the developing world have met with fairly high levels of public enthusiasm. On the other hand, key provisions related to gender equality at home, at work, and in the community reveal large and persistent attitude gaps between women and men, between married and unmarried, and between homemakers and employed women. Men talk about the economic burden of marriage, and women talk about the difficulty of harmonizing home and family life. Employed women and homemakers report being overburdened with household responsibilities and caregiving for elderly parents-in-law. Highly educated women serve tea or are secretaries to male superiors with less education, seniority, or training. Despite decades of litigation, gender discrimination in recruitment, employment, and pay remain untouched and lack of opportunities for women outside the home persists. Annual campaigns such as "Gender Equality Week" are designed to raise awareness of gender issues, but awareness of inequality is not matched by behavior to reduce it. Cultural values about the proper roles of men and women in Japan remain largely intact.

Demographic Crises These views persist despite demographic changes that are transforming Japanese society. The birth rate is plummeting, and Japan is facing a huge labor shortage. Japan's total fertility rate is 1.40, but in Tokyo, it is much lower at 1.09, resulting in a population loss of almost 300,000 just since 2011. Although Japan has one of the world's lowest fertility rates, it has the happy distinction of having the world's highest life expectancy rate. In 2014, this translates to 20 percent of the population being age 65 and older; by 2060, 40 percent of the population is expected to be over the age of 65. Japan will have the largest percent of the oldest old (those 85 and older) in the world. These numbers are fundamentally due to women marrying later and waiting longer to have children. Many women will forgo marriage and childbearing altogether. Unlike the United States and Europe, single parenting is not a likely option for these women. They prefer to embark on university education, offering them higher-paying, satisfying employment options. Rather than violating stubborn norms about women's place in society or offering solutions to work–family balance problems faced by women, the government has violated another taboo—allowing large-scale immigration by foreign men to fill Japan's labor shortage. It is unclear which unpopular option will prevail in the long run—increasing opportunities in the workplace for Japanese women or increasing the immigration of foreign men.

Marriage and the Family

It is said that Japanese women walk with their feet pointing to the inside, toward *uchi* (home). The pulls toward home and any perceived incompatibility between home and the roles outside the home are so powerful that the uchi-pointing path is seen as the only realistic one for the vast majority of Japanese women. Girls are socialized into traditional gender role values early in life. High school continues to drive their preparation to become full-time homemakers even as they tackle the courses preparing them for the difficult university entrance exams. Girls are ambivalent about the gendered paths laid out before them and are aware of stereotyped messages they receive, but like women throughout Japan, they expect to spend many years as full-time homemakers.

Motherhood Motherhood rather than marriage propels women into a full-time housewife role. Her family will probably consist of herself, her husband, and one child. The college-educated homemaker/housewife is expected to offer her child the highest-quality home environment. For centuries, being a Japanese woman was synonymous with being a mother. Mothers today are still revered, almost idealized, by their children, and the mother–child bond is viewed as a sacred dyad (Notter, 2002). With such strong mother–child attachments and concern that the mother–child role may be compromised, children in Japan are reared for more dependence and less autonomy than American or European children. From a functionalist view, the more dependent the child, the more indispensable the mother.

Given powerful cultural beliefs that a woman's life goal is to have children, this trend is not surprising. Motherhood remains the essence of a woman's social and personal identity. A women's role is ranked as mother first and wife second. This expectation is so strong that it is virtually impossible for employed women with preschoolers to escape social judgment if anything is amiss at home when she is at work. A mother is solely responsible for her child's well-being—a belief sustained by women themselves and society as a whole.

Critique After the war, laws removed the language related to women's incompetency. Parental consent was abolished for marriage beyond a certain age; divorce by mutual agreement was possible; and in a divorce, property would be divided between husband and wife. Such laws appeared to bolster a wife's lowly status in the family. Herein lies the paradox. On the one hand, Japanese women are depicted as powerless, destined to domestic drudgery; buffeted by the demands of her husband, her child's school, and her in-laws; and expected to be humble and submissive. She is in servitude most of all to her children. However, these stand in opposition to a strong tradition of decision making in the family; Japanese housewives are viewed as being in full control of domestic life, with virtually unlimited autonomy.

Patriarchy exists outside the home, but a husband who does household work deprives his wife of *domestic matriarchy*. Nowhere is domestic matriarchy more evident than in how household expenses are divided. Although it is expected that the husband is the provider, the wife maintains control over the financial management of the household. Paradoxically, his authority is demonstrated when he hands

over "his" paycheck to her. In this sense, patriarchy and matriarchy are reciprocal. Earning the money is his responsibility. Managing the money is hers.

To shed light on this paradox, most women likely fall between a submissiveness and assertiveness continuum; there is gradual, steady movement toward the assertiveness pole. Women are highly specialized in the domestic sphere. They also have lower levels of self-esteem, power, honor, privilege, and authority relative to men. Women as a group are defined by the principles of domesticity, seclusion, and inferiority, although individual women can be placed at some point along the continuum for each element (Lebra, 2007). Inferiority outside the home is balanced by the power inside the home. Another sign of assertiveness is resisting pressure and delaying marriage and childbearing into their thirties. Singlehood is being embraced by more and more Japanese women. The view of the submissive Japanese woman is challenged. Women are active agents in their families and construct positive identities when choosing alternatives to traditional marriage and family lifestyles.

Husbands and Fathers Delayed marriages for women, who marry at slightly younger ages than men or choose to marry older, more financially secure men, result in a huge number of bachelors. In Tokyo alone, over 40 percent of men in their early thirties are bachelors who most likely live with their parents. Men with university degrees who are employed full-time and live with their parents into their thirties are derisively referred to as "parasite singles" or "spongers" in the media. Despite the fact that men are not expected to possess domestic skills necessary to survive on their own, these single males are more disparaged than single females. Men, too, are ambivalent about marriage in part because they perceive that it brings gender constraints and loss of autonomy (Nemoto et al., 2013). Husbands often maintain a childlike dependence on their wives. It bolsters her freedom of action in the home but diminishes his (Tanaka and Lowry, 2013). Men may lament a bride shortage, but they are in no hurry to prove to a potential spouse that they will participate in housework or child care.

A generation ago most husbands filled the ranks of "salarymen"—company men with lifetime employment in one firm expected to spend 10–14 hours a day on and off the job with their colleagues. Strong cultural norms about workplace roles for men bolster a salaryman mentality even if it is damaging to family life. He sacrifices his life for his boss, his company, and even his wife and children. As the common wisdom of Japanese housewives goes, "a good husband is healthy and absent" (Lachkar, 2014:30).

These traditional salarymen are fast disappearing. Corporations would like employees to continue embracing the salaryman mentality, but without the benefits associated with them, such as guaranteed lifetime employment and generous pensions. More men are resisting the salaryman grip on their lives regardless. The men are eager to live a fuller life outside the confines of conventional jobs and conventional marriages. Japanese men increasingly say that they want to be more involved fathers and husbands but are also constrained by brutal workplace demands that ignore any life outside the job. Companies that accommodate the needs of fathers produce better employees with less stress (IIshi-Kuntz, 2013; Ito and Izumi-Taylor, 2013). Whether this generation of men will live out their workplace and married lives with more equality and task sharing in their homes remains to be seen.

Work and Family: A Nondilemma

The cultural belief that women in the labor force are temporary commodities until marriage is so taken for granted that the issue of a work–family collision may be viewed as a "nondilemma." Japanese couples certainly discuss the issue and often express regrets over how it is played out in their lives. Married women know that their roles as wife and mother will limit employment opportunities, but the issue is almost always resolved in favor of home over workplace.

Like other women globally, employed women in Japan are constrained by restrictive, stereotyped gender roles. Although women represent half of the workforce, largely as part-time employees, they are concentrated in lower-level jobs with poorer working conditions and insecure long-term prospects. Occupational gender segregation is powerful in Japan; very few employees cross over to the jobs of the other gender. Feminized jobs command little respect and much less pay than even the few comparable jobs held by men. Japan has the largest wage gap of all developed countries, hovering between 60 and 66 percent for several decades. This holds true for both part-time and full-time regularly employed women. The gender education gap has disappeared, but women are excluded from management positions in most Japanese firms. Firms define women as part of a peripheral, impermanent labor force, easy to hire and fire. Women increase company profits not because of their job performance, but because they receive lower wages. The lifetime employment norm is eroding in Japan, but if available, it is reserved for selected male employees (Hori, 2009; Kodama et al., 2009).

Japanese women enter the labor force largely as reentry employees after they rear their children. They are likely to be middle-aged women in part-time or temporary employment who take jobs not commensurate with their education. They face discrimination due to a combination of gender, age, and family status factors locking them into a secondary labor market (Sano, 2009). The large number of reentry women bolsters the belief that women should not be hired or trained for permanent positions because they will leave their jobs when they get married (less likely today) or when they become mothers (highly likely today). This pattern continues unabated for women, and the gendered division of labor remains universal and unchallenged.

Critique Whether they are unmarried, working mothers, or the few salarywomen executives, women are creatively walking uncharted territories and new roles. Women executives capitalize on their after-work friendships to bolster their self-esteem for the underpaid jobs they otherwise would enjoy more (Lin, 2012). Women modify the Japanese family system to their advantage. Working mothers may deal with caregiving by employing "substitute housewives" or relying on their mothers or mothers-in-law who live with or near them. Women rather than men in the families, whether husbands, fathers, or fathers-in-law, orchestrate accommodations for mothers to be regularly employed (Mano and Yamamura, 2011). Such arrangements provide no assurance that these women will be viewed more seriously as employees, nor does it eradicate role overload. Nonetheless, it allows some measure of occupational success for women who refuse to give up domestic roles of mother and wife.

A Japanese Woman's Profile

Given these contradictions, how can contemporary Japanese women be portrayed? Two general portraits emerge. The first is of a woman who values family life and will sacrifice for it; who is unwilling to divorce even in an unsatisfactory marriage; and who believes she is discriminated against by both society and the family, but is proud of her role as decision maker in her family, especially in financial matters. She is more egalitarian and more individualistic in her role values than were women in the 1970s, but she does not openly identify with feminism (Yamaguchi, 2000; Ezawa, 2003). She probably worked outside the home until her first child was born and then returned to the labor force when the oldest child entered high school. She sees herself as a professional homemaker and enjoys the status of being a "good wife and wise mother." This is the portrait of Mariko, a 44-year-old middle-class Tokyo suburban woman with three children, two part-time jobs, and a disengaged husband. Her story still applies today.

> It was a Japanese life, a woman's life, no worse and no better than so many others, a life spent largely in reaction to children, to a husband, to sick parents. . . . Mariko knew how hard it was . . . to do the few things she wanted to do, to feel a sense of accomplishment. . . . Her children were getting older and would soon be gone, just in time, it seemed, for her to turn around and be a parent to her parents. (Bumiller, 1995:289)

The second portrait reflects the desires of young Japanese women to be much more independent than their mothers. They do want marriage, but will be very selective in their choice of husband. After centuries of arranged marriages in Japan, by the 1970s, love matches were normative. Both young men and women want to marry for love, but romance is difficult to find. After graduation, they enter a highly gender-segregated labor force comprised of full-time married men and part-time married women. These highly educated women are financially independent but are employed in jobs at lower levels than suggested by their credentials. Some believe they are not feminine enough for Japanese men; others do not want to marry men who only want housewives. It is the perceived incompatibility between employment and family that lowers a woman's desire to marry (Fuwa, 2014). Dilemmas related to work and marriages are suggested in the comments below. The first woman seems to display envy and bitterness for married friends; the second is very assertive about who she believes is an "eligible man" (Nemoto, 2008:230, 232).

> Some married friends say they envy my lifestyle, traveling frequently and going out all the time. But they don't mean it. They are saying that they are . . . better than me because . . . they have house, children, and husband. They think I am the loser.
>
> I am not interested in men at the workplace. They are not the best of the best. They are kind of left over.

Feminism Women are vital for Japan's continued global prominence, in achieving a high standard of living, and in amassing the globe's best overall health record. With the help of media images of modernity, legal reform paved the way for challenges to the ancient patriarchal model in Japan. These reforms prompted limited

but increased support for gender equity in the home and workplace and more involvement from husbands taking on involved father roles in child rearing. Linking in-country women's groups with women-centered NGOs outside Japan under a common banner also fuels feminist activism. The movement is being energized by international conferences on how Japanese women deal with multiple discriminations based on gender, age, and family status (Chapman et al., 2008). Compared with the women's movements in other countries, mass-based feminism in Japan is still embryonic.

Feminists in Japan are less vocal, preferring to orchestrate activism in a manner meshing with Japanese cultural norms of gradual social change. The "gradualness" strategy may be successfully playing out. (Roberts, 2011; Ochiai, 2014). Strong patriarchal gender norms about family and workplace are eroding, albeit slowly. Young women assess the opportunity costs of marriage, especially early marriage, and motherhood versus singlehood. Women now expect expanded roles and greater autonomy for those roles. Rising expectations provide the basis for reforms aimed at equalizing the positions of women and men, with priority focused on the workplace.

Unless the work–family balance issue can be dealt with effectively, however, Japan will face potentially catastrophic demographically–shaped consequences. Government, media, and businesses focus on the opportunities and perils associated with accepting immigrants as "Japan's last opportunity" to reignite Japanese economic revival (Menju, 2012). Clear data that women are eager and waiting in the wings to be invited as full participants with men in the workforce is ignored. The Japanese public also hear messages encouraging, almost naively, that young Japanese should "date and mate" to reverse the plunging birth rate, but always as married partners (Ghosh, 2014). College-educated women working in gender-segregated jobs find it difficult to meet acceptable men to mate (Yoshida, 2011).

Japan also must address not only lack of support for child care and family issues affecting women, but the brutal corporate and business culture affecting men. To date, gender equity as a viable means to bolster the birth rate has failed.

Support for reforms bode well for addressing crises in employment, in population decline, and in child and elder care. With a feminist thrust that helped achieve the Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society, effective strategies to deal with work–balance issues in the lives of men and women also can be achieved. Ironically, from a social constructionist model, work–family "nondilemma" must be reframed as a "dilemma" for successful interventions to benefit women, families, and Japanese society as a whole.

Latin America

Latin America is highly diverse in ecology, politics, and culture, but common features can be identified, including a rigid class structure, the prevalence of Catholicism, and a colonial heritage from Spain and Portugal that help to define the region. Latin American women also demonstrate both diversity and common features that unite and divide them.

The Gender Divide

As discussed in Chapter 8, the socialization of men and women in Latino cultures hinges on the concepts of *machismo* and *marianismo*, which are viewed as mutually exclusive beliefs separating the genders. Because machismo emphasizes virility, sexual prowess, and the ideological and physical control of women, it is associated with legitimating legitimization violence against women as well as compromised physical and mental health among men. Its long-term ideological effect reproduces male privilege throughout all social institutions. Machismo allows for male dominance in the household and is invoked to restrict socioeconomic, sexual, and other lifestyle choices of women. Reinforced by teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, marianismo is associated with glorification and spiritual verification of motherhood, a stoic acceptance of one's earthly lot, and the endurance of an unhappy marriage. Unlike men, the moral superiority of women maintains that hardship is suffered in silence. It has evolved as a nearly universal model of behavior for Latin American women.

These rigid images are more likely to be embraced by *mestizos*, people of mixed Indian and Spanish descent. Before the Spanish conquest, more egalitarianism and role complementarity existed between men and women. The conquistadors brought views of women stemming from Old World religious and feudal attitudes that allowed marianismo and machismo to become entrenched in the New World. Over time, women's behavior was not merely a response to machismo, but also a survival strategy due to their economic dependence on men.

On the other hand, cracks in the gender divide are evident. Women who achieve higher levels of education and work in well-paying jobs are less likely to embrace marianismo ideology, trends identified in Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, and Chile. The Nicaraguan Masculinities Network for Gender Equality helped push through legislation dealing with prevention of violence against women and punishment of perpetrators. They worked to overcome male upsurge against the legislation, challenging men to "unlearn" machismo and improve the well-being of both themselves and the women in their lives (REDMAS, 2013).

Family Planning Changes in family planning and reproduction provide other indications of a shift to less traditional potential machismo–marianismo ideology. NGO initiatives traced to the UN conference in Beijing include persuading governments to review family planning and birth control issues. Both politically and culturally, Latin America remains solidly linked to the Catholic Church. In Guatemala, for example, the close relationship between the State and the Catholic Church has thwarted widespread efforts at family planning. In contrast, Peru has collided with the Vatican in policies to provide birth control material and counseling to women with respect to birth spacing. It is also in response to the doubling of Peru's population since 1960, about half of whom live in extreme poverty, and a fertility rate of 6.2 among women with little or no education. Despite Church stubbornness, Peru's family planning policies have been remarkable. In 1990, the fertility rate was 4.1; by 2014, it dropped to 2.3. Women's appointments to top-level cabinet posts in Peru provide more clout to implement state-supported family planning efforts.

Nicaragua has followed suit with government policy asserting that reproductive health, sex education, and family planning services are available to women. While

continuing to condemn abortion to prevent pregnancy and for population-control, Nicaragua recognizes a woman's right to decide when and how frequently she will have children. Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico are also heading to fertility rates that match or fall below replacement level. These positions are advocated despite Church policy banning any form of birth control other than the rhythm method.

Political influence for Latin American women occurs mostly within informal settings and in regard to accepted cultural norms that do not seriously challenge gender roles. Feminist NGOs are altering this pattern. Even in more conservative Chile, feminist discourse on human rights related to reproductive and sexual rights unleashed the wave that elected Michelle Bachelet to president of Chile from 2006–2010 (Sloan, 2011).

The Church These trends also suggest that the Catholic Church may be losing its power for strict compliance to Vatican policies. Latin American women express high degrees of religiosity, but resist church mandates regarding contraception. Latin America as a whole is transitioning to lower fertility. Educated urban women have fewer children compared to poorer, less educated indigenous women. In Guatemala and Columbia, the Church exerts a great deal of influence on family planning and public education. In Chile, with powerful Church influence, the government put in place one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the world. Today, however, support for easing abortion restrictions is increasing among both men and women. More telling is that Chile's birth rate has fallen to 1.87, one of the lowest in Latin America. In Brazil, the birth rate tumbled from 6 to less than 2 in only two generations. Educated urban couples with career-minded women want smaller families. They believe a small family is a prosperous family. Educated Brazilian women embrace "modernity" and new ways of thinking that they can take care of their own lives (Forero, 2012). Like other Latin American women, however, most identify as Catholic and define themselves as religious.

The once solid political and cultural connection between church and state in Latin America appears to be waning. The Catholic Church is offering modified views on gender roles in marriage and the family to stem the loss of its adherents, many who are exiting to popular evangelical Protestant megachurches emerging throughout Latin America. A strong passion for religion exists simultaneously with a strong appetite for secularization (Jenkins, 2013). Brazil may be the test case for gender roles and Catholicism. The Church recognizes, although in a less Vatican prescribed manner, that family planning is an antipoverty strategy. It works closely with NGOs in Brazil and elsewhere to support development efforts that include literacy, job training, and health awareness. These efforts appear to be successful in keeping adherents in their fold even as those very people disregard teachings about birth control.

Latin American Women, Globalization, and Development

Research confirms the link between the erosion of women's position and neoliberal globalization-based development strategies that harm rather than help women. *Structural adjustment programs* (SAPs), designed to increase foreign investment, eliminated some jobs in the private sector but many more in the public sector, which employs more women. Poorer women shoulder the brunt of negative SAP effects. In Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, for example, SAPs increased levels of female unemployment,

malnutrition, poor health, and illiteracy. Women's empowerment was severely compromised—impoverishment and disempowerment go hand in hand (Poggio, 2010; Queirolo, 2013; Rosenblatt, 2013). As in other developing nations, globalization also removes subsistence farming from women's income-producing activities. When men migrate to cities for work, women and children are often abandoned on farms. Thus, in addition to religion and the survival of feudal attitudes, economic factors loom large in explaining the inferior position of women in Latin American cultures.

Except for certain regions, most notably in Brazil, Costa Rica, and Argentina, Latin America remains underdeveloped after almost 500 years of European colonization, after the establishment of independent republics in the nineteenth century, and after the elimination of dictatorships in the twentieth century. Underdevelopment can be explained by *dependency theory*, which looks at the unequal relationships between Latin America and world markets and between women and men. Unequal opportunities due to fluctuations in world markets negatively influence the region, but the effects on women are disastrous. Not only are women and children the most vulnerable when the subsistence economy erodes, but in response to debt burdens, governments cut welfare budgets first. State policy and agricultural reform are not gender neutral and indeed serve to diminish the status of rural women.

Feminist Agendas

Latin American women are not passive observers of these economic events and continue to engage in collective action to ensure their survival. In contrast to women's movements in other parts of the developing world, the Latin American movement has been much more successful in consensus building and in developing a feminist agenda embraced by women from a wide variety of backgrounds and from poorer and richer regions of Latin America (Di Marco, 2010; Vargas, 2010; Jones, 2012). Large numbers of peasant and indigenous women, for example, are grassroots leaders, core organizers, and mentors for the next generation of leaders from their villages. In coalition with international NGOs, Latino feminists actively participated in those struggles leading to the establishment of democratic regimes throughout Central and South America (Jaquette, 2009; Castillo, 2010). This organizational legacy provided strength in numbers and the political shrewdness to challenge economic and social policies detrimental to women. Feminist voices are heard when states prioritize reforms and when questions about gender-based discrimination are addressed. Unlike women in India, who are hindered in gender equity by peasant reform movements, such tactics by Latin American women allow them to become more politically astute and to develop both class and gender consciousness.

The Intersection of Class and Gender The plight of the majority of Latin American women who are in poverty contrast sharply with that of upper- and middle-class women who are employed in professional occupations or who are part of the elite leisure class. Career women are supported by their husbands, parents, and other institutionalized devices that allow them to combine professional and family roles. The irony is that professional success is to a large extent dependent on the hiring of domestic help. Domestics provide services that help to blunt the impact of a career on the family. Domestic servants in Latin America—many of whom

migrate from other countries to these jobs—represent the majority of female wage earners. There is disagreement about whether working as a servant or a care giver provides a channel for upward mobility or whether it reinforces a rigid stratification system based on class (Altman and Pannell, 2012; Blofield, 2012).

Feminist scholars and political activists in Latin America have yet to resolve the issue of whether class or gender is the overarching issue that serves to perpetuate the low status of women. Over two decades ago, consensus emerged among Latin American feminists that both categories are valid. Women's liberation reinforces class struggle. In sociological terms, this supports a strong conflict theory orientation. It also fits the socialist/Marxist branch of feminism asserting that patriarchy influences women to uphold a system that perpetuates their inferior position (Chapter 1). Only when class and gender barriers are simultaneously assaulted can equality for all people be realized.

Israel

Issues of gender equality have been salient in Israel since its new beginning as an independent nation. We are aware of impressive experiments partly challenging traditional forms of gender stratification, such as in the military and in the kibbutz. The rise of Golda Meier to the highest political position in the fledgling state is another often-cited instance in how far women can progress. Legislatively, women in Israel have achieved what women in the United States continue to fight for, such as paid maternity leave and equal opportunities with men in education and employment). What is the success of these experiments?

Despite egalitarian gender role ideology, feminists contend that gender equality in Israel is illusory. The system that informally serves to limit the choices of women remains intact. The military, for example, is displayed as the height of gender egalitarianism because Jewish Israeli women have been conscripted since the State was founded. The military, however, is probably the most gendered of all social institutions in Israel. Women are exempt if they marry, get pregnant, or declare that they are religiously observant. Jobs are gender segregated, and women are excluded from many military jobs offering promotion and higher pay. Women's inclusion or lack of inclusion in the military is a huge political issue in Israel. Liberal and radical feminists, bureaucrats, religious leaders, and soldiers do not agree on how gender issues are or should be represented in the military. The resulting conundrum has yet to be resolved (Zaccai, 2013). Gendered military policy shapes public discourse about gender in other social institutions. Securing the existence of the Jewish state overshadows all discourse. The thrust of Israeli public policy thus reinforces traditional gender roles, and pressing issues such as gender equality and women's rights are cast aside (Halperin-Kaddari and Yadgar, 2010). This thrust is related to three key institutions: religion, family, and economy. All of these are intertwined, and all are concerned about national security.

Religion, Family, and Employment

Israeli society is organized around the principle of the family as the dominant institution and the family as the cradle of Jewish heritage. As such, the Jewish family is tied to ancient religious traditions, which are unquestionably patriarchal in

nature. The family defines the woman's role. Israel is neither a religious nor secular state. Is it a Jewish state or a state of Jews? Can it be a Jewish state but not sacrifice women's equality? (Feldman, 2011:110) Regardless of the answers, rabbinical courts have jurisdiction over matters of marriage and divorce and tend to favor Judaism's most traditional branch—that of Orthodox Judaism. However, women in all branches are expected to be in charge of domestic functions and prepare their households for religious observances. These roles in turn free men to study, to teach, to be breadwinners, and to be more fully engaged in the religious life of the community. A woman may contribute to her community's social and economic life, and she may see the division of household tasks as unfair, but religious ideology takes precedence over gender ideology in most Jewish Israeli families (Blumen, 2002).

Kibbutzim Dating from a century ago, the **kibbutz** is an Israeli agricultural collective in which children are raised together in a gender egalitarian arrangement that allows parents to be full participants in the economic life of the community. Initially designed as a radical departure from the patriarchal family and traditional gender division of labor in the family, the kibbutz is an effort at eliminating distinctions between the work of men and the work of women.

It is the child-centered approach to cooperative living that distinguishes the kibbutz from other communes worldwide, such as nineteenth-century Shakers in the United States and contemporary communes in Denmark (Brumm, 2008). Until about 1970, kibbutzim (plural form) were characterized by collectivization that minimized gender role differences and maximized instrumental and expressive role sharing. In the spirit of communal socialization, infants were moved to a children's house soon after birth. The Sabbath was reserved for children and their parents to be together, but teachers and nurses were responsible for the daily socialization of children. Children still identified with parents, deriving security, love, and affection from them. Ideally, such an arrangement freed parents from child care, allowing them to work for the betterment of the community as a whole. Based on the principle of gender equality, it was assumed that the roles performed by women and men are basically the same.

These principles, however, have not been sustained. Raising children communally increases women's dissatisfaction with kibbutz life. The "child-centered" approach is gradually being replaced with the "family-centered" approach—"nuclear like" in structure—with children being raised by their parents and living at home. Kibbutzim children are abandoning the kibbutz in favor of urban living and nuclear families. The strong egalitarian ideology of the traditional kibbutz is undermined when money is no longer an issue for the kibbutz to survive. Once this was ensured, gender stratification and segregated jobs accelerated. Today women function almost exclusively as child care workers, nurses, teachers, and kitchen workers.

The change in kibbutzim from relationships based on cooperation, community, and equality are also traced to the forces of neoliberal globalization and market relationships. As in other countries, the market approach to life has a negative impact on women in Israel. The traditional kibbutz is passing out of history. A new kibbutzim movement is emerging in urban communes and in rural areas (Horrox, 2011). Members are adapting to social change to guarantee community survival. The legacy of equalitarianism in the kibbutz has not vanished but is evident in emerging kibbutzim forms.

Education The gender gap in Israeli education has disappeared. Higher education for both genders is encouraged and normative. Education and religion intertwine, however, to influence beliefs about marriage and the family for Israel's youth. Religious schools inculcate a religious-based conception of womanhood that is shaped by interpretations of divine law and beliefs about different male and female worlds. Education also is a powerful factor in moderating the views of Jewish women when women have the authority to interpret scripture. Women have increased their numbers in seminaries and are ordained as rabbis in all branches of Judaism except Orthodox. Among Orthodox Jews, however, women will soon ascend to the "official" rabbinate soon (Chapter 12).

Workplace Israel represents the global pattern related to gender and paid work. Women venturing into the workplace face gender gaps in earning, higher rates of unemployment and underemployment, and occupational gender segregation regardless of job level. They also face the effects of globalization. They lose more public sector jobs, and in existing private sector jobs, they are paid less. When conflict arises between family and job, employment is abandoned. Despite the Equal Opportunity Law passed by the Knesset in 1988 prohibiting discrimination in advertising, training, promotion, and severance pay (and later provisions prohibiting sexual harassment and unequal fringe benefits), these patterns persist. Laws are ineffective if enforcement is lax and women do not challenge the discrimination they routinely experience (Kraus, 2002). Most important is that women continue to be viewed—and often view themselves—as wives and mothers first and then, much further down the scale, as secondary breadwinners.

Jewish Feminism

Public policy has helped little with the burdens women face in carrying out their roles and the contradictions they face within these roles. To counter ancient traditions hampering gender equity, policy makers must translate the needs of women into effective and culturally acceptable legislation.

The feminist movement in Israel is clearly the front-runner to do this translation, but lack of unity among Jewish women hampers this goal. Feminism was imported to Israel from the West in the 1970s, and as in the West, the leadership of educated professional women shaped its agenda. For two decades, the movement remained dominated by Ashkenazi women—largely white, European-oriented, and solidly middle class. Feminist conferences in the 1990s were marked by dissent from Jewish women of color and working-class women representing women from Mizrahi, Palestinian, Bedouin, Asian, and Ethiopian backgrounds. Mizrahi women—whose heritage is traced to Arab North Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia—led the rallying cry that signaled hidden, deep divisions within Jewish feminism (Motzafi-Haller, 2000, 2001). They asserted that feminism as constructed by Ashkenazim could not speak for the diversity of women in Israel and ignored poor and marginalized Jewish and non-Jewish women. Different branches of feminism remain ideologically and therefore strategically separate from one another (Dahan-Kalev, 2003; Fadila et al., 2011).

Some of these historical divides are being breached. Feminists in Israel have been less successful than their Western sisters in dealing with the contentious,

fundamental connections between race, class, ethnicity, and gender that hinder efforts for feminist progress (Yaron, 2011). The peace process, for example, represents a new era for Israeli feminism that is poised to better deal with some of these divisive issues. Not only are there more women than men in the peace movement, but Jewish and non-Jewish women represent a diversity of ethnic groups in key leadership roles. In orchestrating dialogue between Palestinian and Israeli women, these women are raising awareness about issues women face in common, such as living under the constant threat of terrorism, domestic violence, and sexual oppression. By embracing issues of social justice, incorporating deeply held perspectives from Judaism, recruiting female rabbis as leaders, and envisioning new ways of dealing with peace and security, the movement is mending diversity fences. In turn, it regains the political prominence necessary to be an important player for policies that help all women (Merriam, 2007; Herzog, 2008; Alpert, 2013).

The Muslim World

The Muslim world represents a range of contradictions to Westerners. On the one hand, oil-rich Muslim nations have taken development efforts seriously, creating better living standards and enhanced educational and job opportunities for their citizens. On the other hand, in Islamic states, development occurs within unique cultural frameworks that Westerners often view with curiosity and suspicion. Existing suspicion heightened with the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001. Nowhere do these conflicting images emerge more forcefully than when viewing women in Islamic cultures.

Given the stereotypes surrounding Islam, many are surprised to discover that Islam first developed both as a new religion and as a social reform movement aimed at changing the lowly status of women (Chapter 12). Reforms are possible, however, only in the context of a culture's willingness to undergo change and endure stressful transitions. This has simply not been the case in Arab, South Asian, and African cultures dominated by Islam. Regardless of the position of women in the pre-Islamic world, the Qur'an continues to be drawn on as a moral rationale for restricting women. A resurgence of religious fundamentalism has bolstered Qur'anic interpretations endorsing the inferior status of women. Islamic legal reform does have many advocates, and they can provide evidence from the Qur'an for upgrading rather than degrading the position of women. But reform has barely kept up with fundamentalist resurgence.

Islamization: Iran and Afghanistan

This resurgence is fueled by **countermodernization**, or antimodernization—a social movement that either resists modernization or promotes ways to neutralize its effects. Throughout much of the Muslim world, countermodernization takes the form of **Islamization**, a religious fundamentalist movement seeking a return to an idealized version of Islam as a remedy against corrupt Western values. With Islamization, religion and state are inseparable and all laws governing public and private life have a religious basis. Islamization is replayed in South Asia (Pakistan and Bangladesh), in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia and Yemen), and North Africa (Egypt and Sudan).

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan virtually halted new expressions of Islam but re-Islamization quickly occurred after the Taliban takeover in 1996. The pattern of re-Islamization was repeated earlier with the Iranian revolution that propelled Khomeini to power after the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979. As elsewhere in the Muslim world, in both Afghanistan and Iran, Islamic authorities ("mullahs") have long played an influential role in all aspects of social life. Countermodernization is selective in its ideas and technologies used to convey the ideas. Iran and Afghanistan are the extreme versions of this movement, but powerful elements dating back over three decades continue and are found in many Arab cultures as well as in other Islamic societies, for example Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sudan. People defined as "lesser Muslims" according to their appearance, dress, beliefs, or religious practices are targets of violence. Resurgent countermodernization linked to Islamic fundamentalism was masterminded for political power and relied on the subordinate status of women to attain its goals (Lindsey, 1988; Shehadeh, 2007; Aswan, 2012). Despite Islamization couched as a benefit to women, they are its likely victims.

Islamization in Afghanistan, for example, targets women as key vehicles to restore Islamic identity when they return to exclusive domestic roles. Islam is invoked to deny reproductive choice, educational opportunity, and paid employment. With "gender apartheid" taking effect, Islamization under the Taliban banned women from employment and schools for girls and hospitals serving women were closed, lest women come into contact with men to whom they are not related. Women were executed for adultery and prostitution, often defined as simply being seen with a nonkin male. Beheadings, amputations, shootings, and public beatings occurred for religious infractions such as clothing not sufficiently covering a woman's entire body, for illegally teaching girls to read and write, and for going out in public alone—even if completely veiled (Lindsey, 2002a). The Taliban decreed out of existence any minimal rights women and girls gained during the Soviet era.

After a respite from its brutality, women are again targets of the Taliban resurgence in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The resurgence is responsible for burning down schools for girls, threatening and beating their teachers, bombing women's microbusinesses, and assassinating women activists and development workers (Boone, 2009; Filkins, 2009). In Taliban-controlled areas of Afghanistan, the search for a formula to protect traditions under Islamic law while dealing with inevitable social change was resolved in favor of an extreme form of countermodernization.

The Shah and Khomeini Islamization in Persian Iran was (and is) not nearly as extreme in its treatment of women. Women receive medical care in facilities designed for them, and girls are in gender-segregated schools. Women college graduation rates now exceed men's rates. However, women in Iran remain under the strict control of their fathers or husbands, are restricted from a variety of paid employment, and must answer to Islamic authorities for violations of dress and traditional gender roles (most related to marriage, family, and motherhood). Iran provides the best example of how countermodernization can serve to restrict women. What is startling about the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 and the establishment of the Islamic regime under the Ayatollah Khomeini is that women were a force propelling the Ayatollah to power. As exploitation under the Shah grew, women became more politically active and took to the streets in mass anti-Shah demonstrations. At

a time when the veil was becoming a remnant of the past, women embraced it as a symbol of solidarity against the Shah. The images of veiled women protesting in mass demonstrations shocked many. Veiling seemed to contradict the progressive view of women that was supposedly a hallmark of the Shah's regime.

Veiling The veil (hijab) served several purposes. It prevented identification of the protesters that could make them targets of the secret police, and it was a symbolic gesture halting the modernization and Westernization of Iran. When that identity is linked to women, by restoring the veil as the Islamic marker, broader social identity also is restored (El Guindi, 1999). Many women saw the veil as a symbol of solidarity, to be discarded or worn at will after the fall of the Shah. These women believed that they would be rewarded for their sacrifices and militancy. The new religious leaders would expand rights for women, including educational and employment options and more self-determination in their domestic roles.

Khomeini's position during the anti-Shah movement increased women's support for him. He saw a woman as a man's equal: "She and he are free to choose their lives and their occupations." He stated that the "Shah's regime has destroyed the freedom of women as well as men" (cited in Sanasarian, 1982:117). The new Islamic republic would not oppress women, according to Khomeini. Less than a month after the ousting of the Shah, illusions of equality were shattered. Legislation altered gender relations so that they would not resemble anything like those existing in the West. The tragic paradox for the women of the Iranian revolution is that they were harmed by their support (Moallem, 2005). Gender segregation in all parts of public life intensified. The minimum legal age for girls to marry was lowered from 18 to 13 and then to 9. An extreme example of loss of freedom was physical brutality and loss of life. Women were executed for adultery and prostitution and beaten for improper dress. No longer was the veil a symbol of militant solidarity. In the eyes of many Iranian women, it became a symbol of oppression.

With Khomeini's blueprint, the next regime continued to systematically undermine the freedom of women. Religious righteousness originally compelled both men and women to work in overthrowing the Shah. Once this succeeded, women were literally pushed out of public life and into the home. Many women likely would have embraced domestic roles anyway, but the new regimes severely circumscribed all other options (Mir-Hosseini, 2001).

Toward Reform Attempts at reform, however, have not been silenced. Islamization continues, but it is taking a different course. Globalization thwarts excessive countermodernization. Despite efforts to maintain the fervor of earlier Islamization, under Iranian Hassan Rouhani, it takes a backseat to the broader anti-Western and anti-American strategies. How this plays out for women remains to be seen. One scenario suggests that issues related to globalization and nuclear capabilities are in the foreground; Islamization, especially with respect to women as targets, are in the background. Women remain at the forefront of political protest. Despite blackouts, camera videos showed (literally) tens of thousands of Iranian women protesting the reelection of former President Ahmadinejad, accusing the government of election fraud. Many women protested without traditional veils. Some of these women rallied around Zahra Rahnavard, wife of opposition leader Mir Mousavi

and outspoken critic of the regime. Similar to the movement against the Shah 30 years before, with cries of "God is great," she galvanized young women to vote, evoking Islamic principles and the strong women in Mohammed's family to support her stance. She vocally supported veiling, "arguing that it liberates women," although she stated that it should be a choice for women to wear. On the other hand, she had an important role in forming the female police units that harassed women and enforced their "Islamic behavior" (Addley, 2009; Kazerounian, 2009). Although her husband did not come to power, the election represented another gender marker of politics in Iran. President Rouhani has been relatively silent on women's issues.

Women retain the right to run for public office in Iran. They have not been ousted from their offices under the past two regimes. Women also use Iranian traditions and Islamic principles and law to speak out for women's rights. Prominent women such as Shirin Ebadi may be put under house arrest, but they are somewhat protected by their notoriety. Their potential political clout is acknowledged. Religious intellectuals are debating, albeit reluctantly, how the "woman question" can be addressed in Iranian Islamic law (Moghadam, 2002; Moallem, 2005; Kunkler and Fazeli, 2012). Although acceptable economic reasons rather than unacceptable feminist reasons are usually cited for these changes, it is clear that women on the whole can benefit. Feminists in Iran are divided by degree of support for Islamic principles and how their highly praised roles as wives and mothers can be used to their benefit. All feminists recognize that it is impossible to deny the important leadership roles women have held throughout Islamic history (Barlow, 2008; Kalmbach, 2012). These divisions do not bode well for seeking reform with a unified voice. But the fact that feminism remains even minimally viable in Iran signals potential reopening of dialogue between women and, hopefully, between women and the state (Ezazi, 2009).

Given the ongoing instability in Iran, however, it is difficult to predict which of these scenarios will play out. For example, will ousting an unpopular president, even one whose policies are orchestrated by more powerful clerics, serve to reignite Islamization in Iran? Women helped topple the Shah 30 years ago, and their rights were severely curtailed. Some of the same messages to women appear to be used today. On the other hand, with the female voices of the Arab Spring coming to the forefront, Islamization itself is being reframed from repressive (as played out in Pakistan and Afghanistan) to democratic (as played out in Turkey). Democracy and Islamic ideology are merging side by side (Abbasi, 2012; Pupcenoks, 2012). Although it appears that women would benefit, it is uncertain whether the call for ending discrimination against women using democratic Islamic principles will succeed.

In Afghanistan, reforms addressing women's issues have been eclipsed as of this writing. Despite the resounding global call to focus on rebuilding Afghanistan's crumbling infrastructure, war funding is almost 90 percent of the allocation; development efforts get the leftovers. This is not surprising given unrelenting, obsolete beliefs about women. As an Afghan justice minister claimed, women's shelters encouraged "immorality and prostitution" (Bowley, 2012). Elections are virtually void of women candidates. The Taliban continues to control regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is unknown how these will shift with the coming pullout of American troops. It is certain, nonetheless, that women's well-being will be harmed in areas still controlled by the Taliban.

On the positive side, those efforts in Afghanistan and Pakistan focused on building infrastructure and ensuring education for both girls and boys are beginning to pay off. Despite the rhetoric that Afghan women are "saved" by military strategies, education, employment, and safety for families focused on development have been more successful in defeating terrorist ideology (Evans, 2009).

NGOs continue to bolster infrastructure in Afghanistan that includes keeping girls' schools open and safe and offering reproductive health services for women. They are at the vanguard, ensuring that violations of women's human rights are in the public forefront (Maley, 2008). Even in isolated areas, literacy and better health outcomes for girls and women have been sustained. Literacy, as a hallmark of female agency, can never be removed.

The Arab Middle East

Iran and Afghanistan are at one end of a continuum regarding Muslim women. Other Muslim nations present their own traditions, beliefs, and interpretations about gender in Islam. Some feminist scholars contend that there are no effective models for women's liberation that can appeal to Muslim women. They are either too Western or too pre-Islamic (Fernea, 1998). Others say that Islamic societies are based on such rigid definitions of family that tampering with these definitions brings fear of social chaos. Strongly functionalist in orientation, traditional male dominant–female subservient relationships existing in Islamic nations are accepted (Mernissi, 1987:174).

On the other hand, Islam regards women as powerful and potentially aggressive—images that are empowering to women. In their quest for modernization, women are not only embracing traditional norms, but also testing them. In Saudi Arabia, women run investment firms, manage shops, and are employed in hospitals. Corporations are still gender segregated, but opportunities for women's employment in reshaped business roles are increasing. By stretching the limits of male-dominated Saudi society, women endure public criticism, but believe that productive change is inevitable. In Egypt, middle-class professional women have overcome social pressures and religious taboos for success outside the home. Influences on them are both modern—Western capitalism and socialist egalitarian ideology—and traditional—the images of formidable females such as Queen Nefertiti and the Prophet Muhammad's strong-willed wife. The latter images bolster interpretations by feminist Islamic scholars that challenge fundamentalist views denying social justice to women. These scholars are increasing interfaith dialogue and are bringing human rights issues related to women in all religions to the forefront (Safi, 2003; Mayer, 2008).

In Arab cultures as diverse as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Palestine, women's gains are apparent in health, literacy, and political reform. Even with the severe separatist policies against women in Saudi Arabia and those that are less severe in Syria, for example, media cannot be completely restricted. In many ways, the Arab Spring was inaugurated through Twitter. Women—both veiled and unveiled—were and are visible on mobile phones as protesters in Egypt and Syria. The irony of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq is that the conflicts are easily accessible via social media. Muslims see women as competent, successful, and

esteemed in a variety of roles—as soldiers, journalists, diplomats, politicians, and aid workers. The shortage of Muslim women peacekeepers is being addressed by the United Nations. Women are being trained for these roles to serve in Muslim nations throughout the world. Throughout history, despite its horrors and brutality, war is latently functional for altering perceptions of women.

North Africa: Female Genital Mutilation (Cutting)

Islam certainly does not unfold uniformly across Muslim societies. However, these societies are linked by certain cultural practices regarding women. Although the veil may be a symbol of oppression from a feminist viewpoint, other customs suggest an even more frightening reality. It is the practice of female genital mutilation that has stirred global debate.

Female Genital Mutilation Also referred to as *female* or *genital cutting*, **Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)** refers to a variety of genital operations designed to reduce or eliminate a girl's sexual pleasure and ensure her virginity. If she is a virgin, she is marriageable. If not, she can be condemned, living as an outcast. Sometimes she is murdered. FGM is practiced throughout North Africa, in parts of the Middle East, and in some Sub-Saharan regions. The total number of living females who have undergone FGM ranges from 80–100 million, including children as young as age 4. It is practiced by the wealthy and the poor and in rural and urban areas. Although most girls who undergo the procedure are Muslim, it is also practiced by Coptic Christians and those who adhere to tribal religions (UNICEF, 2013). FGM's past is untraceable. It predates Islam, although some Islamic cultures justify it today on religious grounds.

For many years, FGM was incorrectly referred to as female circumcision. FGM is not at all equivalent to the far less radical procedure of male circumcision largely performed on newborns. FGM ranges from a partial clitoridectomy to full removal of the clitoris, a woman's most erotically sensitive organ. In its more extreme form, practiced in Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, and some parts of Ethiopia, FGM removes the clitoris and then the vagina is sewn almost completely shut, leaving an opening just large enough to release urine and menstrual blood. The effects of these mutilations range from psychological trauma to hemorrhage, blood poisoning, painful intercourse, lack of sexual pleasure, and death from infections or complications during childbirth. The vagina is cut open again on the woman's wedding night, an experience reflected by the following lines in a poem by a Somalian woman:

> And if I speak of my wedding night; I had expected caresses. Sweet kisses. Hugging and love. No. Never! Awaiting me was pain. Suffering and sadness.
>
> I lay in my wedding bed, groaning like a wounded animal, a victim of feminine pain.
>
> At dawn ridicule awaited me. My mother announced: Yes, she is a virgin. (Muse, 2000)

As brutal as it is, the practice continues. With the elimination of sexual pleasure, virginity is likely to be ensured before marriage and chastity after marriage. It forms a core cultural identity of many traditional people. Girls who refuse or "deny" the procedure bring shame to their families. Women who were forced to undergo the painful

procedure and midwives who know the health consequences are often its strongest advocates. A Muslim and the fourth of 11 children, a Mali woman reports the consequences when she opposed her parents and relatives in refusing to be "excised":

> I was beaten and tortured. I was ostracized by the whole village. . . . No women had ever refused. . . . All my grandmothers had been excised. . . . There are many women who have no support, there are many who have died, there is so much pain—all of which I can bear witness to.

Only by fleeing to France with the help of friends and filing for refugee status did she resist the procedure. She could never return to her village or to her family. She was accused of heaping more shame on her people by disclosing excism traditions to Europeans (Cited in Merry, 2009:137–138). Resistance comes with grave costs.

Three UN Conferences on Women have taken up the FGM issue. In 1980, African delegates argued that FGM was essential to guarantee a girl's marriage. Delegates from Western cultures, appalled by FGM, were accused of interfering with hallowed cultural traditions. Five years later the issue was discussed with much less confrontation. A decade later, under the broad mantle of "violence against women," cultural boundaries were transcended and consensus was reached that FGM was a human rights violation (Boyle, 2008:273). Egypt, Nigeria, and Ghana have banned the practice. The United States may grant asylum to a girl returning to a country practicing FGM. Previously women feared that daughters could not be married without being "circumcised." When entire villages do not allow their girls to undergo the procedure, men must look for marriage partners elsewhere or marry uncircumcised women. Women's empowerment now suggests the latter.

It is unfair to regard FGM as the defining characteristic of an entire region, but it calls attention to the issue of cultural change through women's empowerment. The controversy also illustrates symbolic interaction's "definition of the situation" and social constructionist reframing in two ways. First is the relabeling of "female circumcision" to "female genital mutilation" or "female genital cutting." The former label suggests something mild or benign. The latter labels clearly do not. Second, the movement against FGM has been redefined as a defense of human rights rather than as cultural interference. The new definition of the situation is fast becoming the reality. In the last decade, all major international bodies and most governments in nations where it is practiced have committed to its suppression. Cultural beliefs regarding women remain strong, however, and despite laws to the contrary, the practice continues.

To Veil or Not to Veil

Clothing choice among Muslim women is considered a barometer of Islamic authority and gender role change. Forty years of debate has allowed for a broad consensus on the elimination of FGM. This section ends with another contentious issue—one debated for over two centuries in various contexts—that remains far from settled. The issue of veiling (hijab/burqa/abaya) practiced in purdah-system gender-segregated societies has produced two general strands of feminist thought on the topic: One strand condemns it as oppressive, and the other reframes it as liberating and a sign of resistance. As a sign of oppression, breaches of modesty

in dress can be severely punished in Saudi Arabia by the female veil police. As a sign of liberation, women preachers in Egypt don veils in their leadership roles (Minesaki, 2012). A middle view suggests that veiling is neither liberating nor oppressive. In a milestone of clothing evolution, Saudi Arabia sent its first ever female athletes, two runners, to the London Olympics in 2012. Both did their best to respect their country's traditions by dressing modestly off the track (Longman, 2012). But of course, they competed in attire allowing for speed rather than modesty. Power relations emerging from veiling must be considered in light of the context in which it occurs. The key issue is whether women have the power to choose among veiling options and whether one option is not to wear a veil at all. Critics of veiling are accused of denying the integrity of Islamic culture and the agency of Muslim women. Veiling represents female piety that is celebrated in Islam (Shirazi, 2003; Behiery, 2013). The debate surfaced in pop culture on Pakistani television. A cartoon schoolteacher dons a form-fitting burqa where only her eyes are exposed and is transformed into action heroine, "Burka Avenger." With martial arts and her wits, she defeats Taliban-like villains trying to shut down schools for girls. Is Burka Avenger a role model for girls? One critic argues that making the burqa look "cool" brainwashes girls into thinking that it gives them power rather than takes it away. The unanswered question is whether the traditional symbol of segregation and oppression is subverted or reinforced (Massood and Walsh, 2013).

Given these debates, Western feminists tend to shy away from either indicting or celebrating veiling because of charges of cultural interference and misunderstanding or disregarding the link between gender, religion, ethnicity, and politics (Lindsey, 2002a). Even in societies with high levels of gender repression where veiling is legally enforced, not optional, and is associated with negative health effects, there is no consensus in the global community that the custom is a human rights violation for women.

Scandinavia

When compared to gender equity in the developing world, the Scandinavian countries and Western Europe stand in sharp contrast. Netherland is ranked number one in global equality. In the top ten nations with the best gender equality scores, all but one (Slovenia) is in Western Europe, with Scandinavian nations consistently leading the pack globally (Table 6.1). Scandinavian women hold between 35 and 45 percent of national legislative seats and about half at the municipal level. Perhaps more than women in any other region in the world, Scandinavian men and women's well-being is enhanced by the benefits of gender parity.

Gender equality goals in Scandinavia are in general pursued through generous child care policies supporting women in the workplace and shared parenting. Spearheaded by women's organizations throughout the Nordic countries, these goals have widespread support. More than any other places in the world, there is stronger convergence between state and civil society in the Nordic countries (Bergman, 2009:320). Norway and Sweden in particular provide the global standard for gender egalitarian models.

Norway

Norway enjoys the number one rank in the Human Development Index (HDI) and is ranked fifth in the Gender Inequality Index (GII). Note that higher the GII rank, lower is the level of gender inequality (Table 6.1). At 41, Grö Harlem Brundtland ascended to prime minister of Norway, holding the seat for 16 years. Under her leadership, Norwegian society became synonymous with social democracy elevating gender, health, and environmental issues to the highest levels. In the last two decades, although not elected, women candidates for prime minister outnumbered men. This demonstrates the clear association between political power and gender equality. Women have clout when other women in the legislative bodies of their nations represent them.

Norway represents sociological understanding that gender floods our lives in countless ways. Decisions that on the surface appear to be gender neutral have a different impact on women than on men. Norway's goal is to mainstream the gender perspective into all public activities. This does not mean that attention is exclusively directed toward women. The goal is equality and the gender perspective promotes it. The Norwegian government's long-term objective is that the gender perspective is an automatic one influencing all important decisions, whether in politics, in employment, or in education. To understand how gender influences social institutions and everyday life, all public servants acquire knowledge of the gender perspective (Research Council of Norway, 2014).

Norway does not attempt to eliminate gender roles. Women and men have different priorities and organize their lives accordingly, such as by job preferences, childrearing, consumer patterns, and leisure activities. Such differences, however, should not be grounds for unequal access to social benefits and economic resources. The gender perspective ensures that the different behaviors and aspirations of women and men will be equally favored in the organization and governing of Norway. For example, parental leave for new fathers has been in existence for three decades. A high priority on the political agenda is to make it easier for parents with young children to combine family with work responsibilities outside the home. This is the key issue affecting American men and women and their families (Chapters 7 and 8).

Sweden

Like Norway, Sweden's trend toward gender equality advances through public policy, fueled by the belief that both men and women should share power and influence equally. Sweden's increase in the number of women in elective office and the generous benefits making it easier for both men and women to balance work and family life demonstrate the policy successes of these beliefs (Sweden, 2014). Sweden is unique in that egalitarian principles emphasize gender role change in males. Sweden has done more than any other nation in stipulating that economic support and daily care and nurturing of children are the equal responsibility of both parents. Like most of the globe, women do more housework and child care than men and are employed more in occupations that are care oriented for children and adults, such as preschool teachers and companions for the elderly. Swedes believe, however, that men have great stakes in gender equality. They want to set examples for children to become gender-equitable partners and to reject gender stereotypes harmful to the partnerships.

The Equality Future

Compared to most of the world, particularly the developing world, gender equity programs in Norway and Sweden are exceptionally advanced. The costs for these programs are high and therefore contentious. The level of support and cost for the social and welfare benefits that Norway and Sweden provide to their citizens are extraordinary from an American perspective. Although these benefits have translated into overall well-being and an enhanced quality of life, globalization may alter the path. Globalization in Scandinavia translates into an upsurge of migrant workers, many of them poor, many of them women, and most of them bringing traditions that counter gender equality (Daugstad and Sandes, 2008; Vuori, 2009). Like health care, gender equity initiatives will be scrutinized carefully to determine their cost-effectiveness. Given the gender equity plans for the next decade, it is doubtful that either nation will retreat from efforts aimed at reducing gender disparity, although the long-term effects of recession may reduce funding. Norway and Sweden, however, stand as powerful global role models for gender equality.

Summary

1. Globalization and development affect men and women in profoundly different ways. Bringing together policy makers, government leaders, and NGOs, the UN convened four major conferences to assess this impact. The 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing was a watershed for the women's movement and for women's rights worldwide.
2. Globalization serves to hurt women when they are denied access to technology; subsistence farms are sold; men abandon families to seek work elsewhere; and women's unpaid labor in their homes, on farms, and in the informal sector is uncounted.
3. A model of women and development needs to account for sociological theory and global stratification, the impact of market-driven economic development, a theory–practice feedback loop, interdisciplinary work, an accounting of unpaid work, and a feminist perspective that emphasizes women's empowerment.
4. Russian women have lost economic and political power with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In its transitional economy, women have lost jobs, their pay has declined, and they have sharply increased work hours in their homes. The importance of paid work has declined and the importance of family and social order has increased for women. Feminism and women's rights have eroded.
5. The PRC ushered in reform for women. Footbinding, concubinage, and child betrothal were abolished; free-choice marriage was instituted; and women had equal rights to divorce. Cultural barriers undermine these reforms. The one-child policy reinforced ancient son preference and has dire consequences for girls. In the long run, the policy may make daughters more valued. Research on Chinese women under market-driven development shows a paradox—women report both gains and losses in their homes and workplaces.
6. Women's progress in India is eroded by strict interpretations of Hinduism. In the twentieth century, social reform gave women rights to inherit, vote, and divorce. The gender gap in human development related to education, literacy,

and employment in India is huge. Violence toward women is a top priority for feminists who mobilized millions of Indian women for this cause. India has a strong feminist movement, but it is constrained by lack of diversity. However, the movement has been strengthened by mobilizing women from all ranks to work on issues of gendered violence.

7. Gender roles in Japan are paradoxical. Japanese women benefited from post-war social reforms, including equal pay, improvement in hiring and working conditions, and access to higher education. Reform is hampered by Japanese gradualism, traditional views of women, women's abandonment of career at marriage, and motherhood considered to be the essence of a woman's social and personal identity. Women have high levels of power and decision making in their households.
8. Machismo–marianismo ideology in Latin America serves as a powerful gender divide. The level of power of the Catholic Church explains the mixed success of family planning, sex education, and reproductive health throughout Latino cultures. Fertility rates have fallen, however, throughout Latin America. Church power, as a dictate to traditional gender roles, appears to be waning. Globalization and the shift from subsistence to commercial farming have hurt women. A strong, inclusive, and politically astute Latin American feminist movement is being heard by government leaders. Debate continues on whether class or gender is the key factor in women's low status.
9. Israeli women have achieved equal rights and opportunities by law, but other policies related to religion, family, and government reinforce traditional gender roles. In most families, religious ideology takes precedence over gender ideology. The egalitarian ideology of the kibbutz also is eroding. Jewish feminism is strong but divided between middle-class women and women of color and working-class women. This division has hindered feminist progress for all groups.
10. In most of the Muslim world, the Qur'an is interpreted by men and used as the moral rationale to restrict women. Fundamentalist resurgence through Islamization has fueled countermodernization movements, with Iran under Khomeini and Afghanistan under the Taliban as the most extreme examples. Reform related to education, jobs, and elected offices are evident in Iran despite gender segregation and forms of repression against women. In Afghanistan, Taliban resurgence is harming women, especially with regard to the closing of girls' schools and violence to women's businesses. In Arab cultures, even with extreme separatist policies, women are seeing gains in health, literacy, and political reform.
11. FGM (also called female genital cutting) is practiced largely in North and Sub-Saharan Africa. With the belief that a girl cannot be married unless she undergoes FGM, the brutal practice continues despite laws to the contrary. By defining it as a human rights violation, international efforts to combat it are more successful.
12. The issue of veiling remains contentious among Muslim women and among feminists. Some see veiling as oppressive, whereas others see it as liberating and representing the integrity of Islamic culture.
13. Scandinavia has the highest global rank on gender equality. In Norway, the gender perspective is central to all government decisions. In Sweden, gender

equity is advanced by focusing on ways to change men's roles. Social and welfare benefits serving gender equity initiatives may suffer if costs rise too quickly.

Key Terms

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)
Countermodernization
Developing nations
Development
Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)
Globalization
Informal sector
Islamization
Kibbutz
Neoliberal Globalization (NGL)
Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)
One-Child Policy

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Discuss the factors that erode the status of women during the process of development. Demonstrate how these factors can be accounted for in a model of women in development that is useful for policy makers working to make development a success.
2. Identify the key cultural, political, and religious barriers that impede women's progress in Russia, China, Japan, India, Israel, and Latin America. Of these six nations/regions, select the two you believe will be most successful in overcoming these barriers and provide the rationale for your selection.
3. Considering the profound consequences of Islamization and controversial practices such as FGM and veiling customs for women in the Muslim world, what advice would you give to NGOs and feminists both inside and outside Muslim nations working to elevate the status of women? Make sure you account for the role of religion in this advice.

CHAPTER 7

Gendered Love, Marriage, and Emerging Lifestyles

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Identify the myths and realities surrounding romantic love and how these influence marriage.
2. Discuss the similarities and differences of love and friendship an show how they apply to same-gender and other-gender relationships.
3. Define the "marriage gradient" and through specific examples, show how it is a key determinant of mate selection.
4. Briefly describe the theoretical perspectives on trends in marriage and the family and suggest one(s) offering the best/better explanations for the trends.
5. List the benefits and liabilities for women and men in emerging lifestyles related to egalitarian marriages, commuter marriages, cohabitation, and the single life.

My prince will come.

—*Cinderella*

One should always be in love. That is the reason one should never marry.

—Oscar Wilde, *A Woman of No Importance, 1893*

The story of Cinderella promotes love and marriage as an escape from a world of drudgery and lack of fulfillment into one of enchantment and "living happily ever after." Countering that image is the idea that love can never be sustained in marriage. Which is more accurate? A *Cinderella story* symbolizes the lives of those few fortunate (and beautiful) women who go from rags to riches when their prince comes along. The 1949 Disney version of *Cinderella* is still alive and well. By the 1990s, we saw Richard Gere carrying Debra Winger and Julia Roberts away from their preprincess existences as factory worker in *An Officer and a Gentleman* and as prostitute in *Pretty Woman*. The millennium saw Cinderella in the Oval Office. In *The American President*, Cinderella is Annette Benning, the talented (and beautiful) career woman swept off her feet by Michael Douglas, portraying the most powerful man in the world. In the next decade, Julia Roberts emerges again, this time as the Evil Queen in *Mirror, Mirror*, where lovely, angelic Princess Snow White (Lily Collins) is rescued by the handsome

Prince (Armie Hammer). Cartoon or not, movies about teenage Cinderellas abound. Through complicated and bizarre plots, ordinary high school girls are transformed into princesses (*Princess Diaries*) and whisked from mundane existences by teenage princes who later become kings (Chapter 13). These movies do suggest contemporary themes related to sexuality, alternative lifestyles, and women's roles outside the home. At the same time, however, they highlight traditional themes about the power of love to overcome all obstacles and propel women into marriages that fulfill their dreams. The finale of the hugely popular *Sex and the City* television series and movies found all female lead characters in happily ever after relationships or marriages. This chapter examines the myth and reality associated with such gendered media images.

Love

Americans are so accustomed to viewing love and marriage as inseparable that it is rather startling to realize they have been paired only since the nineteenth century in the United States (Chapter 5). Romantic love as an ideal existed in Europe and throughout Asia centuries ago, but it was rarely a basis for marriage. The poets and philosophers who sang the praises of courtly love during the European feudal era elevated love to something unattainable in marriage. The ladies of the court would bestow gifts, blessings, and an occasional kiss on suitors who would do battle or endure hardships for such prizes. Love was feared for the sexual passion it might produce, so was discouraged. Courtly love games were reserved for the aristocracy and excluded the vast majority of the population without the luxury of playing at romance. Personal fulfillment and compatibility of the couple were irrelevant.

Linking Love and Marriage

Marriage, on the other hand, was the mundane but necessary alternative to the enchantment of feudal romance. Although the aristocracy glorified romantic ideals, their marriage decisions were based on rational rather than romantic goals. Marriage was an economic obligation that affected power, property, and privilege. From a functionalist perspective—without the assurance of marriage, which produced legitimate heirs—the entire social and political system might be threatened. This held true for the king was well as for the peasants. Love was not an option for choosing a mate.

The Puritan era in the United States ushered in the revolutionary idea that love and marriage should be tied together. This was a radical departure from early Church teachings, warning men that even looking on their wives with lust made them sinners. In the new ideal, if love was not the reason for marriage, it was expected to flourish later. Parental approval of marriage partners remained the norm, but the belief that love should play a part in the process became etched in the fledgling American consciousness. Today the belief that love should be a strong factor if not *the* factor in choice of spouse is fast becoming a global norm. Initially, however, it was uniquely associated with the United States.

Dramatic social change also eroded the separation of love and marriage. The leveling effects of the Industrial Revolution decreased class stratification and gender segregation, thus bolstering a social climate receptive to egalitarian attitudes. Consistent

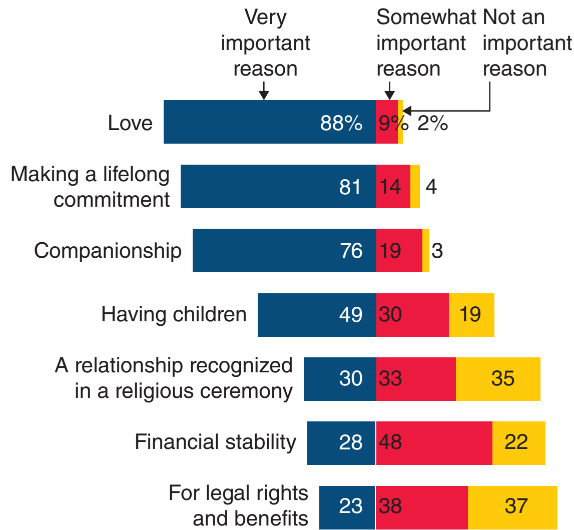

FIGURE 7.1

Why Get Married?

Note: Percent of general public on reasons to get married.

Source: Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Online Poll, May 10, 2013. www.pewresearch.org/files/2014/02/LoveandMarriage12.png

with a conflict perspective, as women moved into the world of paid employment, their economic power increased. Social change combined with economic assets enhanced choices for both genders, but particularly for women. By the 1890s, couples were receptive to the idea of **companionate marriages**—those based on romantic love—with an emphasis on balancing individual needs with family needs. Less traditional beliefs about gender also were bolstered in companionate marriages. Responsibilities that had formerly been under the control of one or the other spouse began to be shared.

Love as a basis for marriage is strengthened in societies where gender equality is fostered and women and men can express sexuality more openly. Women's improved economic position, opportunities for youth to interact without constant surveillance of parents, and more leisure time allowed romantic love to blossom. By the beginning of the twentieth century, love, marriage, and the belief that a spouse should be freely chosen had become inseparable. We will see that even though the *rate* of marriage continues to decline, the belief that love is the most important *reason* for marriage remains virtually unchanged (Figure 7.1).

Friends and Lovers

Who so loves believes the impossible.

—Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861)

Defining Love Of course love is such a complex emotion and laden with folklore, superstition, and myth that it seems to defy any definition. Love is extolled for

its virtue and damned for its jealousy. *Euphoria*, *joy*, *depression*, *restlessness*, *anger*, and *fear* are all words used to describe love.

The love for a friend, sibling, parent, or child is clearly different from the feelings of romantic, strongly passionate love. The distinction between romantic love and other varieties of love includes *eros*, or the physical, sexual component of love; *agape*, its spiritual and altruistic component; and *philos*, the love of deep and enduring friendships (Lindberg, 2008). Although romantic love ideals are supposed to include all of these components, agape and philos indicate other varieties of love relationships, such as the love between friends or siblings and between parents and children. What is interesting is that the sexual dimension of eros is the key component distinguishing romantic love from friendship, but is also its most selfish aspect. Sexual gratification may seem to counter the altruism idealized in romance. As we will see, this is an important element in female and male views of love.

Distinguishing Love and Friendship As with lovers, the profile for good friends and best friends includes acceptance, trust, respect, open communication, mutual assistance, and understanding. Friends, like lovers, champion one another. Friendship is supported by being loyal and upholding a friend's integrity and honor when deemed necessary (Paludi, 2012). If these good friends, best friends, or other friends become lovers, the sexual passion dimension is added to the profile.

Same-Gender Friends When asked who their nonromantic best or close friends are, both men and women usually identify someone of their own gender. Same-gender friends know each other longer, spend more time with each other, and are more committed to the friendship. Early socialization emphasizes patterns of gender segregation that carry through to adulthood (Chapter 3).

Compared to males, females report higher levels of intimacy, spontaneity, and openness with their same-gender friends, a pattern that crosscuts race and age. Women are more likely than men to have stricter standards for women who violate perceived friendship norms such as flirting or making sexual gestures to another woman's partner or spouse. This does not tap the same dimension as jealousy, but does recognize that women tend to have higher expectations for same-gender friendship than men do. Men are more competitive and less open with their same-gender friends and are more likely than women to identify someone of the other gender as their best or close friends. This is also consistent with gender role socialization that promotes instrumental and goal-oriented friendships for males and expressive and emotion-centered friendships for females (Granger, 2002; Johnson et al., 2007; Felmlee et al., 2012). From a symbolic interaction perspective, same-gender friendships are enhanced and stabilized when each party accepts the role definitions attached to gender and carries these definitions to their interactions. Friendships for both men and women are very important for emotional and social well-being, but women appear to capitalize on them more than men. Females of all ages who maintain friendships with other women report being less lonely and depressed, but paradoxically, they also report romantic liaisons with males as simultaneously euphoric and depressive (Joyner and Udry, 2000; Knickmeyer et al., 2002). Women's friendships with other women are at risk if they believe their friends are sexually active or are their romantic rivals. Women are more threatened by the physical attractiveness

of rivals; men are more threatened by the status-related characteristics of rivals (Bleske and Shackelford, 2001; Buunk and Dijkstra, 2004). From a feminist perspective, beliefs about male power in love and choice of spouse encroach in friendships between women.

Other-Gender Friends Same-gender friends may be more stable and emotionally supportive because the passion dimension lurks behind other-gender friendships. Even on social networking sites such as *MySpace*, females tend to be more interested in friendships with men but men are more interested in dating. This may explain why females keep their profiles private (Thelwall, 2008). Other-gender close friends are endangered if liking turns into loving. Men perceive that sex and sexual overtones with their women friends is beneficial to the friendship; women perceive it as more detrimental, beliefs that distort the friendship balance (Bernstein, 2012; Bleske-Rechek et al., 2012). Media images showing other-gender friendships doomed by romance reinforce these patterns. In the classic movie *When Harry Met Sally*, Billy Crystal (Harry) believes that it is impossible for men and women to be "just friends." Sally disagrees. Harry is right: He marries Sally at the end of the movie. In the reverse but rarer direction, in the long-running comedy *Seinfeld*, Elaine and Jerry move from a romantic to a platonic relationship. It is difficult to return to being friends after having been lovers, particularly if one partner is in another romantic relationship.

Consider, too, the friendship–love–friendship–love scenarios in other television shows, of which long-running *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother* set the standard. These mixed-gender groups of friends included roommates, neighbors, and colleagues who had on and off again romantic and sexual encounters with others in the group, which strained the friendships, but they remained relatively intact for the series to continue. It was certainly difficult for these groups of "friends" to maintain platonic and intimate relationships. In series where a gay man and nongay woman are friends, as in the pioneering and popular "gay-celebratory" television series *Will & Grace*, it is his "gayness" that allows them to remain best friends.

Friends with Benefits On the other hand, can other-gender friendships that are initiated with sex transition to committed relationships based on a romantic ideal? Referred to as **Friends With Benefits Relationship (FWBR)**, sexual encounters without commitment, usually recurring with the same partner, are now normative among young adults. However, as expected, men are more likely than women to endorse and act on the sexual liaisons of an FWBR and women are more likely than men to desire commitment as the relationship continues (Puentes et al., 2008; Norona et al., 2013). FWBRs may begin to challenge gender attitudes about noncommitted sexual relationships. Sex as a pleasurable act for women is much less likely to be viewed negatively today (Chapter 3). Commitment comes in all forms. A formal commitment, such as engagement, is not necessary for young adults as long as they perceive a strong degree of commitment; this hold true for both men and women. Women do have a stronger preference for commitment and romance relative to sex, but men, too, gain greater sexual satisfaction when an FWBR evolves into a committed relationship. High commitment can lead to "true" romance (Thompson and O'Sullivan, 2012; Galinsky and Sonenstein, 2013). Challenging the romantic

love ideal, when an FWBR becomes highly committed, sex leads to romance, not the other way around. Couples who begin a relationship in an FWBR context are unlikely to sustain it over time without such a commitment (Owen and Fincham, 2012; Vanderdrift et al. 2012; Mongeau, 2013).

Close other-gender friendships can weather the gender storms. However, in addition to the loving–liking difficulty, these storms also include gender beliefs working against egalitarianism that create the path for not only the demise of the friendship, but also difficulties in sustaining other romantic relationships (Underwood and Rosen, 2009). Gender role barriers limit the potential for rewarding and enduring other-gender friendships.

Gendered Love and Love Myths

It is clear that our ideas about love depend on who the object or target of our affection is, whether a spouse, sex partner, sibling, child, best friend, or parent. Friendship and romantic love are distinguished by more than sexual desire. Compared with friends and family members, lovers have heightened enjoyment for each other's company, are preoccupied with thoughts about the lover, are fascinated by all that the lover says or does, and want to frequently communicate with the lover. According to Robert Sternberg (2008), love is a triangle formed by three interlocking elements: intimacy, passion, and commitment. Through open communication, intimacy brings emotional warmth and bonding. Physiological arousal and sexual desire are part of the passion component, where feelings of romance take precedence. Commitment involves the choice to continue and maintain the love relationship. All relationships undergo change and transformation, so each vertex of the triangle will not be equal, but too much mismatch between the components predicts that the relationship will fail. Research confirms that males and females differ in levels of satisfaction and skill for each of the triangle's three elements. Mismatches are associated with loss of passion, unrequited and obsessive love, and depression (Regan, 2000; Engel et al., 2002; Mikulincer and Goodman, 2006). Because gender role socialization makes it difficult to maintain equal balance in the vertexes, the joy and awe associated with romantic love may be compromised.

Regardless of its definition, romantic love is idealized in the United States. Americans are bombarded with a lifetime of romantic messages. These messages in turn produce romantic love myths. To the extent that these myths become standards related to gender roles in marriage and the family, romanticization can have dire consequences.

1. **Love Conquers All.** The "all" that is supposedly conquered in this myth involves the inevitable problems and obstacles of daily living. By idealizing the love-object, problems are even more difficult to solve. Total agreement with another person's views on life and love is impossible. Romantic love is paradoxical. Idealization requires remoteness (keeping the lover on a pedestal), but intimacy evaporates remoteness (the pedestal collapses). One's partner cannot fulfill all needs and make all problems disappear.
2. **Love is Blind.** True love is expected to dissolve social boundaries. The belief that "it doesn't matter as long as I love her/him" fuels this myth. As we will see,

mate selection and the love that it allegedly encompasses are highly structured. We are socialized to fall in love at a specified life stage with specified categories of people. No longer exclusive to Western cultures, the faith in romance is quite high. But love is conditioned by a number of social and demographic categories that wield tremendous influence.

3. **Love at First Sight.** Because falling in love is a rational process, it contradicts the belief that people fall in love at first sight. Physical attractiveness certainly provides the first impression. Until they speak to each other, information comes indirectly from the person's overall appearance. The "love at first sight" myth is bolstered by what psychologists refer to as the *halo effect*—people who are attractive are assumed to possess more desirable qualities than those who are less attractive. Beauty and good looks are associated with other positive characteristics, such as morality, competence, warmth, and sensitivity. Initial attraction based on appearance is more important in chance encounters such as on airplanes or at one-time events.

   The love at first sight myth works against women because they are judged more strictly on level of attractiveness, especially related to body weight. Men are more likely to believe in the myth than women (Montgomery, 2005). Love requires ongoing, sustained interaction, and attractiveness issues tend to fade in the long run. As a prerequisite to love, interpersonal attraction is enhanced by the *mere exposure effect*—being frequently exposed to a person increases one's liking for that person. Familiarity does not breed contempt; it breeds liking. This explains why college dormitories are major marriage markets where love can flourish. It also explains why the adage "Absence makes the heart grow fonder" is incorrect. Its opposite, "Out of sight, out of mind," is the empirical reality.

4. **One and Only Love Forever.** Many accept the belief that there is a "one and only" person/soul mate, including people who are divorced or who have ended long-term relationships. Clearly the cycle of love–breakup–love–breakup refutes this belief. On the other hand, when couples are in the first passionate stage of a relationship, they are more likely to accept the "one, unique soul mate" belief; as the relationship continues, the belief diminishes. Men accept this belief more than women, but overall, this is the love myth that is fading fast for both men and women.

5. **Women Are the Romantic Sex (Gender).** Women are perceived as starry-eyed romantics who fall in love quickly. This belief is associated with stereotypes about women's emotional nature consuming them when they fall in love. Despite gender role change, decades of research shatters this myth. Men express a higher level of romantic love and fall in love earlier and harder than women. Men also score higher on romantic idealization of love. Men, including gay men, are more idealistic and romantic and women are more cautious and pragmatic in attitudes about love and romance (Schmitt, 2006; Ackerman et al., 2011; Harrison and Shortall, 2011; Mohr et al., 2013).

   However, when women do decide to fall in love, they exceed men in levels of emotion and euphoria. This holds true for older and younger women and those who are in committed relationships or married. Their well-being is enhanced when romance—both messages and encounters—is perceived in

their daily lives (Frisby and Booth-Butterfield, 2012; Kroll and Pokutta, 2013). Women are defined as the experts who will work harder and sacrifice more to maintain the relationship and keep the romance alive. In Robert Sternberg's (2008) theory of love, women attach greater importance to the commitment vertex of the triangle. For women, the rational behavior eventually leads to the romantic idealism characterizing love in America. It is at the passionate first stage of love where men are more romantic.

6. **No Sex Without Love.** Although men and women express the attitude that love is a prerequisite for sex, their behavior certainly suggests otherwise. The vast majority of people engage in nonmarital sex, and many enjoy sex solely for its physical pleasure (Chapter 2). Research does show that the most satisfying sexual experiences are with spouses and committed partners because attributes of love, such as caring and commitment, characterize the relationship. However, "permissiveness without affection," known today as "hookup culture" or "friends with benefits" (see below), is fast becoming a sexual standard. Today's causal sex culture is different from the singles bar scene only a few decades ago when sex wasn't the inevitable result.

   > Now they go in groups but drive separately. If somebody hooks up, they can all get home. . . . For men and women, once they hook up, sex is going to happen. It's not a sexual revolution, it's sexual evolution. (Scott, 2007)

   Women are less likely to agree with the standard and are judged more strictly when they engage in nonmarital sex, whether with a lover or an acquaintance. Women are now less likely to endorse beliefs about sacrifice and submissiveness in a sexual relationship. But they also are more likely to engage in nonmarital sex when they hear love messages, even if these are not marriage messages (Mongeau et al., 2006; Lehmiller et al., 2011). The double standard continues.

7. **The Opposite of Love Is Hate.** Because love is so difficult to define, the final myth is perhaps easier to understand. If there *is* an opposite to love, it is not hate, but indifference.

Gender and Styles of Romance The openness and sharing that are important components of love serve to separate women and men in the later stages of love and marriage. Gender role socialization commands that masculinity be associated with lack of vulnerability. One becomes vulnerable through self-disclosure; therefore, to love fully is to self-disclose fully. Men have higher levels of openness, communication, and self-disclosure than women at the beginning of a relationship. They use more direct, open, and active strategies to initiate a romantic relationship. As the relationship continues, even into marriage, men tend to retreat in communication and responsiveness, but women expect more of both. Women become resentful and irritated when men appear unwilling to express thoughts and feelings. For men, communication is a less important ingredient in preserving a marriage or maintaining a relationship (Chapter 4). For heterosexual married couples, cohabitants, and dating partners, it is the man's behavior that sets the direction for the level of intimacy in the relationship that in turn predicts the level of satisfaction in, and adjustment to, the relationship for both partners.

Men in Love Explanations for this pattern center on a man's discomfort in opening himself to the emotions and intimacy demanded in ongoing romantic or other close relationships. Men may be blamed for the lack of emotional expression and self-disclosure that women have honed throughout their lives. Because romantic love is so identified with the expressive dimension and self-disclosure in which women are supposedly more skilled, we tend to disregard the instrumental dimension and physical aspects that men prefer. Rather than talking, men demonstrate love when they "do" masculine things for a wife or lover, such as repairing the car or cleaning out the gutters.

Men also put more emphasis on the eros/sexual component that is the distinctive marker of romantic love. Men are more likely to believe that portrayals of sex on television are accurate and represent reality; women believe the same about portrayals of love on television (Diamond, 2004; Punyanunt-Carter, 2006). Because love is so idealized for its agape/altruistic quality, even its key sexual marker is played down. Men, in turn, are viewed as "incompetent" at loving. A male deficit model that defines women as "relationship experts" has led to an incomplete, overly feminized perspective of love (Cancian, 2003).

Critique It is clear that males and females are socialized into different attitudes regarding romantic love and that romantic love idealism serves to weaken women's endorsement for its sexual component. But the claim that men do not have the skill for the communication necessary to satisfy both partners in the relationship is not justified. Because gender scripts call for men to be the initiators of a romantic relationship, they demonstrate these skills at the beginning of a relationship when they need to entice women into dating. Women give high marks to men who talk about goals, reveal otherwise private beliefs and attitudes, and disclose personal weaknesses to their potential partner. If men have good communication at one point, this skill does not suddenly disappear later. According to social constructionism and conflict theory, men have the skill to communicate, but the will to do so may be constrained by gender scripts suggesting that they can retain power in a relationship by determining what is left unsaid rather than said.

Traditional gender roles jeopardize love and loving and the marriages on which they are founded. Heterosexual dating norms and attitudes about romance continue to conform to highly gendered cultural scripts. These patterns that crosscut race and ethnicity (Ogletree, 2010; Eaton and Rose, 2011; 2012). Women who profess gender equality find themselves tangled in a gender courtship script that assumes that men should be dominant, even if the women are able to support themselves financially.

> I could easily take over. I am . . . independent and self-sufficient. . . . I could walk away—I'm not dependent on him. I don't need anything from him. But I *choose* not to take that position. . . . I do like a dominant man . . . [I don't want] them to be submissive in any way. Gross. That would totally turn me off that guy . . . even if you're his equal, I still think you should let him feel like a man. . . . (Lamont, 2014:205–206)

A woman's relationship script calls for a more passive role eventually allowing her to exchange sex for commitment. A man's relationship script calls for

an active role allowing for sexual dominance and conquest (Garcia et al., 2012; Kalish, 2013). These scripts compromise women's enjoyment of sex and their agency in sexual relations. Both scripts are in the throes of change, and women's and men's conceptions of love and sexuality are converging (Chapter 3). The courtship game, however, continues to function according to gender role stereotypes. As stereotypes erode, loving relationships may better endure the reality of shattered love myths.

Mate Selection

Americans fueled the global trend linking romantic love with selecting a marriage partner. Even in the developing world where the selection of a spouse is often in the hands of marriage brokers, parents, or other relatives, elements of "love" are increasingly factored in for sealing the arrangement. Regardless of whether it is in America or India or Brazil, however, the idealism of love is modified. Before any marriage commitment, a prospective mate is dissected and evaluated on cultural qualifications important for a marriage. Like the love that propels a couple toward marriage, gender differences abound in the process of mate selection.

The Marriage Gradient

Sociological research documents the influence of **homogamy**, becoming attracted to and marrying someone similar to yourself. If romantic love was the sole basis for mate selection, coupling would occur by chance; instead, homogamy results in **assortive mating**, coupling based on similarity. Assortive mating assumes that people who are culturally and demographically similar to one another have more opportunities to meet those similar to themselves than more dissimilar to themselves (Kalmijn and Flap, 2001). College, for example, is a powerful marriage market where people meet, date, have sexual experiences, fall in love, and marry. Mating requires meeting. Parents send children to certain colleges with the expectation that an excellent education also allows them to meet potential partners from similar backgrounds. The view of college as a marriage market may edge out career priorities for some women, especially with media accounts lamenting that suitable partners for women are lacking when they outnumber men on campus. This view also is linked to the decline of women's colleges (Chapter 11). To test predictions about homogamy, count the number of seniors you know who are engaged.

Demographics such as age, race, social class, and religion are of enormous importance in mate selection. Although considered *nonaffective* in nature—that is, not tied to the emotional expressiveness and highly charged passion of love—these predict partner selection and marital stability more than the prized notion of romantic love. It is these nonaffective elements that help to determine with whom we will fall in love. Romantic love is tempered by a market approach to mate selection. This results in a process that appears to be radically different from the ideology surrounding it.

Whereas homogamy is the marriage mate selection norm, it is filtered by the **marriage gradient**, in which women tend to marry men of higher socioeconomic status (SES), the conventional practice used by women for upward mobility. Although this practice is weaker today, data still clearly support that "marrying up" is the

path many women choose to bolster economic security. The marriage gradient is functional for women who prefer well-educated men who have the earning capacity necessary to support a family. Compared with men, women place greater value on the instrumental qualities of a prospective mate and assess men on their suitability as good providers. Decades of research attest that this continues to be true, even for college-educated women who express high levels of egalitarianism, expect high-paying jobs, and intend to combine career and marriage. Women do want to provide for their families but are uncertain about "how much providing to do" (Melton and Lindsey, 1987; Loscocco and Spitze, 2007; Bjerk, 2009).

Age Perhaps the most important attribute influencing mate selection is age. Most people marry others within a few years of their own age. If there is an age difference, the man is usually older than the woman. Traditional gender expectations dictated that men must gain the education and job skills necessary to support a family, thus keeping them out of marriage longer than women, who are socialized primarily for domestic roles. Since the 1950s, there has been a gradual increase in the marriage age for both genders. With women comprising over half of all college students and half of the labor force, traditional gender roles are eroding. The median age at first marriage is now higher for women than at any time since 1890 and is approaching that of men (Table 7.1). In later marriages or remarriages, age differences are likely to be greater, but usually favors the same younger woman–older man pattern.

However, a new trend indicates that younger man–older woman marriage is becoming more acceptable, most common among the elderly. Generally, elderly widows are at a disadvantage for a homogamous remarriage because men marry younger women at all life stages and women outlive men by over seven years (Chapter 2). New role models for women, economic success, divorce and remarriage, the marriage squeeze (see below), and fewer constraints from family and society will likely accelerate the pattern for all but the youngest women.

Race Of all demographic variables, homogamy is strongest for race. New trends, however, are beginning to crack the racial homogamy pattern. Acceptance for interracial marriage has grown steadily, with the highest support today among young adults (Watson, 2014). Between 1970 and 2000, interracial marriages tripled. In 2007, 7.4 percent of households were interracial or interethnic; in 2010, the number rose to almost 10 percent. The U.S. Census now allows for multiple racial responses. Besides showing over half of all marriages as interracial, Hawaii also has four of five of the U.S. counties with the highest proportion of married couple households reporting multiple races (Johnson and Kreider, 2013).

Choosing more than one racial category provides a more accurate picture of diversity in the United States, but also a more complex one. Of all interracial marriages, about one-fourth are African American–white marriages, with about 70 percent of these consisting of a white wife and an African American husband (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

The other three-fourths of interracial marriages are between whites and nonblacks, the most typical pattern being Native American or Asian women of Japanese, Filipino, or Korean descent marrying white men. For Asians, gender role beliefs help explain these patterns, but in a paradoxical way. More acculturated Asian American

TABLE 7.1 Median Age at First Marriage by Gender, Selected Years

Year	Men	Women
1890	26.1	22.0
1910	25.1	21.6
1920	24.6	21.2
1930	24.3	21.3
1940	24.3	21.5
1950	22.8	20.3
1960	22.8	20.3
1970	23.2	20.8
1980	24.7	22.0
1990	26.1	23.9
1995	26.9	24.5
1998	26.7	25.0
2000	26.8	25.1
2005	27.0	25.5
2007	27.7	26.0
2010	28.7	26.5
2012	28.6	26.6
2014	29 (est.)	27 (est.)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *American Family and Living Arrangements, 2008;* Decennial Censuses, 1890 to 1940; and Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 1947 to 2013. www.census.gov/hhes/families/files/graphics/MS-2.pdf

women seek marriage to men who are more egalitarian and hold less traditional views of women. White men seek Asian American women for the opposite reason. They may desire a stereotyped Asian female—"good at housekeeping, service oriented, willing to stay at home, and sexy" (Kitano and Daniels, 1995:188). Although both may get what they want initially, patterns of acculturation toward egalitarian gender roles predict more marital satisfaction among Asian American women than among white men.

Race and SES When comparing race and class in these marriages, the data support homogamy in SES. This suggests that class is more important than race for these couples. Interracial marriages among those with similar SES preserve social class boundaries. Although interracial couples have higher rates of divorce, like other

couples, higher levels of education and SES appear to buffer racial barriers and bolster marriage (Fu, 2007, 2008; Bratter and King, 2008). Barack Obama, America's first biracial President, is the son of a white mother and a black father who was African, not African American. His parents met in graduate school in Hawaii.

Attractiveness The importance both men and women attach to physical attractiveness in selecting a serious dating or marriage partner has increased dramatically in the last two decades. Media obsession with celebrities walking the "red carpet"—by how they look and what they wear—and the fairy tale weddings they have help explain why this has become a global trend (Ingraham, 2008). Both genders report that communication skills are important in choosing a partner, and men are now similar to women in that they add a woman's economic prospects to their marriage partner shopping list. Men, however, continue to place a higher value on good looks, weight, and facial attractiveness compared to women. Women are well aware of the value men place on attractiveness. Women with lower body esteem also express less confidence in their relationships (Ambwani and Strauss, 2007; Lippa, 2007). For a quick confirmation of gender beliefs about attractiveness, go online or pick up any newspaper devoted to ads for dating partners. Men's ads are more likely to mention that they are looking for "beautiful and slender" women or those who have proper "weight in proportion to height." Women are more likely to say that they are looking for a relationship with a man who is affluent and dependable as well as kind and caring. Older men desire attractive, physically fit women who are younger than themselves. Older women seek companionship but are wary of a relationship that transitions to caregiving. Male preoccupation with physical attractiveness cuts across race, social class, and sexual orientation. The crack in racial homogamy also suggests that there are cultural norms about attractiveness that transcend specific racial variations (Lewis, 2012; McWilliams and Barrett, 2014). Because men value it more than women and it is the first trait they notice when checking out possible dating partners, physical attractiveness is an important factor in why men fall in love sooner than women.

The Marriage Squeeze

Age at marriage is also affected by the proportion of women and men who are available. When there is an unbalanced ratio of marriage-age women to marriage-age men, a **marriage squeeze** exists, in which one gender has a more limited pool of potential marriage partners. Most people marry in their mid-twenties, and men marry women who are a few years younger than they are. After World War II, the birthrate increased considerably (the baby boom era). More women were born in 1950 than men born in 1940. By the 1980s, there was a shortage of marriageable men. Because of the steep decline in birthrates in the 1960s and 1970s, men in their mid-twenties faced a shortage of women. This has changed again with a marriage squeeze favoring men. There are more eligible women than eligible men, especially for midlife and older women. The trends of women marrying men two to three years older than they are combined with higher male mortality rates and economic independence for women help explain this. Although the proportion of single women at the prime marrying age is steadily increasing, widows make up a large portion

of the single-women-living-alone category. Age is the factor on which the marriage squeeze is based, but with intersectionality in mind, it is being expanded to account for other key factors, especially race, education, and income.

Women, like men, eventually want to marry. But women today are less likely to marry simply for financial security. This flexibility narrows the range of partners when these women are seriously thinking about marriage. Many may opt to remain single because they do not want to settle or settle down with the single men who are "left." Men may be seeking attractive women, but good looks have slipped in their ranking, with education and intelligence having higher importance. The educated women no longer must conform to a stereotype of playing dumb in the dating game. Today college-educated women at ages 35–40 are much more likely to marry than less educated women. The best predictor of marital happiness is not how much a woman looks up to her husband, but his sensitivity to her emotional cues and, as discussed later, his willingness to share housework and child care. Women today can now expect "more of a mate then we could when we depended on them for our financial security, social status and sense of accomplishment" (Coonz, 2012:6). Men today are also largely accepting of and acting on this expectation.

The notion of the spurned, highly educated woman is a myth perpetuated by a female marriage squeeze based on age alone. The group most likely to be squeezed out of the marriage market today is poorly educated, lower-SES men.

African American Women When considering demographic trends related to race, age, and education, the marriage squeeze is acute for African American women as a subgroup. We saw in Chapter 2 that for both race and sex, life expectancy rates are lowest for African American males. It is estimated that there are eight African American men for every ten African American women. These women also are more likely to be college educated; for every ten college-educated African American women, there are two comparably educated men. African American women outnumber employed African American men in every age category by two to one. African American–white marriages are infrequent, but when they occur, we saw that the pattern is of African American men marrying white women. African American men who marry women of other races also are likely to be highly educated. Highly educated African American women are less likely to intermarry racially (as are highly educated white men).

These patterns significantly restrict the field of eligible partners for African American women. As a result, in comparison to white women, African American women are more likely to marry men who are older, are of a lower educational level, and have been previously married (Banks, 2011). If African American women select mates of their own race who are otherwise significantly different than they are, this lack of homogamy, as it is for all races, predicts less marital stability and happiness.

The marriage squeeze may be responsible for the hard choices men and women of all races must make in today's marriage market. Demographic trends help us better understand these choices, but they do not tell us why some people are more acceptable partners for marriage than others. Eligibility in the marriage market is determined by strong intersectional gender, race, and age norms regarding what and who are considered "appropriate" to marry—norms that direct us toward some people and away from others. The marriage squeeze itself is a by-product of these

influences. As these norms are altered, the marriage squeeze also fluctuates. Perhaps the marriage squeeze that is based on age-based sex ratios is no longer relevant. A huge, unbalanced sex ratio may explain demographic patterns in China (Chapter 2). But in the United States, it does not explain the "dramatic, society-wide changes in sexual and relational behavior that have been going on for 50 or more years" (England, 2012:512). In this sense, social constructionism views the marriage squeeze not as an objectively determined demographic process, but as a socially constructed one.

Sociological Perspectives on Mate Selection

Theoretical perspectives in sociology offer competing explanations for the marriage gradient and a social class marriage gap that may result. According to the functionalist perspective, traditional gender socialization—expressive roles for women and instrumental roles for men—contribute to social stability. An attractive woman may have more of an advantage in "marrying up," but she, her family, and society will benefit. According to conflict theory, men do not need to be as attractive because they possess greater economic power and prestige in society than women. Once economic power is achieved outside the home, men will use it to maintain dominance within the home. In extending conflict theory, the feminist perspective suggests that when excluded from power, women become objects of exchange. The marriage gradient in mate selection serves to reduce women to objects based on appearance while disregarding their other statuses, such as personal accomplishments and occupational success. Social constructionism suggests that idealized images of spouses are defined by stereotypical gender norms. Symbolic interactionists assert that the marriage gradient may produce a self-fulfilling prophecy—in a dating context, women may come to view themselves the way they are viewed by men—as objects of exchange based on varying degrees of beauty.

Gender Roles in Marriage and the Family

Social change related to love and marriage is enormous. Marriage and the families that become "legitimate" by it are both idealized and frightening for couples on the way to the altar. Images of loving couples with contented children coexist with those of abandonment, divorce, and domestic violence. The enchantment of romance has a bleak shelf life. Regardless of perception or reality and although their numbers are smaller, the vast majority of people will marry. Shifts in gender roles have altered our views of "traditional" marriage and families and prompted the emergence of a variety of lifestyles for those seeking alternatives to these traditional views. These shifts also are largely responsible for significant demographic changes in marriage trends.

The Marriage Gap

Led by young adults who have higher rates of cohabitation and lower rates of marriage, since 1950, the United States has experienced a steady *marriage gap*. For the last half century, the marriage rate as well as the divorce rate show consistent declines (Table 7.2). The lower divorce rate is associated with the

TABLE 7.2 Marriage and Divorce Rate, Selected Years

	Rate per 1,000 population	
Year	**Marriage Rate**	**Divorce Rate**
1960	8.5	2.2
1970	10.6	3.5
1980	10.6	5.2
1990	9.8	4.7
1995	8.9	4.4
2000	8.3	4.1
2003	7.7	3.8
2005	7.6	3.6
2008	7.1	3.4
2009	6.8	3.6
2010	6.8	3.6
2011	6.8	3.5

Source: National Vital Statistics Program, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. National Marriage and Divorce Rate Trends. February 19, 2013. Accessed April 15, 2014. www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/marriage_divorce_tables.htm

decline in marriages and an increased acceptance of cohabitation. Fueled by the share of women who are not married or who stay married, the gap is widening. More people—especially more women—who also are in committed relationships are choosing to remain single. Even with a lowered divorce rate, divorced women have lower remarriage rates than divorced men (Chapter 8). Women who delay marriage or remarriage may choose not to marry at all. In addition, life expectancy is increasing, and because women outlive men, widows may find themselves without partners several decades after their husbands die. For the first time in American history, more women are living without a spouse than with one. It is unlikely, therefore, that American women can expect to live out most of their adult lives in marriage (Table 7.3).

The marriage gap also is an economic gap. Poor people are less likely to get married (and stay married) than the nonpoor. The gender–social class connection as a factor in the marriage gap is an important one. Although both men and women who are poor are more likely to be squeezed out of marriage, poor women with children, especially women of color, are even less likely to marry. Discussed later, this demographic trend has generated much media attention.

Regardless of a marriage gap and the decreased time spent with spouses, marriage is still the preferred choice for couples regardless of race and SES. Marriage

TABLE 7.3 Marital Status in the United States by Gender, 2010

All Adults	Men (%)	Women (%)
Married*	58	55.2
Never married	30.4	43.3
Widowed	2.7	9.6
Divorced	9.0	11.7

*Includes persons who are married with spouse present, married with spouse absent, and separated.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2012. Table 57, p. 53. www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0057.pdf

also is the preferred route for long-term commitment for gay and lesbian couples. Marriage is emotionally and economically beneficial to both men and women. Gender roles are critical mediators of the benefits.

Theoretical Perspectives on Marriage and the Family

Sociologists find it easier to describe what families *do* than what they *are*. In many regions of the developing world, large families are functional for subsistence agriculture and for the production of goods for family use or for sale or exchange when surpluses are available. As long as it can feed itself, a larger family unit provides an economic advantage. Because women are responsible for feeding the family, subsistence farming is considered to be a domestic role and is assigned to women in many parts of the world. In the developed world, the family has been transformed from a unit of *production* to one of *consumption*. *Extended families*—consisting of parents, dependent children, and other relatives, usually of at least three generations living in the same household—are typical in rural areas throughout the developing world. In urban areas, larger families are at an economic disadvantage because families consume but do not produce goods. Thus, **nuclear families**, consisting of wife, husband, and their dependent children who live apart from other relatives in their own residence, are more typical in urban areas globally.

Because the conventional definition is too limited to encompass the structural diversity of households in the United States, especially those without marriage partners, a more inclusive definition is needed. The U.S. Census Bureau now uses the term *family* to describe a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption who reside together. A *subfamily* consists of a married couple and their children or one parent with one or more never married children under 18 living in a household. The term *subfamily*, then, combines the "traditional" nuclear family with other family forms. Notice that all varieties of families are not the same as households. A **household** is a person or group of people who occupy a housing unit. There are family households, nonfamily households, and households made up of both family and nonfamily members. All of these definitions emphasize

family structure but tell us nothing about how the family is organized according to functions.

Families have been profoundly altered by industrialization and urbanization, the two key processes propelling modernization. In this sense, gender role change in families is a by-product of modernization. Family change over the last century was fueled by women entering the labor force, but women entering the labor force was fueled by modernization. The contemporary reality is that the "traditional" nuclear family is but one of many variations of family structure and household structure (Figure 7.2). When adding family function to the variations, households with homemaker wives, breadwinning husbands, and their at-home children under age 18 represent only 10–12 percent of all married-couple households. These distinctions may seem academic, but how marriage and family are defined provokes a great deal of controversy and influences the lives of many people when definitions are translated into public policy. We will see that the controversy surrounds gender role change related to family function.

All theoretical perspectives in sociology recognize that families are pivotal in carrying out functions for family members and society as a whole. There is also general agreement that the functions can be carried out within a variety of marital and nonmarital family structures found across the globe. However, sociologists disagree about the benefits and liabilities to the family and society that are associated with gender role change.

Functionalism Functionalists argue that marriage and eventual parenting are good for society and the individual couple. Marriage and the family provide social benefits, including regulation of sexual behavior, socialization of the children,

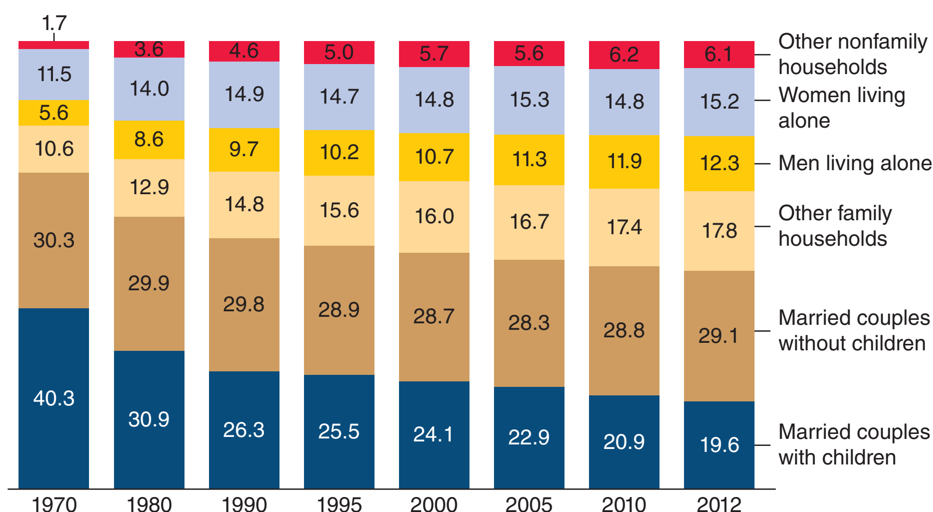

FIGURE 7.2

Households by Type, 1970–2012

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *America's Families and Living Arrangements: 2012.* Issued August, 2013. Figure 1, p. 5. www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-570.pdf

economic cooperation, safety and protection, and an environment in which love and commitment can be freely expressed. Married couples benefit from ongoing companionship and ego support that combat depression and bolster emotional well-being. Families provide **social capital** to members. Social capital consists of networks of relationships and resources that are beneficial and advantageous to a person and to society. This includes a family's resources, such as level of education, income, housing, and material goods, and emphasizes the social placement function of families in the larger social stratification system.

The functionalist perspective highlights these family tasks as vital for social stability. If the institution of the family is ineffective in carrying out requisite social "duties" and other institutions have not picked up the slack, social equilibrium will be compromised. From the functionalist perspective, the socialization of children into nonoverlapping and accepted social roles—instrumental for boys and expressive for girls—is central to social stability. Gender role change and ambiguity of roles are disruptive to family harmony. If one partner takes on the roles typically prescribed for the other, marital dissent and family disruption result. If too many families are disrupted by such change, broader social harmony is threatened. Functionalists favor a nuclear family model that functions with a wage-earning husband who has final power over household decisions and a dependent wife and children. This model becomes the ideal to which all families should adhere.

Critique The problem with the functionalist view is that change is inevitable, so what is considered to be traditional changes over time. Although the traditional model is believed to be the historical and contemporary U.S. norm, it emerged only a century ago and was associated with white, middle, and upper-class families. Throughout the nineteenth century, poor women, especially immigrants and their children, worked in sweatshops or at home doing piecework. Nostalgia is expressed for a family form that was never the American norm and is far from the norm today (Coontz, 2000; Willis, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Functionalist snapshots of families taken at different times in history show that the model for the "traditional" family varies over time. The multigenerational family living in the same household was believed to be the U.S. norm in the early twentieth century. This belief was perpetuated by television shows such as *The Waltons*, which depicted a three-generation farm family surviving the Depression by hard work, faith, and devotion to family. A "new" traditional family emerged in the 1950s and has served as the ideal ever since. In its pioneering stage, television gave us *Leave It to Beaver* (The Cleavers—Ward, June, Wally, and the Beaver) and *Father Knows Best*. These extremely popular shows portrayed a patriarchal family model with a breadwinning husband, a bread-baking homemaker mother, and their at-home children. At the millennium, the Cleavers have disappeared and highly diverse, alternative families and households are emerging on television. These may become the "traditional" families of the future.

Conflict Theory Conflict theory focuses on the social placement function of the family in preserving existing inequality and power relations in the broader society. Social capital provided by wealthier families is maximized through marriages that ensure its safekeeping within their own social class. According to conflict theory, when social placement operates through patriarchal and patrilineal systems, wealth

is further concentrated in the hands of males, which promotes female subservience, neglect, and poverty. When applied to the household, conflict theory argues that married couples and other family members possess different amounts of resources and will defend their individual interests and resources to maximize their power base in the home. A husband's power base is maximized by the economic leverage that comes with his earnings. When women gain economic strength by being a wage earner, conflict theorists assert that her power inside the home also is strengthened. More egalitarian household arrangements result.

Critique With its focus on control of economic resources in the family and the jealous guarding of family property both between and within families, conflict theory has been criticized for disregarding the cooperation and agreement that also are powerful components of family life. Family members are highly altruistic, and kin and nonkin networks offer major sources of support to families in a variety of ways—even when their own well-being is compromised. A paycheck for women does not guarantee egalitarian roles in their homes.

Feminist Perspective Feminist scholars in the 1960s and 1970s viewed the traditional patriarchal family as a major site for the oppression of women. Feminists expressed concern that when the patriarchal family is viewed as beneficial to social stability, it hampers the movement into egalitarian roles desired by both men and women. They also argued that the idealized view of the family did not account for the varied experiences of women whose daily lives were lived out in multiple family forms. Since the 1980s the feminist perspective broadened considerably to include not only gender, but also race, class, and sexuality as other avenues of oppression to women in the family. Feminists recognize that gendered family relations do not occur in a vacuum and that lives are helped or hurt by the resources outside the family that shape what is happening inside the family (Wells and Zinn, 2004). Along with gender, for example, single-parent African American, Latino, and Native American women are disadvantaged by race when they seek employment necessary to support their families. Lesbians must deal with a system that represses same-sex relationships when they fight for custody of their children. However, feminists suggest that women may be doubly or triply disadvantaged by their race, class, or sexuality but they are not helpless victims—they possess *agency*, the power to adapt and even thrive in difficult situations.

Critique With a view of marriage and the family focusing on oppression of women, feminists tend to minimize the practical benefits of marriage, including economic resources and social support (Sweeney, 2002). Feminist scholars also find it difficult to reconcile research suggesting that women in traditional marriages are as satisfied with their choices as women in egalitarian marriages. Finally, when feminists accept all forms of family diversity and highlight as well as emphasize a woman's informal power and human agency, they may disregard situations such as domestic abuse, where law, cultural norms, and family customs sustain women's victimization.

Symbolic Interaction and Social Constructionism Both of these perspectives suggest that many subjective meanings are attached to what a family is "supposed" to be and what its members are "supposed" to do. In our daily lives,

however, we adapt these beliefs to fit our own definitions and accommodate our own needs. As we saw from the census classifications, the definition of a family is not written in stone. It shifts with the broader social changes going on outside the family. These shifts show up in how people are labeled. The children of unmarried women are much less likely today to be referred as "illegitimate," for example. Symbolic interactionists specifically focus on how couples take on family roles that become traditionally gendered, such as housework, even when they desire egalitarian marriages. The definitions of what a man and a woman are supposed to do in the home are powerful and are reinforced every time we carry out our family roles. However, because families negotiate these definitions in the context of their own homes, over time, the roles may change to what a couple wants rather than what they currently have.

Research on marital satisfaction also demonstrates the importance of perception of marriage and family roles. The majority of married couples say that they are happy in their marriages, but males express higher levels of happiness than females (NORC, 2012). A key factor in marital satisfaction is the extent to which a couple agrees on expectations regarding traditional gender roles. Marital quality decreases when a couple holds conflicting views, such as how spending decisions should be made or how children should be disciplined. When wives adopt less traditional gender role attitudes (I'll decide how to spend my own income; women need time away from their families), the couple's perceived marital quality goes down. When husbands adopt less traditional attitudes (I'll do the ironing; a woman can be President), it goes up. Marriages with the lowest level of marital satisfaction are those with a traditional husband and a nontraditional wife. Regardless of how traditional or nontraditional they may be, marital satisfaction is highest when gender role attitudes and behavior are congruent. When a couple brings ideals related to gender roles into their marriages, they continually negotiate them to maximize marital satisfaction for both partners.

Critique Both perspectives tend to minimize the importance of larger social structures in explaining family dynamics. Men and women interact as individual family members, but they also interact according to other roles they play in society and the prestige associated with those roles. Agency and negotiation of the less privileged partner may be compromised when power and rights conferred outside the home invade the home. For example, a wealthy white man who holds a powerful position in a corporation does not dissolve those roles when he walks into his home. They shape his life at home, in the workplace, and in other social institutions in which he takes part. Race, class, and gender offer a range of privileges bestowed by the broader society that also allows for a power base to be established in his home. Power and privilege foster a patriarchal family regardless of the couple's desire for a more egalitarian arrangement.

Gender and the Family Values Debate

Sociological perspectives on gender roles in marriage and the family are embedded in the highly politicized "family values" debate that fluctuates according to media and politics, especially in election year. One side of the debate centers on

the argument that new family forms and alternative lifestyles are breaking down the family and creating social havoc—children are neglected, illegitimacy rates soar, marriage is scorned, and divorce is rampant. Propelled by poor women with children who remain unmarried, the marriage gap is the fundamental reason behind America's growing income inequality (Hymowitz, 2006). The underlying message is that a return to the traditional family will solve these social woes. Led by the New Right linkage of conservative politicians and fundamentalist Christian churches, "family restorationists" often use sociological data to support their claims (Chapter 14). In the idealization of the traditional, patriarchal nuclear family, they suggest that males are disempowered in companionate marriages that emphasize equality and a balance of individual needs with family needs. Such marriages and families, they believe, undermine traditional values of self-sacrifice and family commitment. The welfare state steps in to take over what should be family responsibilities (Popenoe, 2003; Morgan, 2008). Gender role change led by women who sought roles outside their home usurped men from their positions of dominance. When men return to their position as the unchallenged head of the family, families and society will benefit.

Arguments in defending the idealized model advocated by family restorationists are pervasive. At the extreme is Phyllis Schlafly (2003), who maintains that feminists are responsible for social havoc because they encourage women to challenge patriarchy. She argues that feminism and women who work outside the home take jobs from males, create male wimps, promote sex outside of marriage, sabotage family stability, and undermine motherhood. Family restorationists believe that conflicts are resolved when women accept the household responsibilities they abandoned when the workplace demanded more of their attention than their families did.

Critique The major shortcomings in the family restorationist model center on several key points. First, the model ignores the reality of social change, especially related to gender roles. Depending on the time frame used, there are all kinds of "new" traditional families. As this chapter documents, how a family is defined has changed and will continue to change over time. The demand of the restorationists is for an ideal family that has never been the norm. The view that women's employment is the culprit in the so-called family decline is not borne out in research. Divorce was increasing even before women's widespread entrance into the labor force. Women with children who may or may not be married or who are third-shift caretakers do not have the full-time homemaker option. If they receive public assistance, they are required to be employed or in training for employment. Women may celebrate feminist progress in the workplace, but their paychecks are needed to support their families, whether they are married or not.

Second, although the class divide in marriage is a demographic fact, it is not the fundamental cause of social inequality; neither is marriage the panacea for fighting poverty. Poverty begets poverty for women from the most disadvantaged neighborhoods—whether or not they are married or whether or not they are single parents (Coontz, 2005, 2008). As the continuing fallout from the recession demonstrates, economic downturn reverberates throughout all social institutions and has a huge impact on both family structure and family function, not the other way around

(Chapter 10). The unmarried poor were not responsible for the widening income inequality in the first decade of the millennium, and poor people marrying certainly will not stem the tide of the income inequality caused by one of the worst economic declines in U.S. history.

Third, the link between family change and child well-being is far more complex and more positive than the uniform negative effects family restorationists emphasize. Surveys of parents for almost half a century suggest that mothers today spend at least as much time—and perhaps even more—interacting with their children as mothers did decades ago. To the benefit of children and despite the increased time mothers devote to the workplace, the amount of time for recreation and child-centered activities has not decreased. Although housework is given less time, women are more efficient in juggling home and workplace demands (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013).

Finally, American couples increasingly desire egalitarian gender roles in their marriages, in direct opposition to the patriarchal family model advocated by restorationists (Amato et al., 2007). Egalitarian marriages and other nontraditional family structures offer lifestyles condemned by family restorationists, but as we will see, these can enhance a marriage and bolster rather than hurt a child's well-being.

Ongoing legal and political challenges in extending the rights of the married to the nonmarried and to kin and nonkin partnerships will keep the issue of "what is a family"—and the gender roles in these families—in the public spotlight.

Housewives

A housewife's image is bombarded with contradictions. The term *housewife* is used here instead of *homemaker* to specifically indicate the females rather than the males who carry out the role. On the one hand, the traditional housewife role is associated with fulfillment of the American dream for women. It is seen as the height of a woman's aspirations, a deliberate choice that gives her the maximum amount of pride and satisfaction. In overseeing her home, she can be expressive, creative, and autonomous. Research suggests that many women view housework as complex and intellectually challenging. They may believe that their roles as housewives and mothers are less valued than the workplace roles of men and women, but their roles offer paths to build self-confidence, skills, and a sense of well-being. These beliefs are important given data that women in all household patterns do more housework than men but that the gender gap is widest for married women (Caplan and Schooler, 2006; Davis et al., 2007).

Housewife Status When housewives suggest that their position is a devalued one, they focus on the intense time demands that are essential for the job but are taken for granted by their husbands, family, and society. A woman must continually be on call to the needs of her family while her own needs are put on hold or ignored (Dempsey, 2001; Phipps et al., 2001). The more she sacrifices for her family, the more she becomes securely bound to it and the more she is blamed for family-related problems. For example, compared to homes with employed mothers, in full-time homemaker families, fathers perceive that their children are less disciplined and are able to manipulate their mothers (Baker et al., 2003). In addition,

despite microwaves, dry cleaners, and fast food, the time demands on a housewife have not decreased. Tasks associated with child care bring an enormous increase in time demands. Baking brownies for an elementary school party involves more time than cooking and cleaning. Additional time is spent getting to and volunteering at the party. She is thanked for these activities, but she is not paid for them. Conflict theorists argue that unpaid work is associated with a devalued role. Women receive no remuneration for the vital homemaker services they provide (Chapter 10).

The full-time homemaker is caught in a struggle to affirm her role positively at a time when women are marrying later, delaying childbirth, and entering professional careers at record rates. She takes pride in her domestic work and derives a measure of satisfaction from it. Her well-being is conditioned by how her role is socially defined in and outside her family and how she perceives the fairness of her duties. When spouse and children support her household work, she expresses more satisfaction with housewifery. Homemakers who have a network of family, friends, and organizations, such as a church or volunteer group, counteract the boredom and loneliness they may experience, are also higher in marital satisfaction. (Jalilvand, 2000; Grote et al., 2002; Mirowsky and Ross, 2003).

A feminist perspective suggests that patriarchy functions to undermine all women, whether they are homemakers or work for pay. The homemaker role may be devalued, but it is the very role women are expected to embrace enthusiastically. An employed woman is held accountable for anything construed as going awry in her family due to her workplace commitments. Patriarchy inserts a wedge of suspicion and accusation between full-time homemakers and women who work outside the home. Rather than considering the gendered factors that encourage dependency for homemakers and guilt for employed women, feminists are viewed as the causes of the devalued position of housewife. The larger patriarchal economic and marital arrangements that encourage the devaluation are ignored.

The housewife role is an ambiguous one. The label of "housewife" is gradually being replaced by the inclusive label of **homemaker**—the person responsible for the "the making of a home." From a social constructionist perspective, the newer label plants the seeds for revised definitions affirming the importance of home-based roles for women and men.

The Issue of Housework

There is a research boom on the impact of women's paid work on all social institutions, especially the division of household labor. For American couples, who does what housework and how much each family member does is one of the most contentious issues families face. The manner in which the housework issue is resolved has an enormous impact on family lifestyle, gender socialization of the children, and marital satisfaction of the couple.

Global Trends The gender gap in housework is a global phenomenon. Throughout the world, regardless of whether women are full-time housewives or employed outside the home, they shoulder the primary responsibility for housework. Cross-national comparisons show that in countries with gender-egalitarian attitudes, men take more responsibility for domestic labor, including cleaning, cooking, shopping,

and child care. In industrialized countries, Swedish men and Hungarian women do the most housework and Japanese men and Russian women do the least. In both the developed and developing world, women's literacy, business ownership, technological training, and paid employment increase the likelihood that men spend more time and women spend less time on domestic responsibilities (UNDP, 2013; World Bank, 2009; 2013). These patterns have been tracked for over half a century and show that American men have increased their share of housework by about one-third and women have decreased their share by about 10 percent (ISR, 2002). A key point to understand, however, is that the increase in the proportion of his tasks is not offset by the decrease in hers. It is exceedingly difficult for a woman who works 40 hours a week outside the home to add another 40 or 50 inside. This gives no respite from work, whether it is paid or unpaid. For households in the United States as well as globally, the nonessential tasks that wives leave uncompleted are not likely to be completed by husbands and children.

Dual Earners Research on dual-earner U.S. couples usually starts with the assumption that a married woman's paid work translates to more equitable domestic task sharing with her spouse. Studies conducted since the 1960s report that husbands feel obligated to take on a substantially larger share of housework when their wives also are working outside the home. When these attitudes are matched with actual behavior, however, this largely has not happened. Both homemakers and employed wives spend about 50 percent more time on household chores than their husbands. For dual-earner couples of all races, over a half century of research finds that a husband's contribution to domestic work has increased gradually over time but remains small in proportion to that of his wife (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Press and Townsley, 1998; Pinto, 2006; Cunningham, 2007). Like dual-earner couples worldwide, the decline in her household labor is largely accounted for by her increased time in paid work. Other factors contributing to this decline include having increased education, marrying later, having fewer children, and having them later.

Any expanded household tasks that husbands are doing favor traditionally masculine chores—such as lawn care, house repairs, plumbing and electrical work, and automobile maintenance. Tasks for men are usually related to time-limited or seasonal projects, such as arranging for car repairs, mowing the lawn, and shoveling snow. When child care is involved, fathers are increasing their recreational time with children more than in the past. Nonetheless, wives take on a significantly greater share of a family's total share of housework. Women do the traditional feminine chores (laundry, cleaning, ironing, child-maintenance) as well as housework that is becoming more gender neutral (cooking, grocery shopping, child care, pet care). These are the ongoing, taken-for-granted daily tasks that consume huge amounts of time and energy for employed wives. Children share some chores but these, too, demonstrate how household labor is gendered. Boys take out the trash (time-limited) and girls do the dishes (daily, ongoing). However, daughters are more likely to take on tasks that sons perform than the reverse. Gendered household tasks are reduced if dual-earner families have only sons or only daughters.

Multicultural Variations Race, ethnicity, social class, and religion also mediate household task sharing in dual-earner families. Middle-class wives may be able

to afford paid help, but they maintain the responsibility for organizing child care, investigating day care options, and hiring and monitoring nannies or other helpers. These ongoing activities may not significantly decrease their total hours of domestic labor. Mothers of all social classes have more difficulty balancing work and family roles, but professional couples have higher incomes and therefore more control over how these roles can be balanced.

Working-class, dual-earning couples, both married and cohabiting, also show women doing more household labor than men—significantly more than middle-class women. For cohabiters, when her income is more than his, she may attempt to implement more equitable arrangements. But like their middle-class counterparts, traditional gender roles intrude and arrangements often collapse. Adding race and ethnicity to the picture, compared to white men, African American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican men in dual-earner families take on a greater share of housework and child care tasks; Asian American men take on the least amount. Dual-earning couples with high degrees of religiosity assign more household and child care tasks to wives. For African American couples, higher religiosity is associated with less likelihood of divorce but they also hold more traditional gender role attitudes in the divisions of household labor. These couples report lower marital quality when husbands held traditional gender role attitudes. Interestingly, these traditional husbands also report lower marital quality when they are engaged in a traditional division of household labor. This may reflect yet another mismatch between gendered attitudes and behavior. Abundant research shows African American men in dual-earning households doing more household labor. Interestingly, when these traditional husbands also engage in traditional household labor, marital quality decreases (Brown et al., 2008; Miller and Sassler, 2012; Stanik and Bryant, 2012).

For dual-earning couples of all races, women often perceive the household division of labor as unjust. Wives are less concerned about the total time they spend in housework compared to their husbands than about the type of tasks that are accomplished. They point out that men do not equitably share the mundane, routine home and child maintenance tasks (not the same as recreational time) that neither partner prefers to do (Chapter 8). When leisure and recreational time are factored in, dual-earning women also fare worse than men. Women are clearly aware that when a husband "helps out" his wife with traditionally masculine tasks, it is not the same as true task sharing.

Women employed full-time for pay walk into their homes after work and begin what sociologists refer to as a **second shift** of unpaid work (Hochschild, 2003). This second shift leads into a **third shift** of caregiving for employed women who simultaneously care for their children and frail parents, grandparents, or other friends and relatives (Chapter 10). When all the hours of "work" are counted, men and women may be close to parity (Bianchi et al., 2012). A cultural lag exists between liberal attitudes about fairer task sharing in housework and how the housework is accomplished. Many husbands believe that wives have such high standards for housework that whatever they do is not good enough. The perception of unfairness that women harbor about household task sharing decreases marital happiness and commitment and increases the likelihood that they will end the marriage (Frisco and Williams, 2003; Tang and Curran, 2013). There are many reasons for husbands to get more involved in housework. They have happier marriages, better physical health, less anxiety and depression, and even better sex lives than men who don't.

For this last rather intriguing result, some researchers suggest that husbands may exchange housework for sex (Ogletree et al., 2006; Coltrane and Adams, 2008; Kalmijn and Monden, 2012). However, husbands and wives reporting more traditional housework arrangements also report higher sexual frequency (Kornrich et al., 2013). Can couples with equalitarian attitudes and high martial satisfaction also display gendered housework patterns? Cultural lag does exist, but perhaps the important point is that the patterns are perceived as fair, even if the housework is gendered (Bloch and Taylor, 2012). When all the hours of "work" are counted, men and women may be close to parity. But it is the gendered nature of work—paid and unpaid—that can compromise egalitarianism for both men and women. Regardless of the shift to less traditional marriages, "chore wars" remain the thorn in the side of dual-earner couples.

Extramarital Relationships

Sexual betrayal shatters the commitment that is fundamental to marriage. Americans express high levels of intolerance for sexual infidelity in any relationship that is expected to be monogamous, whether the couple is married or not. These levels of intolerance significantly increase when the infidelity occurs between married partners. However, people frequently engage in the infidelity they denounce (NORC, 2012). Betrayal of commitment can be emotional as well as sexual. Half of married men and 40 percent of married women engage in sexual or emotional extramarital relationships (EMRs); two-thirds of young adults in committed, dating relationships engage in sexual infidelity (Orzeck and Lung, 2005; McAnulty, 2012). Even these large numbers are suspect because single women and men are involved with married women and men, but figures often only give the married estimates. These relationships may still be referred to as "affairs," but labels of "cheating" and "sexual betrayal" are now commonly used.

Arrangements are extremely varied, involve different degrees of openness, and include married as well as single people. Many extramarital relationships are more open, with the spouse and other friends aware of the relationship. In this sense, the label of "affair" is erroneous with its implication of secrecy. Sex may or may not be part of it, although the potential is certainly there. Job mobility and career-related travel for both men and women, more time away from home, more permissive sexual values, and greater sexual opportunities are linked to the higher likelihood of sexual infidelity among all categories of couples—those who are married, who are cohabiting, and who are in long-term committed relationships. These trends take place in a culture that continues to idealize romantic love. Americans who are more likely to be prompted into an affair are those who originally believed that a spouse can satisfy all sexual and emotional needs.

Gender Differences Men and women differ as to their desires and expectations for pursuing extramarital relationships. Although men and women may eventually act on their desire to have an affair, men express a greater willingness to pursue a "spousal alternative." Women view monogamy more as relationship enhancing; men view monogamy more as a sacrifice. Women emphasize love and fidelity in their committed relationships; men emphasize commitment but not fidelity (Gonzalez and Koestner, 2006; Schmookler and Bursik, 2007). Both African

American and white men report more distress and less forgiveness when their partners are sexual cheaters; women in these same categories report more distress and less forgiveness when their partners are emotional cheaters (Abraham et al., 2003; Phillips, 2006). In these examples, there is less of a gap between what men say and actually do compared to what women say and actually do.

Sexual excitement is a stronger rationale for men to pursue EMRs. Married women report that their affairs are less for sexual fulfillment and more for love, emotional support, and companionship. Men report the reverse (Atkins et al., 2001). Frequent reasons men give for having sex outside marriage is the sexual rejection by their wives and the boredom of repeated sex with the same person. It is not clear which comes first. Men who talk to friends or counselors about their situations emerge over time with a healthier sense of well-being than those who continue a pattern of interim affairs. Women with support from family and friends also fare better in EMRs (Duncombe et al., 2004; Jeanfreau et al., 2014).

Some gender differences may be disappearing. One study reports that both men and women cite sexual and/or emotional needs and falling in love as prompting the EMR (Omarzu et al., 2012). More data are needed to determine whether this signals a trend in which nonmarital sexuality is so normative for both men and women that what it "means" to be married is focused largely on emotional commitment rather than sexual commitment.

Single Women Affairs between single women and married men demonstrate a gendered double standard. Although they are primarily secret relationships that appear to protect both parties, the woman's reputation is more threatened by exposure of the affair, with fewer penalties accruing for her married counterpart. A single man is also more likely to be absolved of an affair compared to his married counterpart. Socially and legally, female adulterers are treated more harshly than male adulterers. We have the "other woman," but where is the "other man"?

Single professional women may opt for relationships with married men. Many of these women have no desire to marry their extramarital partner or anyone else. Different from the "other women" and mistresses of the past, these "second" women want to build careers, enjoy sexual and emotional companionship while traveling on business, or explore their sexuality. However, if she eventually wants to marry, her relationship with the married man will keep her out of the marriage market. By having her needs met by him, she misses opportunities to meet other men. This is especially true for younger single women with low-paying, uninteresting jobs who enjoy the material benefits that a successful married man can bring to the relationship. These women end up staying in a relationship that decreases rather than increases their autonomy and independence.

If the relationship is discovered, there are huge costs to the single woman and the wife, who both bear the larger burden of the infidelity; the men are assigned less responsibility in the EMR. Certainly the marriage will be threatened. When the affair is not secret and a wife has support from friends and family, the married couple has a better chance to regain marital satisfaction and avoid divorce. However, therapists working with the unaware wife report that she may experience stages of grief akin to the death of a loved one (Williams, 2011; Marin et al., 2014). It is likely that there will be more second women in the future, some who are satisfied in their

relationships but others who invest too much and end up with pain that is not easily, if ever, overcome. Despite the adventure, sexual freedom, and independence from the entanglements of an exclusive relationship, feminists suggest that affairs lead to distrust between women and reinforce beliefs about male power and privilege.

Gender Roles in Emerging Marriages and Lifestyles

Rapid social change has significantly altered coupling in all of its forms. How gender roles are enacted in these arrangements is a key feature in explaining why some couples stay committed to each other and why others do not.

Egalitarian Marriage

The alternative to the traditional family is one in which the marriage, and hence the family, is egalitarian in both structure and function. There has been a steady trend endorsing gender equality in families for the last 50 years (NORC, 2008). In an **egalitarian marriage**, partners share decision making and assign family roles based on talent and choice rather than on traditional beliefs about gender. She may enjoy lawn care, he may enjoy cooking, and together they may do gardening chores they both enjoy. The undesirable chores, such as cleaning or laundry, are equitably distributed. It is the sharing of the domestic chores that creates the most difficulty for the egalitarian couple because they, too, have been socialized into a world of traditional marriage and family patterns in which gender roles continue to intrude.

Scandinavia The Scandinavian countries, specifically Norway and Sweden, consistently rank highest in all measures of human development, including gender role egalitarianism and policies designed to translate it to the family (Chapter 6). Parental leave for new fathers and programs to bolster women's economic status outside the home and men's child-rearing functions in the home have enhanced egalitarian marriages. As in the United States, Scandinavian men adopt more egalitarian attitudes about the division of household labor and child care than they actually practice, but unlike the United States, public policy supports the objective of gender equity (Wells and Sarkadi, 2012). Egalitarian attitudes about career and child rearing are increasing in both men and women, but for marriages to be truly egalitarian, husbands need to participate fully in housework.

Partnership Instead of ranking husband over wife, egalitarian marriage presumes a partnership pattern, one that is strongly associated with paid employment for wives and an effective work–family balance for the couple. When wives contribute financially to the family, their decision-making powers are enhanced and traditional assumptions about feminine duties in the household are challenged. Perceived imbalance in decision making lowers marital satisfaction for both husband and wife and bolsters the patriarchal nature of marriage (Zimmerman et al., 2003; Amato, 2007). Egalitarian marriage fosters better communication and sharing and builds on a strong, empathic friendship between spouses. Because the couple does

not accept gender role beliefs about a husband's dominance and a wife's acceptance of it, discussion is open and disagreement is expected. Disagreement is not necessarily a sign of marital weakness—the couple "agrees to disagree." Conflict may be a by-product, but it can be an expected and beneficial cost of the open communication encouraged in egalitarian marriages (Schwartz, 2002).

Equity Benefits Children also benefit from egalitarianism because parents share the joy and burden of child rearing more equitably, and the needs of the couple are balanced by the needs of their children. The two sets of needs cannot be separated. This balance is very important to women who are happy in their egalitarian marriages but who must deal with the ongoing concern that their "mothering" is compromised. The egalitarian family helps women talk openly about both the rewards and the turmoil of motherhood that are hidden behind embedded beliefs about motherhood. In judging what is considered best for a child, the child's needs are inseparable from those of the mother, father, and siblings.

Despite the household task overload women face, the trend toward egalitarian marriages is unlikely to slow down. Men are marrying later and living independently for a longer period of time. These are the men who are more egalitarian in their beliefs, including that men should share housework. Even highly traditional marriages and families show more companionate qualities than those of a generation ago. They, too, cannot remain isolated from social change. We have seen that marital satisfaction, gender equity, and communication are enhanced when men and women are partners, when women engage in satisfying employment, and when men get involved in housework. One of the strongest predictors of marital satisfaction for both husbands and wives is decision-making equality in the family (Bartley et al., 2005; Amato et al., 2007; Pitt and Borland, 2008). As society becomes more gender equitable, marriages will become more egalitarian.

Commuter Marriage

The dual-location couple is not new. Men and women who serve in the armed forces, for example, have homes maintained by their spouses thousands of miles away and see them during leaves determined by the military. Economic recession, company mergers and buyouts, and job loss also foster dual-location arrangements of a couple. Almost all of the home-maintainers, however, are women. What is new is a dual-career couple evolving into a dual-location couple for reasons of the wife's, rather than the husband's, career. Historically, the common pattern is for the woman, literally, to follow her man from city to city as he advances up the career ladder. Her own career, if she has one, is expected to be secondary to his. Today many couples who are firmly committed to their marriages also have wives who are unwilling to abdicate their careers if a move is required. To maintain both marital and career commitments, marriages with commuter wives are growing in number. These marriages generally consist of highly educated, well-paid spouses who are managers or executives and are in professional careers, who see each other on weekends or less frequently, and who may continue these arrangements for several years. These patterns apply to white and African American couples, although in the latter,

wives are more likely to be in professional careers than husbands (Jackson et al., 2000; Tessina, 2008).

Commuter marriages help overcome the unhappiness and stress that wives express when they put their careers on hold earlier in the marriage. Earlier career subordination on the part of the wife leads to unhappiness and stress that the eventual commuter marriage helps overcome. Research suggests that despite the inconveniences, traveling constantly, and missing their family, commuter wives willingly make their treks because of immense career satisfaction that they find healthy for themselves and their marriages. Quality time is enhanced when the spouses are together. As a commuter–marriage wife, who is a university professor, states,

> This is the best job I've ever had. I love it! I'm so grateful to my family for the chance to do this. What a great way to continue my career. (Harris et al., 2002)

Critique The career advantages of a commuter marriage may be offset by disadvantages related to the considerable stress of living in two locations with little overall time together. Self-sufficiency and independence are enhanced, but loss of emotional support and dissatisfaction with the couple's marriage and family life increase. Strains also are associated with increased costs for maintaining two residences that may not be balanced by two incomes (Seifert, 2000). Couples in commuter marriages experience less stress if they have been married longer before the dual-location arrangement begins. Older couples, those whose children are already launched and those where one spouse is already established and successful in his/her career, also appear to fare better in a commuter marriage (Rhodes, 2002).

It may be difficult to resolve the logistical and emotional strains of a commuter marriage, but the marriage itself is unlikely to be sustained if the career ascendancy on the part of a husband leads to the career subordination of his wife. The guilt and regret commuter couples feel when they are not together are often due to the fact that they accept two standards that are not easy to reconcile: the standard that career success applies to both husband and wife and the standard that family success applies to wife but not husband. Both standards are based on traditional gender role beliefs that invade even this highly nontraditional form of marriage.

Cohabitation

Until relatively recently, *cohabitation*—an unmarried couple living together—was cause for condemnation. Today cohabitation is not only normative, but also the modal status for couples as both a prelude to marriage and as a nonmarital permanent alternative. Social support for cohabiting couples does vary, however. Peers and friends are more accepting than parents and relatives. Although parents may not openly express discomfort with the arrangement, they breathe a sigh of relief if their cohabiting child decides to marry. Increased support for cohabitation may account for the dramatic increase of cohabitants and the decrease in the marriage rate.

The number of cohabiting couples has soared from about half a million in 1970, 3 million in the 1990s, to over 8 million couples today, including over 600,000 same-sex partners (U. S. Census Bureau, 2013). Three of four women in the United States

have cohabited before the age of 30 (U. S. Census Bureau, 2013). These households are highly varied and include college students, who report it as preparation for marriage; persons over age 65, who cohabit for financial and emotional security; and couples with children present, this last group representing close to half of cohabitant households. The U.S. Census Bureau admits that these are probably conservative numbers because people may be reluctant to report themselves as "cohabiting" and may call themselves "roommates." In addition, these figures probably undercount gay and lesbian couples. As more states allow same-sex marriages, it will be interesting to see if same-sex couples prefer to cohabit. Cohabitation is now so normative that it is the preferred and accepted stage between dating and marriage. The importance of marriage for young adults has dropped, but cohabitation has not replaced marriage as the preferred, permanent lifestyle for most people in the United States (Newport and Wilke, 2013).

Gender Differences Although it would be reasonable to think that cohabitants are more egalitarian than married couples, the striking gender differences in cohabiting couples challenge this logic. Unlike married couples, cohabiting couples are less homogamous. Women tend to be younger, have higher levels of education, and earn more money than their partners. Compared to females, males express less commitment to the relationship and to later marriage. Women tend to view the relationship as temporary and leading to marriage. Men tend to view it as temporary but not leading to marriage. If children are involved, marriage is the more likely outcome, but having children does not protect the couple from later divorce. Forty percent of all cohabiting couples have children under the age of 18 (Rhoades et al., 2006; Sassler et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 2007; Vespa et al., 2013).

Issues of housework and money also signal the gender divide between cohabitants. Cohabiting women spend less time on housework than married women. But married and cohabiting women do more housework than married and cohabiting males, and as mentioned above, like married women in traditional households, cohabiting women tend not only to accept the responsibility, but to do more housework overall. Compared to women in cohabiting households, women in egalitarian marriages would consider the larger housework burden as unfair. In household finances, money is rarely pooled, which offers the advantage of financial independence, but the couple gives precedence to the man's career over the woman's. Gender norms about housework and finances persist in cohabitant households.

Contrary to popular belief, cohabitation is not a good screener for a later successful marriage. Cohabitants who marry have higher rates of depressive symptoms; lower marital satisfaction, adjustment, and commitment to marriage than noncohabitants; and, perhaps more significant, have divorce rates that are equal to or higher than noncohabitants (Kline et al., 2004; Brown et al., 2005; Stanley et al., 2006). Both male and female cohabitants who break up are likely to cohabit again, setting up a cycle in which one failed relationship may predispose them to another. Living together lessens total commitment—the door to leave is always open.

Considering these findings, it is somewhat surprising to witness an ever increasing population of cohabitants. Perhaps they are drawn to the idealism that is inherent in an arrangement that, on the surface at least, offers more benefits than liabilities. But the benefits appear to erode as cohabiting time increases. We will need

to see whether the current cohort of young unmarried adults who are most likely to say they do not want to marry will act on it—by remaining single, cohabiting, or choosing another type of single lifestyle.

Single Life

Historically, "failure to marry" was linked to perceptions about personal or social deficiencies. For women, the stigma was, "She was never asked," and for men, "He's probably gay." Bolstered by the women's movement and gay rights activism, these stigmas have largely disappeared. It is also difficult to maintain such negative perceptions considering that unmarried adults in the United States represent over 40 percent of the adult population. Although unmarried does not necessarily identify an "ever single" person, the demographic convention is to count those who were never married, widowed, or divorced. Cohabiting persons are not counted in this group. Regardless of demographics, the fact is that "unmarried and single" represents a huge category of people who by choice or circumstance are living a single lifestyle. The statistics below for unmarried U.S. residents 18 and older tell part of this story (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2013).

- Number of unmarried = 103 million
- Percentage of unmarried who are women = 53.6 percent
- Percentage of unmarried who are men = 46.4 percent
- Percent who have never been married = 62 percent
- Number off unmarried seniors (65 and older) = 17 million
- Number of unmarried men for every 100 unmarried women = 87
- Number of people who live alone = 33 million

The increase of nonfamily households is largely due to the growth of one-person households (Figure 7.2). Almost one-third of all nonfamily households are now one-person. Women living alone represent almost two-thirds of these households and include widowed, divorced, and single people. Many young people no longer view marriage as necessarily better than remaining single. The number of single people reporting that they are "very happy" has increased steadily for almost three decades (NORC, 2012). High school seniors and college students in particular say that although they plan to marry, it is not in their near future. Finishing college and getting a good job are more important; so for now, they favor a lifestyle free of long-term commitments (Plotnick, 2007). For baby boomers age 55 and older, divorce is surging. Marriage or remarriage, however, is a less attractive option, especially for older women. They may risk economic hardship, but are in no hurry to jump back into marriage (Swarns, 2012).

Gender Differences Highly educated, financially independent women often choose to remain single. For every age category, the higher a woman's income, the lower the rate of marriage. These women express a sense of control in their lives that is provided by remaining single. The availability of eligible partners and the marriage squeeze do not account for this trend. As suggested earlier, sex ratio changes offering either mate surpluses or deficits will not propel women to marry men who do not offer what they can achieve without being married.

Men are also choosing a single life at increasing rates. For men, singlehood frees them from financial burdens they associate with a demanding instrumental role. There are no significant gender or race differences in terms of what is liked or disliked about being single. Professional African American women report that they are very aware of the advantages and disadvantages of singlehood, but describe their lives as satisfying and meaningful (Fuller, 2001; DePaulo, 2006). Men and women of all races enjoy its mobility, freedom, and social options. However, they must deal with loneliness, the uncertainties of dating, and the pressure to marry from family and friends. Despite many new options available for parenthood, women who want to be biological mothers may feel acute distress due to their single status. Being single in a "couples" world brings added pressures and more emotional distress than married people experience, particularly for men (Chapter 2).

Gender Stereotypes As the ones traditionally responsible for the marriage proposal, men are thought to seek out attractive, desirable women and leave unattractive, undesirable women in the unasked category. She is the lonely spinster; he is the carefree bachelor who must be wary of single women interested in matrimony. The media perpetrate images of women doomed to singlehood and childlessness by a marriage squeeze that leaves them desperate as their biological motherhood clocks are ticking away, a perception we will explore in the next chapter. In women's magazines and popular media, the few upbeat articles about singlehood are overshadowed by multiple negative ones. One such example is an anguished interview with hapless *Desperate Housewives* star Teri Hatcher, a tragic figure not for the sexual abuse she suffered as a child, but for her perpetual single status (Mapes, 2007:xiii).

These are untrue stereotypes. Women singles express high levels of self-confidence and happiness in choosing singlehood. The mental health benefits of marriage for men are higher than other marital categories, but marriage does not free them from previous states of depression (French and Williams, 2007). Men who are comfortable in their choice are bolstered by married friends and a supportive family. Men and women singles are often more involved with their families and extended kin network than are their married siblings. This involvement includes caretaking roles for children and elderly relatives. They retain the autonomy they desire but share in the joys and responsibilities of family life (Sarkisian and Gerstel, 2008).

As the current generation of never-married people age, the demographic prediction is that many will remain unmarried and many women will forgo childbearing whether they cohabit or not. Contemporary singlehood represents opportunities for happiness for a significant subset of the population who may reject marriage and any permanent and/or exclusive sexual relationship.

Summary

1. Love and marriage were linked during the Puritan era. Love includes components of sex (eros), altruism (agape), friendship (philos), and allegiance (nomos). Sexual passion distinguishes love and friendship.

2. Best friends are usually of one's own gender. Other-gender friends are endangered if liking turns to loving and if gender role beliefs intrude. Men endorse friends-with-benefit relationships more than women, but both genders desire commitment if the relationship is to continue. Love is seen as a triangle of intimacy, passion, and commitment.
3. Romantic love is idealized and produces many myths. These include "love conquers all; love is blind; love at first sight; women are the romantic gender; sex should not occur without love; and the opposite of love is hate."
4. Men are more open and communicative at the beginning of a relationship and show love by doing things for their lover. The male deficit model of love ignores men's skill at communication and self-disclosure early in a relationship.
5. Mate selection is highly structured and based on homogamy. People choose partners based on age, SES, race, and attractiveness. African American women are caught in a marriage squeeze when the marriageable men of their own race are less educated and less economically successful.
6. Functionalists regard traditional expressive and instrumental gender roles as socially beneficial in mate selection. Conflict theorists say men do not have to be attractive, only economically successful. Feminists say women have less power and are objects of exchange in a marriage market. Social constructionism suggests images of spouses are defined by stereotypical gender norms; symbolic interactionists assert that in dating, women may view themselves as objects of exchange.
7. Gender role change in families is a product of modernization. Functionalism regards marriage as aiding social stability, which gender role change can disrupt. The functionalist ideal family form of employed husband with his dependent wife and children is recent in history and pertains to white middle-class families. Conflict theory asserts when wealth is concentrated in the hands of males at the household level, it leads to women's subservience. She can gain power by becoming a wage earner. Feminists contend that race, class, and sexuality also are avenues of oppression to women in their families. Social constructionism and symbolic interactionists emphasize how people take on traditional gender roles despite beliefs about egalitarianism.
8. In the family values debate, family restorationists believe that society will be better off when women stay home and men are unchallenged heads of the family. Their model ignores that families have changed over time, many women must be employed for their families to survive, children are not harmed when their mothers work, and couples increasingly desire egalitarian gender roles.
9. Housewives may express satisfaction in their roles but feel devalued. Patriarchy undermines bridges between homemakers and employed women. Whether employed full-time or not, married women across the globe do the majority of the housework.
10. Extramarital relationships are increasing. Married women say that affairs are less for sex and more for emotional support; married men report the reverse. Single women and unaware wives have more liabilities if the affair is discovered.
11. Household chores and imbalance in decision making create the most difficulty for egalitarian couples. Egalitarian marriages are desired and are correlated with paid employment for wives, better communication, and task sharing.

12. Commuter (dual-location)-married couples are committed to their marriages and to both their careers. Couples must reconcile gender standards related to career and family success.
13. Cohabitation is now normative. Males are less committed to the relationship than females. Couples who have cohabited have equal or higher divorce rates than noncohabitants.
14. Rates for unmarried and single people are increasing. Highly educated, financially secure women are more likely to choose singlehood and to report high self-confidence and happiness.

Key Terms

Assortive mating
Companionate marriages
Egalitarian marriage
Friends With Benefits Relationship (FWBR)
Homemaker
Homogamy
Household
Marriage gradient
Marriage squeeze
Nuclear families
Second shift
Social capital
Third shift

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Using research evidence, argue for or against the following statement: We are socialized to fall in love with only certain people; therefore, the notion of romantic love is a myth.
2. Construct an ideal family form and marital relationship from the perspectives of functionalism and conflict theory. Account for how marital success and happiness are determined in this idealized construction.
3. What are the gender factors working against the contentment of full-time homemakers, equalitarian marriages, commuter marriages, and cohabiting couples? How can these factors be modified to make these household forms more successful?

CHAPTER 8

Gender and Family Relations

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Define the motherhood mandate and explain it from the perspectives of functionalism, conflict theory, and feminism.
2. List reasons why a "fatherhood mandate" has yet to emerge.
3. Describe the benefits for children when parents are dual earners.
4. List distinctive gender role patterns in African American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American families in the United States.
5. Identify the gendered consequences of divorce with respect to child custody, finances, and emotional well-being of parents.
6. Compare and contrast single-parent families headed by mothers and those headed by fathers.
7. Profile gay and lesbian families focusing on gender roles and childrearing.

Women's destiny is received through messages about love, marriage and motherhood. As Simone de Beauvoir declared in one of the most important 20th century works on feminist philosophy, *The Second Sex* (1953), this destiny is difficult "to reconcile with the will to succeed."

Most people eventually become parents. Like those from many other cultures, Americans are propelled into parenthood by the gendered processes of love, cohabitation, and marriage that prime the couple for their new roles as mothers and fathers. Parenthood is structured by gender beliefs and produces powerful gender outcomes. These gender beliefs are so completely embedded in family practices that the differences and inequalities they produce are largely taken for granted. As we saw in previous chapters, challenges to taken-for-granted definitions about the family provoke highly contentious debates. These debates have profound consequences when one or another definition is used to determine public policy on a variety of family-related issues, including divorce, child custody, and benefits for single parents, cohabitating couples, and partners and children in gay and lesbian families. Political rhetoric usually highlights beliefs that when the traditional family structure is changed to accommodate

change outside the family, such as women's massive entry into paid employment, disastrous social consequences follow. Other views celebrate family diversity, flexibility, and the creation of new roles for all family members in response to social change. Gender-based parental roles are called into question as alternative definitions of the family emerge. We will see in this chapter that narrow views of gender severely restrict opportunities for exploration and growth for both children and their parents. (Unless otherwise noted, statistics in this chapter are taken from U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

The Parenthood Transition

The transition from couple dyad to family triad is a momentous one. The first child brings numerous changes that affect the marriage and alter the lifestyle of the couple. New parents report that enormous joy is tempered with increased marital tension. To say that parenthood is filled with uncertainty is an understatement. Parenting is based on skills that need to be learned but cannot be effectively accomplished, if at all, until after the child is born. Socialization for parenthood is based on one's own family experiences, involvement with others' children, formal classes, folklore, and child care and parenting manuals. Whatever the degree of preparation, new parents discover that the anticipation of what it means to be a parent is far different from the reality. Gender is a key factor in accounting for this anticipation gap. Parenthood brings different experiences and produces different results for mothers compared to fathers.

Early sociological work on the transition to parenthood focused on parenthood as *crisis*. In this model, first-time parents encounter anxiety, uncertainty, loss of confidence—even shock—during the first days and weeks of parenting. The strains of parenthood can be overwhelming, and the demands alter the quality as well as quantity of time spent on the marital relationship. More time and energy are spent on children-related issues than on marriage-related ones. When couples nurture their children but not their marriage, the risk of divorce increases. Traditional gender roles also can drive a wedge between the new parents. When women do virtually all of the infant care and take on the added housework demands, they adopt new roles. Men tend to maintain prefatherhood roles, often retreating to workplace roles that may find themselves emotionally distanced from both wife and newborn (Bell et al., 2007; Galdiolo and Roskam, 2012). The crisis of parenthood is eased when gender roles are more flexible and couples make a determined effort to enhance closeness.

Parenthood as crisis has been largely replaced with the view that parenthood is a normal developmental stage. The disorganization and seeming chaos when the newborn enters the household gradually give way to new routines and family norms associated with the tension first, but then the joy and gratification new parents experience.

Obviously, parenthood alters marital roles and creates new family roles. Whether the parenthood transition is seen as a crisis, a stage in normal development, or something in between depends on how a family responds to meet the parenting challenge. This response will be largely dependent on beliefs regarding gender roles. The labels "husband" and "wife" suggest different realities; the same can be said for motherhood and fatherhood.

Motherhood

The belief that a woman's ultimate fulfillment will be as a mother is a powerful socialization message girls hear very early in life. The **motherhood mandate** issues a command to females of all ages, instructing them that motherhood demands selfless devotion to children and subordination of one's own life to the needs of children and family. Although many other activities that she finds personally worthwhile are halted, the mandate assumes that a woman willingly submits herself to her child-rearing responsibilities first. The power of this mandate instills guilt in women who have small children and work outside the home, regardless of whether they are employed because they "want to be" (employment is personally rewarding) or they "have to be" (they need the money).

The Motherhood Mandate American culture idealizes motherhood, but the actual support new mothers receive varies considerably. If women are socialized into believing that being a good mother comes easily, they are severely jolted by parenting responsibilities. The tension and strain experienced by first-time mothers can be perceived as personal failure, in turn lessening their motivation to seek help. The notion of a maternal instinct is not empirically supported (Chapter 2), but the view that all females want to become mothers and that a mother's role "comes naturally" stubbornly persists. Ideal mothers are expected to enjoy the work of mothering and caring for home and family, regardless of how demanding or tedious the work is. Exclusive devotion to mothering is good for her children and promotes a husband's happiness and marital contentment (Hoffnung, 1995; Buchanan, 2013).

Given the profound social changes accompanying the large-scale entry of women into paid employment, mothers would be expected to have more latitude navigating their motherhood roles. A new version of the mandate has surfaced, but it may exert more of a toll on mothers. This "new momism" is media-driven and pressures mothers to conform to impossible standards of perfection. Women are expected to seek out the latest information offering guidance in how to fulfill their roles as mothers. In parenting magazines, despite the use of the supposedly neutral word *parent* in their titles, mothers are the target audience (Zimmerman, 2004). These images of moms appear to "celebrate" work and family at the same time—achieve at work but self-sacrifice at home. The end result, however, is a paradox rather than a celebration, as suggested by Susan Douglas and Meredith Michaels (2009:244):

> Now here's the beauty of this contorting contraction. . . . Both working mothers and stay-at home mothers get to be failures . . . intensive mothering has lower status . . . (stay-at-home mothers are boring), but occupies a higher moral ground (working mothers are neglectful).

The new momism further divides women who work outside the home and those who don't into opposing camps. Room mothers and cookie bakers make way for soccer moms and vanpool drivers. It is a no-win situation for mothers. She is blamed for spending too little or too much time with her children. Although she delights in her child's development, her own development stalls and her sense of self can be diminished.

Functionalism In emphasizing that the motherhood mandate is essential for social equilibrium, functionalists offer support for these qualities. Mothers are both the biological reproducers and the social reproducers. As a child's primary socializer, a mother provides the necessary ingredients for maintaining, producing, and continuing society. If socialization does not instill girls with the motherhood mandate—and the dream and idealism associated with it—society may be compromised. Functionalism assumes that the traditional division of labor of nonoverlapping gender roles within a patriarchal family is the most efficient and least contentious arrangement. It is a mother's fault if children are flawed. She takes the responsibility, the blame, and ultimately the guilt (Garey and Arendell, 2001; Badinter, 2012).

Functionalists point to the responsibilities associated with motherhood. But rights accrue as well. The motherhood mandate is in tandem with the motherhood mystique, which is a glorification of the role. Child rearing brings joy and pride for a child's accomplishments, for which mothers take a great deal of credit. It is apparent, nonetheless, that mothers are more likely to share the credit for what goes right but assume the burden of blame for what goes wrong.

There is no argument that the family is the critical institution for socialization. Contemporary functionalists recognize that there are social benefits when women, including those with school-age children, work outside the home. They assert that family stability today hinges on the incomes of employed mothers. Women, like men, need to be encouraged to pursue the work that offers the highest income. Functionalists agree that equality in the workplace is beneficial to families and to society. However, with the ever-present motherhood mandate lurking, women are always on family alert. Parents and children accept the mandate and take for granted any arrangements permitting men less in-home responsibility. Functionalists have difficulty transferring beliefs about gender equity outside the home to gender inequality inside the home. In other words, how are women supposed to be equal and different at the same time?

Often overlooked is the fact that the motherhood mandate is relatively recent in the United States. Until the mid-nineteenth century, a frontier economy based on subsistence farming required women to carry a multitude of productive roles. In her role set, a woman's child-rearing function was less important for family survival than her farm and household-related money-raising activities (Chapter 5). It is only since the twentieth century that the notion of having children for purely emotional reasons became firmly ingrained in the American consciousness.

Conflict Theory Conflict theorists focus on the motherhood mandate as contributing to the social powerlessness experienced by women in their household and roles outside the home. Because a woman's earnings from paid employment alter the power relations within the family, men will evoke the motherhood mandate to ensure that women concentrate their energies on domestic roles. Careers and personal growth are impeded when family responsibilities intrude in the workplace. The choices wives make regarding child rearing weaken their bargaining power at home and on the job and reinforce economic dependence on their husbands. In the workplace, this translates to lower salaries and sagging careers (Chapter 10). At home, it translates to shouldering the bulk of child care tasks. From a conflict perspective, not until as many men as women truly want to stay home with the children can women hope to achieve real economic parity.

Challenging the Motherhood Mandate An acceptance of the motherhood mandate/new momism precludes much individual growth for women. By this definition, motherhood is the key worthwhile role that overrides all others. The obvious problems and contradictions emanating from the mystique are conveniently overlooked. Can women feel good about themselves as mothers if they also seek other roles?

One answer lies in the demographics of motherhood, which have changed significantly since the 1950s. As women achieved career and educational goals, marriage and motherhood were delayed. The median age at first marriage for both women and men has risen steadily (Chapter 7). The decline of the fertility rate since World War II is linked to higher levels of education, rising wages, and the opportunity costs of child rearing for women. This explains why so many women in their late thirties and forties are now having children for the first time. It also supports the idea, however, that motherhood remains a fundamental goal. Most women are unwilling to give up biological parenthood but opt for smaller families than in their parents' generation. Because career-oriented women also are unwilling to give up either motherhood or professional roles, they are adapting their beliefs about family and parenting accordingly.

Voluntary Childlessness For both men and women, the acceptance of childlessness has gradually increased since the 1970s, but contrary to the motherhood mandate, women are more likely than men to hold positive attitudes toward childlessness (Koropeckyj-Cox and Pendell, 2007). Childless marriages are steadily increasing, and more women of childbearing age will not have children. These are often professional women who may be either less confident or more realistic in their ability to successfully carry out roles associated with motherhood and a satisfying career. Voluntarily childless couples express similar levels of marital happiness as couples with children. Their family life cycle is not traditional, but they develop ways to escape social pressures for parenthood (Pelton and Hertlein, 2011). Women who are childless do not lead childless lives. They choose not to be mothers, but children are central to their lives. They take on a variety of meaningful child-related responsibilities through their networks of kin, friends, voluntary organizations, and employment.

Feminism The acceptance of feminist values by a larger proportion of women also affects notions about motherhood. Women who hold traditional gender role orientations desire larger families when compared to less traditional women. Traditional women also are likely to express higher levels of religiosity and have lower levels of education. College women who subjectively identify with feminism are less interested in motherhood or intend to delay marriage and motherhood until after they are established in their careers. Regardless of media hype, however, feminism and motherhood are not incompatible. Feminist mothers are realistic about the gendered pitfalls of mothering but also believe that motherhood offers opportunities for assertiveness, learning and mastering new skills, and ensuring that feminist principles are passed to the next generation of sons and daughters (Chapter 3). The old view of motherhood is unacceptable because paid work has become so important to the identities of mothers. They recognize that simply

staying home all day with preschoolers does not automatically qualify someone as a good mother.

Critique Optimistic views of the waning of the motherhood mandate are challenged by several trends. First, stay-at-home mothers have become more common since the 1990s; today about one-fourth of married couple households have stay-at-home mothers. Second, there is a burgeoning trend of later motherhood for women who are financially better off and have archived some personal and career goals. A billion dollar fertility industry has mushroomed for women to successfully challenge their biological clocks. Voluntary childless couples must still contend with the fallout from resisting prochild messages when women in particular opt out of having children. Third, many single-parent women put motherhood before marriage. Contrary to stereotypes, many of these women make a motherhood choice they believe provides them a benefit that marriage does not. They may desire marriage, but they desire motherhood more (Edin and Kefalas, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau Newsroom, 2012; Gregory, 2012).

Most important, much research points to the persistent view that mothers should be the parent at home when children are young. We see throughout this text that on the most important indicators of development, children are not harmed but are enhanced by their mothers' employment. Men perceive more costs to maternal employment, and women perceive more benefits. Both believe, however, that it is more beneficial for children when mothers retreat from the workplace to be at home with their children. Over half of the public also believes that mothers cannot be as productive at work as fathers.(Goldberg et al., 2012a; Roper Center, 2012). For the large majority of mothers who do combine work and family roles, however, we will see that their time with children has increased rather than decreased. It is true that a motherhood mandate is shifting to viewing of motherhood in much more flexible ways to fit the lifestyles of contemporary women and couples. This shift accounts for the well-being of children and the marital satisfaction of parents. The qualities we associate with motherhood can be more widely shared by both men and women in a variety of family contexts. This variety is very important because of the many women choosing motherhood but not marriage. It is expected that like other gender roles, qualities associated with motherhood will continue to change as we experience more diversity in our families and workplaces.

Fatherhood

Cast into primary breadwinning roles, American fathers are viewed as more peripheral in nurturing and child care compared to mothers. This is a far different picture than the colonial fathers who were expected to provide for not only the economic needs of their children, but also their moral and spiritual development. In this sense, colonial fathers were nurturers as much as mothers. Public policy and legislation regarding custody of children, child support, definitions of desertion, and child neglect reinforce the emphasis on the father's role as the economic provider for the family. Increases in divorce and cohabitation have undermined father–child relationships, and nonresident fathers are increasingly absent from their children's lives. To get women off welfare, public policy focuses on finding unwed, divorced,

and married fathers who deserted their families. A father is targeted in order for him to meet his financial obligation to the family; his emotional involvement with his children is largely ignored.

The fact that fathers do take their breadwinning role very seriously does not diminish the interest or love they have for their families. Like women, men also see raising a family as a major life goal. Fathers today spend more time with their children and report greater overall family satisfaction. Quality family relations and supportive social connections are associated with better psychological health and well-being for fathers and better adjustment for their children (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2006; Rina and Feinberg, 2012; Lansford et al., 2013). Compared to non-fathers, contemporary dads exhibit two models of fatherhood: the "good-provider model," encouraging them to work more hours, and the "involved-father model," encouraging them to work less hours. The "forces pulling women out of the home are stronger than the forces pulling men into it" (Gerson, 2009:327). The models may seem contradictory, but they suggest that men regard their fatherhood role as a very significant one.

New Fathers As first-time parents, men adapt more easily to the rigors of fatherhood than women do to motherhood, and husbands can predict with more success than their wives what kind of parents they are likely to be. In the transition to parenthood, husbands' personal goals do not change substantially and husbands are less ambivalent about parenting responsibilities (Chapter 9). Fathers see themselves as less competent than mothers in dealing with daily child care. They internalize strong beliefs about their paternal responsibility, but largely surrender actual responsibility for child care to their wives. A father's level of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility are a fraction of the mother's. A father's time is spent more on recreational activities with their children than with the children's ongoing physical upkeep. The existing gender gap in housework is associated with traditional gender ideology. The gap increases with the birth of the first child and widens with more children. Women's housework and child maintenance tasks increase significantly (Craig, 2006; Baxter et al., 2008; Carlson and Lynch, 2013). Child care and housework are seamless for mothers but not for fathers.

Children's Development Because the prime directive for fathers is to provide for the economic support of their families, in comparison to mothers, the father's effect on the development of their children is often unheeded. Parental influence on childhood socialization is vitally important. Mothers accept the major responsibility in socialization of their children, but fathers send highly important early messages, especially regarding gender roles. These messages are powerful because fathers have less contact and quality of interaction with their children. Compared to mothers, fathers expect their adolescent sons to conform to gender roles much more than their adolescent daughters. Fathers are more likely than mothers to take into account gender when delegating chores and privileges, when showing affection, and when disciplining their children. Fathers are likely to use harsher discipline on sons, believing it enhances a son's masculinity (Chapter 3). Fathers who are less traditional and stereotyped in their gender role beliefs have sons who match their fathers' beliefs.

Traditional fatherhood may bring less of the profound personal and marital changes that mothers experience, but fathers do form strong bonds with their young children and are successfully taking on child care tasks and nurturing roles more than fathers did in the past. When fathers change, daughters—and especially sons—will follow. Egalitarian parenting clearly benefits children and enhances marital satisfaction.

A Fatherhood Mandate Continued gender role stereotyping severely limits options for fathers to explore new roles. Conflict theory and the feminist perspective argue that the motherhood mandate is a barrier to gender equity. But the opposite is true for a fatherhood mandate. Young men have not adopted a fatherhood mandate allowing them to move in the direction of androgynous, flexible gender roles. Functionalists also would support a fatherhood mandate that moves beyond the provider role so that fathers can effectively meet the challenges of social change and the new family processes that emerge as a result. The involved-father model appears to be gaining in prominence, and as discussed on Chapter 9, it may signal a crack in a masculine ethic that deters men from more meaningful parent–child relationships.

Parents as Dual Earners

Again, the entry of women into paid employment significantly altered the structure and function of families in the United States. Paid employment benefits women socially and psychologically, especially when they work in positions they find challenging, rewarding, and personally meaningful. Their marriage and sense of well-being are enhanced, and shared decision making increases marital satisfaction for both wife and husband (Han and Moen, 2001; O'Keefe, 2002; Kendall, 2007). As suggested in Chapter 7, dual-earning couples are more likely to have egalitarian marriages than those that have a wife as full-time homemaker. The cost for women involves maintaining responsibilities at home and for the children when husbands do not share household and child care chores on anywhere near an equal basis. Mothers, but not fathers, adjust their time use at work and in the home to accommodate these demands. Outsourcing child care narrows the gendered division of household labor, but overall, it remains unchallenged (Craig and Powell, 2012). Multiple roles of employed women also include other caregiving demands, such as caring for frail parents, which may compromise the benefits of employment and life satisfaction (Chapter 10). In general, however, the evidence from dual-earner families shows that women are enriched by their labor force activities.

The dual-earner family is now the normative family. There are more dual-earning nuclear families with children present than one-earner nuclear families with children present (Chapter 7). The largest overall increase is in families with preschoolers. Because women are traditionally responsible for child care, particularly in the preschool years, all eyes turn to them when questions arise as to how children are affected when both parents work outside the home. It is the wives rather than their husbands who reap society's disapproval if children suffer when both parents are in the labor force. How accurate is the "suffering children" theme?

Children of Employed Women

If parents are happy and the family is enhanced by a dual-earning family structure, this should logically carry over to the children. Not so, states writer Kate O'Beirne (2006:23–24), who maintains that

> . . . we know what is true about the bond between mother and child. Women fall madly in love with babies in a way that devoted fathers don't . . . Women would have to be snookered to leave their young children in the care of someone else.

This view asserts that a positive, sustained relationship with a caregiver is essential to healthy emotional childhood development, but a mother must be that caregiver. A person caring for a child out of love will do it better than one doing it for pay.

If parents, especially mothers, are not filled with remorse and guilt, these feelings increase with messages that care options must not include "paid strangers." These strangers are the female day care workers who will teach babies and young children "values, fears, beliefs and behaviors" (Robertson, 2003:48). Of course, the only option is mother care because even "devoted fathers do not fall madly in love with their babies like mothers do." These messages ignore or dismiss any "damages" to children of parents who do not have the option of working for pay. They also tell fathers that they do not (and cannot) love their children as much as mothers.

The Child Care Issue The contention from such writers is that a generation *denied* love when they were children will wreak havoc on them as adults and do untold damage to the social structure, an argument echoed by the family restorationists mentioned in the previous chapter. Parents are abandoning their children to day care so they can selfishly pursue their own careers, which in later years will harm the next generation of their children. What is the evidence to warrant this conclusion?

One major source of information is often overlooked in debates on this issue. When women were desperately needed to work in defense plants during World War II, they were recruited by the thousands through propaganda campaigns designed to alleviate anxiety and guilt about leaving their children with others (Chapter 5). Creative approaches to day care became the norm of the day. Because women were needed, day care centers multiplied quickly since many had no other care options for their children. Any potential negative, long-term consequences on these children were ignored. After the war, traditional attitudes prevailed and women were expected to return home and be full-time housewives and mothers. They were not guilty of being neglectful mothers during the war, but if they chose to continue to work outside the home after the war, the guilt returned. The script that employed mothers are "bad" mothers returned with a vengeance.

Over a half century after World War II, there is near consensus by developmental psychologists that surrogate child care is not the major risk factor in the lives of children of dual-earner couples. The key problem is poor quality care. Fortunately for married and professional women, many employers provide benefit packages offering high-quality care options. The same cannot be said for most low-income, dual-earning couples and single-parent women who rely more on informal, less costly, and less desirable options of lower quality. On the other hand, an enriched group child care experience can stimulate the moral development and prosocial behavior

of infants and preschoolers. Poor children or children from troubled families may have resources in their child care centers that are absent in their homes. Low-income mothers who can gain quality subsidized child care from employers or public policy are able to maintain steady employment (Albelda, 2011). One of the greatest challenges to these families is the availability of affordable, safe, accessible child care. Their satisfaction with child care carries over to the well-being of their children.

Children's Time with Parents There are no significant differences in the home environment or development of children in two-parent households with employed mothers than in households whose mothers who are not employed. Children with employed mothers gain their strongest sense of well-being and attachment from parents (Harsch, 2006). "Paid strangers" who are caring and compassionate may supplement primary socialization, but they do not substitute for it. Compared with homes where mothers are not employed, dual earners purposely build in "quality" parent–child time through reading, homework, and computer time. Working mothers with a college education spend significantly more time with their children than women who do *not* work outside the home. Employed mothers also spend more time with children than employed fathers. Mothers who do not—or cannot—shift their paid work time, shift the unpaid work time at home to enrich the time with their children (Guryan et al., 2008; Stewart, 2010; Moro-Egido, 2012). Consistent with conflict theory, fathers take on more care associated with responsibility for their children—not just child maintenance—when their wives spend more time at work. The ratio of "father care" to "mother care" rises when wives contribute a greater share to the household income (Raley et al. 2012a). Children benefit from more quality nonrecreational time with their dads. The amount of time working parents—both moms and dads—spend with their children or communicate with their children continues to increase.

Adolescents Any adverse effect of maternal employment would be expected to show up during adolescence, an often stress-filled time for families. Research does not warrant this conclusion. Adolescents express the desire that their mothers be at home more. They report concerns about rushed and confused schedules that are inevitable with the demands of job, school, and limited leisure time. Nonetheless, children's appreciation for their employed mothers' talents and accomplishments outside the home grows over time. Daughters especially want to follow in the professional footsteps of their mothers (Moen, 2003; Campos et al., 2013). Not surprisingly, children of dual earners have less traditional gender role attitudes than children from single-earner homes. Adults reflecting on the effect of their mother's employment viewed their family lifestyle positively and reported high degrees of parental closeness, supportiveness, and interest in their personal problems (Gambone et al., 2002; Kinelski et al., 2002). Fueled by media stereotypes and guilt messages from a variety of sources, however, parents still agonize over decisions to use surrogate care, for example, so that a mother can return to paid employment.

Summary Decades of research on effects of the dual-earner family on children do not support the "suffering child" or "abandoned child" theme. Employed mothers do not neglect their children, nor are the children jeopardized by maternal

employment. Children and mothers both benefit when mothers' well-being is enhanced by employment. Children's development related to self-esteem, academic achievement, language development, and behavior in dual-earner families is not damaged. Children compare favorably to those in families with stay-at-home mothers. To the relief of egalitarian, dual-earner couples, such results continue to be confirmed. Motherhood and working for pay do not harm children—to the contrary, they are likely to improve children's social and intellectual development (Bianchi et al., 2006; Chang, 2013). When children are provided with high quality out-of-home child care options, employed mothers enrich the human capital of their families.

Helicopter Parents

The irony of the child care debate is that the majority of current college students were in some form of child care outside the home, attended preschool, and had employed mothers. These students represent the cohort termed the *millennial generation*, born between 1980 and 2000, which grew up with the Internet, cell phones, and text messaging. Often referred to as *helicopter parents*, the mothers and fathers of these children continue to hover over them in college as they did throughout their precollegiate years. Compared to the baby boomers and Generation X, millennials from middle-class homes see their dual-earning parents more frequently, communicate with them more often, and count on parents to intervene when problems arise in school and sometimes even in the workplace. Contrary to media messages on the lack of involvement in their children's lives, dual-earning helicopter parents are overprotective and overinvolved. Although parents often are accused of meddling, college students report that they expect parents to run interference for them and prefer they do it more rather than less (Shellenbarger, 2006; Graves, 2007; Hoover and Supiano, 2008). From the students' view, overinvolved parents produce happier students (Marklein, 2008).

Hovering Moms Who hovers more: mothers or fathers? Most information on gender of parent and gender differences in type of hovering is still anecdotal. However, these reports suggest, as we would predict, that mothers hover more overall. They are concerned with their children's lifestyle on campus—from food, clothing, and health to roommates, relationships, and grades. Fathers hover on issues related to choice of major and career and on college costs. One survey of parents reported that three-fourths communicated with their college-student-young adults two to three times a week; and one-third did so on a daily basis (Rainey, 2006). Mothers use cell phones and fathers use emails as the preferred way to stay in touch with their children. Texting is used by both. Literally on call at all times, a mother's kin-keeping work as caregiver, nurturer, and vigilant parent is continuous (Dare, 2011:89). One mother reported that she supplemented her two or three daily conversations with her daughter using Facebook (Flanigan, 2008). Mothers have even contacted companies to speak to managers about why their sons were not hired and to speak to deans and professors about why their children received a lower-than-expected grade (Tresaugue, 2006; Rose, 2007).

These anecdotal reports support early research showing that mothers are more likely than fathers to be the hoverers and that mothers of sons do most of the hovering (Jayson, 2007; Shellenbarger, 2007). Mothers are vulnerable to the charge of "supermom" for their overzealous hovering (Robb, 2008). Supermom in the helicopter parent context is more of a criticism than an approval of her behavior. Considering the motherhood mandate, overinvolved parents, especially overinvolved mothers, who base their self-worth on the accomplishments of their children rather than their own accomplishments, express more sadness and have lower self-esteem. Intrusive mothering in the name of school success often results in fostering uncertainty in their children. Children believe they are incompetent students, and mothers inadvertently promote failure when their children are low achievers. Overparenting is associated with lower self-efficacy of college students, which may in turn produce less autonomous adults (Marsh, 2007; Bradley Geist and Olson-Buchanan, 2014). Believing that "mom will fix it," childhood becomes so risk aversive that young adults may not be confident enough to make their own decisions (Newbart, 2005).

We saw in Chapter 2 that the empty-nest syndrome is largely a myth, but for a variety of financial reasons (paying off student loans, having a low-paying job or no job, bridging to a new career) and personal reasons (divorce, relationship problems, health problems), children are moving in with their parents. These "boomerang kids" are both young millennials and midcareer adults. Mothers are more welcoming, and fathers are more wary of their return (Newman, 2012; Fry, 2013). Research is needed to determine if this signals a temporary arrangement in post-recession years or if another distinct, stable family form is emerging. If the birds return to the empty nests, will it challenge or sustain a motherhood mandate? Whether they work outside the home or not, mothers cope with mixed messages about expectations for involvement in their children's lives. They can be blamed for too much involvement (smothering their children) or not enough involvement (abandoning their children). Definitions of a "good mother" keep a tight reign over all mothers.

Families in Multicultural Perspective

The multicultural heritage of the United States is undoubtedly reflected in its families. Because this heritage is linked to race and ethnicity, minority families are impacted by the same disadvantages that affect them outside their homes. To account for gender patterns in these families, the multiple risks and experiences from their unique cultural histories also must be considered. Keep in mind, however, that white and European American families also vary in social class, cultural history, and other variables that impact gender roles in their families. Although not profiled in this section, they should not be viewed as the default, normative family in the United States.

African American Families

Contrary to stereotypes, there are two parents present in over half of African American families, and over half of the fathers in these families work full-time. Data from the turn of the century (1910) reveal that Africa American households were less likely to be nuclear and more likely to be headed by women, a pattern that

persists today. The half of the African American households without two parents present are those headed by single parents, and 90 percent of these are single-parent women. Compared to European Americans, African American family life cycles are marked by less formal marriages, parenthood earlier in marriage, less likelihood of remarriage later, and a higher divorce rate (Chapter 7). Over three-fourths of African American children are likely to live part of their life in a female-headed household, often with a female grandparent. The households are likely to consist of both kin and nonkin. The key factors in the development of these patterns are the legacy of slavery and economic oppression rooted in discrimination that led to the underemployment of African American men. These factors have a profound impact on gender roles in contemporary African American families.

Compared to all other racial groups, African American females have had a much longer legacy of paid employment essential to the stability and survival of their families. This legacy fueled the variety of family and household structures that African American families exhibit. Paid employment is central to African American women's mothering and to their family experience. It is the most important reason for the greater degree of role sharing by wives and husbands and has strengthened these families in several fundamental ways. First, families demonstrate a strong willingness to absorb others into kin structures by creating a network of **fictive kin**, where friends "become" family. African Americans tend to define the boundaries of their families with more flexibility than families of other races; so distant kin become primary kin, and close friends and neighbors become fictive kin. Women fill the fictive kin ranks. Women-centered networks of "bloodmothers" and "othermothers" who share mothering responsibilities bring an array of exchange and support that benefits all household members. In turn, children are offered a diversity of parenting models that are seen as enriching children with a more multifaceted form of nurturing (Collins, 2009). Employed mothers who are the family's breadwinners often turn to these networks for child care needs.

The resilience and positive outcomes of fictive kin among African Americans has extended to a new law in Missouri allowing courts to define distant relatives and close friends legally as fictive kin to aid displaced children. By extending the boundaries of guardianship, children can be placed in homes of those they know and who invite them in. These arrangements have vastly better outcomes than with children in foster care with no family connection (Cambria, 2013).

Second, compared to white couples, for working-class and middle-class married couples, households are likely to be more egalitarian. These families have dual-earning husband and wife in stable employment. Egalitarian arrangements are bolstered by middle-class African American women who work outside the home by choice rather than economic necessity. Regardless of SES, however, most African Americans do not view their roles as wife–mother and wage earner as mutually exclusive. Research by sociologist Burt Landry (2000) suggests that these middle-class women were practicing an egalitarian lifestyle decades before white couples.

Third, African American husbands appear more willing than white husbands to take responsibility for child rearing and adapt themselves and the household to the needs of their employed wives. However, the work is less satisfying if they hold traditional gender ideology. (See Chapter 7 concerning the paradox of traditional

attitudes about gender and simultaneous egalitarian behavior related to housework.) This last pattern is interesting because African American working-class and lower-class men tend to hold traditional ideas about gender roles. The intersection of race and social class helps account for this pattern (Chapter 3).

The Myth of Black Matriarchy The paid work of African American women has been a necessary and constructive adaptation to the reality of economic and social inequality in the United States. Historically, extended family closeness and high levels of religiosity facilitated resiliency and were psychologically protective for these women despite the difficulties they faced in their provider roles. As a result, families were able to function with relative stability under extremely adverse conditions. This historical pattern holds true today, especially for single mothers hovering near the poverty line (Mendenhall et al., 2013). Yet this very strength has been viewed as a weakness in these families. An early influential report purporting to explain the poverty of African American families by Daniel Moynihan (1965) intimated that a "black matriarchy" exists in which decision making and other family powers and responsibilities rest with women rather than men. By this way of thinking, African American men are emasculated, stripped of authority, and driven from the family under an aura of self-defeat. The family is left with fewer defenses against poverty, delinquency, and illegitimacy.

The Moynihan report reminds us of the connection between sexism and racism. The report was attacked largely because black men were usurped of their rightful place as family head. To untangle the pathology surrounding the black family, the father must be returned as the dominant person in the household. Assertive and independent women can wreak havoc on both the family and the race. Black women apparently do not suffer the same humiliation as black men and "neither feel nor need what other human beings do either emotionally or materially" (Smith, 1995:157). The demographic reality of African American households (and the household structures that accommodate the legacy of economic oppression) challenges the notion of black matriarchy. However, this has done untold damage by creating and reinforcing stereotypes of superhuman women and weak and absent men, who are then blamed for the circumstances in which they find themselves. A great deal of research also challenges myths of missing and uninvolved black fathers (Coles and Green, 2010). Many African American men may have internalized assumptions of both myths, which in turn create tension between the genders.

Multiple Risks of Race, Class, and Gender Despite stellar educational, health, and professional gains and ongoing career success, African American women have the lowest earnings of both genders and all races, a pattern worsened during the recession (Chapter 10). Although esteemed for their strong work ethic and perseverance in family kin-keeping, African American women carry the double burden of minority group status (Newsome and DoDoo, 2006; Kaba, 2008). If she is a single parent, the prospects of decent wages to maintain her family above the poverty level are severely reduced. This is intensified by the kind of jobs African American women typically have. Although women of all races earn less than men overall, poverty risk is significantly higher for women in occupations dominated by African American women and lower in occupations dominated by white women.

This is despite a strong commitment to employment and socialization messages to girls emphasizing self-reliance, independence, and resourcefulness (Collins, 2004).

African American men must contend with a double bind of their own. Like other men in the United States, they are socialized into instrumental family roles that connect masculinity with being a good provider and father. African American men accept this standard for masculinity, but opportunities for carrying it out are restricted. In seeking masculinity standards that are available and acceptable in poor neighborhoods, African American teens often turn their attention away from school and home to life on the streets. Coping mechanisms include “compulsive masculinity” that is often violent in and outside the home (Chapter 9).

The African American community is not immune to other stereotypes concerning black male–black female relationships. African American men often perceive that black women have more opportunity and are held responsible for the status of black men. Tension may be heightened because African American women now have higher levels of education than black men and are outpacing men in gaining professional occupations. The marriage squeeze and the marriage gap are more acute for African American women searching for same-race men of comparable age and educational levels. Increased joblessness, underemployment, incarceration, and higher death rates from violent crime, disease, and poor health care deplete the pool of marriageable black males in absolute numbers and render those who are available as less desirable to marry (Chapters 2 and 7). Interviews of African American women who live with violence and poverty in their daily lives express what they look for in a man: “To a one, they all indicated that they wanted a man who was employed and had not been in jail” (Hattery and Smith, 2007:54–55).

Stereotyping increases during periods of economic uncertainty. The high unemployment rates of black men may counter the legacy of role flexibility and egalitarianism evident in many African American families. It is the economic position of men that significantly determine the course of many African American families and how gender roles will be enacted.

Latino Families

For the first time in U.S. history, more people now identify themselves as Latino or Hispanic (15 percent) than identify themselves as black or African American (14 percent), making them the largest racial minority in the nation. Most significant, by 2050, the African American population is projected to increase by 1 percent and the Latino population is projected to double; one in three U.S. residents will be Latino. Latinos are very diverse, and the enactment of gender roles is a major indicator of that diversity. There are significant cultural and historical differences between Latinos, especially economic well-being and number of generations in the United States, that are important determinants of gender roles in their families. The three largest subgroups are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. Although all three groups suffer the economic burdens of minority status, poverty is most acute for Puerto Ricans and least acute for Cuban Americans.

Although Mexican Americans hover near the poverty line as a group, there are wide variations in overall economic status. Latinos share a heritage of Spanish colonialism and, through this, a solid connection to the Catholic Church. Several

fundamental values related to gender and the family link these diverse groups. First, family relations are characterized by respect and honor. Second is the notion of **familism**, a strong cultural value emphasizing the family and its collective needs over personal and individual needs and any other groups to which a family member belongs. Familism creates strong bonds between nuclear and extended family members in terms of support, loyalty, and solidarity. Familism is associated with emotional protection, resilience, and guidance for Latino youth and a buffer against negative influences outside the home (Azmitia et al., 2009; German et al., 2009). These bonds ensure that family members remain intimately connected to one another throughout their lives.

Third, and the most important element related to gender roles and the family, is that familism is strongly gendered. There is an adherence to patriarchal gender roles in a well-defined system of mutually exclusive beliefs that separate men and women; these roles are found throughout all social classes in Latino cultures. Derived from the Spanish word *macho* ("male"), the man's role is associated with **machismo**, seen to include virility, sexual prowess, and the physical and ideological control of women. The woman's role is associated with **marianismo** (from the Virgin Mary's name Maria), seen to include the beliefs of spiritual and moral superiority of women over men, the glorification of motherhood, and the acceptance of a difficult marriage. Women are expected to have an infinite capacity for sacrifice in their role as mothers and to be submissive to the demands of the men in their family. These attitudes are associated with compromised emotional health for women (Bedolla et al., 2006; Steidel, 2006).

The beliefs that support marianismo remain strong, but changes are evident in what were once entrenched patriarchal gender roles in the family. Higher education for both males and females in Latino subcultures is associated with more gender role flexibility in the home and a loosening of stereotyped beliefs about humble women and aggressive men. Older Latino males are more likely to resist these changes than are younger Latino females. Latina adolescents and young women entering new careers armed with college degrees are in the forefront of these changes (Denner and Guzman, 2006). It is clear that education, SES, and degree of acculturation affect how these values are translated into the home.

Puerto Rican Families By far, research on gender and the family in Latino subcultures centers on the link between employment and home for women and their families. Puerto Ricans have the lowest income of any Latino group, and it is the critical gender–family link that explains this fact. Women head half of all Puerto Rican households, and only half of Puerto Rican women are high school graduates. Women have been employed in low-paying jobs, such as light manufacturing, and these are quickly disappearing. Coupled with global economic recession, companies are moving operations to Asia, where even lower-paid female workers are hired. Families are often divided, with children being raised by grandparents in Puerto Rico and husbands migrating back and forth between the island and New York in search of employment. Marriages are fragile, but marianismo and the stigma of divorce keep many couples legally married but separated. About half of all heterosexual couples form *consensual unions*, different from cohabitation, that are recognized as informal marriage. Births to unmarried Puerto Rican women have soared

over the last five decades, today comprising over 60 percent of all their births in the United States. Women who are recent migrants, especially those who are spouses in middle- and working-class couples, strive to maintain a continuity of family life. These families are more nuclear in structure and are at the forefront of the trend toward fewer consensual unions and more legal marriages. Consensual unions, however, are not necessarily associated with negative outcomes for children. From a social constructionism view, this definition of family is normative and accepted and may be the resilient form that children depend on for stability, strong family relationships, and cultural connections between Puerto Rico and New York. United States, Puerto Rican, and Latino families in general, do not fit the measurements of family structure in the United States (Fomby and Estacion, 2011). Being born in a consensual union is socially constructed as being born into a marriage. This construction works to the benefit of a child's development and may lessen, rather than increase, problem behavior.

Better-educated women are more likely to value both career and family roles, and this is reflected in their parenting practices (Safa, 2003; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). However, girls are often caught between two cultures that mirror one set of values more than the other. Echoing the marianismo–machismo duality, for example, Judith Ortiz Cofer (1995:204–205) writes of her experiences growing up in a Puerto Rican community in New Jersey.

> As a girl I was kept under strict surveillance, since virtue and modesty were, by cultural equation, the same as family honor. . . . But it was a conflicting message girls got, since Puerto Rican mothers also encouraged their daughters to look and act like women. . . . The extended family and church structure could provide a young woman with a circle of safety; if a man "wronged" a girl, everyone would close in to save her family honor.

Cofer asserts that her education gave her a stronger footing to survive this kind of duality in mainstream culture and saved her from the harsher forms of racial and ethnic prejudice. Familism may buffer girls from the "harshness" of the outside world, but it does not adequately prepare them for the role conflict they will inevitably face when they enter it as wives, mothers, and employed workers.

Mexican American Families Mexican American (Chicana) women also confront gender roles tied to ideology surrounding marianismo–machismo and familism, factors that keep divorce rates low. The nuclear family is embedded in a network of kin who maintain intergenerational ties by passing on cultural traditions, fostering ethnic pride, and serving as social and economic support (Rinderle and Montoya, 2008). Early research interpreted machismo as a male defense against racial discrimination and poverty. The belittling daily world faced by Mexican-American laborers is reproduced in the home, so men are bolstered when women are "kept in their place." Notice how the concepts of machismo and black matriarchy can be used to justify the same conclusion and then be used to perpetuate gender inequality.

Subordination of women to men in families is evident, but recent research is challenging the model of the all-dominant and controlling male. Families are not as patriarchal as had been assumed, and there is a trend toward gender equity. Couples

do report that the spheres of men and women are still separated, but that they share child rearing and household tasks. Joint decision making is more apparent, especially when women are employed outside the home. Gender roles are less traditional because extended family ties also are weakening. There is a trade-off: Families may receive less child care support from older kin, but children are less likely to hear messages about female subordination. When pressures outside the home, such as job loss, a health crisis, or neighborhood deterioration, threaten family cohesion, families rally around traditional cultural values. However, these values are being adapted to fit family needs, even if they counter traditional beliefs about gender. Women may need to enter the world of work, and men may need to be family caretakers. In this sense, family stress functions to bolster family cohesion as well as encourage productive gender role change.

When compared to their immigrant parents, even as traditional cultural values offer protection and resilience during adversity, these patterns have been altered significantly for children born in the United States. Poverty significantly decreases by the second generation of immigration, college education for both men and women is increasing, and families are moving upward in SES. On the negative side, Chicana women are largely employed in occupations segregated by gender that offer little job mobility—both functioning to keep income levels low. Parallel to decreases for all U.S. women, teen pregnancy rates are on the decline, but more Mexican American women are entering the "single-parent" ranks. With weakening familism, child care and financial support are less available. The risks of class, race, ethnicity, and gender will determine whether the economic prosperity of second and third generation Mexican Americans can be sustained (Coltrane et al., 2008; Lam et al., 2012; Consoli and Llamas, 2013).

Cuban American Families Cuban Americans enjoy the highest standard of living of all Latino groups. Immigrants in the 1960s were highly educated, many drawn from Cuba's professional ranks. Even though women were not likely to be in the labor force, education for middle- and upper-class women was encouraged and helped bolster the prestige of the family. The double standard of sexual morality lives on in the Cuban American subculture. Parents want their daughters not only to be educated, but also to remain virginal, uncorrupted, and sequestered. Later immigrants were poorer, families more fragile and prone to breakup, and women in the workplace more common, a trend that continues today. However, Cuban American families are demographically more similar to European Americans. Compared with other Latino subgroups, these families have fewer children, are economically stronger, and are more likely to be headed by a married couple. Married couples with higher levels of education are less traditional and are slowly moving toward more gender-equitable family roles. Unlike European Americans, Cuban American families are more likely to be extended and children are expected to live with their parents until they get married. The elderly in these families offer child care services and in turn expect to be taken care of as they become feeble. The increased number of Cuban American women in the work force is associated with child care by elderly kin (Skaine, 2004). More egalitarian family and work roles are in line with the future expectations of Cuban American girls. As they become more acculturated, younger women are less likely to accept restrictions based on gender.

Asian American Families

The Asian American and Pacific Islander population is the fastest growing of all racial minorities, with projections that by 2050, they will represent just fewer than 10 percent of the population, double from 2008. Their numbers increase by immigration rather than increases in the resident population. Asian Americans—primarily Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino—have the highest number of married couples and the lowest divorce rate of all other racial minorities at a number similar to whites. Compared to other racial minorities in the United States, there is also a wider spread in income and poverty level. Cambodians, Native Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders have the highest poverty rates, and Japanese and Indians have the lowest. Chinese are in between but on the higher rather than the lower side of income levels. Gender is the one factor that shows the least diversity related to income: Regardless of subculture and education, Asian American women have lower incomes than Asian American men.

On the other hand, even more so than in Latino families, Asian Americans exhibit striking cultural diversity. In religion, for example, Koreans are predominantly Protestant Christian, Filipinos are Catholic, Japanese are Shinto and Buddhist, Pakistanis are Muslim, and Indians are Hindu. Religion has a powerful influence on beliefs about gender that are carried into the family (Chapter 12).

Asian American families share several other patterns that have important gender implications. Gender roles from the originating Asian cultures demonstrate collectivistic kinship traditions in which personal needs are sacrificed for family needs. Extended families are normative, and children are socialized to be obedient in the family and loyal to parents and elders. Conformity to cultural and family traditions is expected in children but much more for girls than boys. Obedience is played out by marriages that are commonly orchestrated by kin rather than left solely to the devices of children. These family traditions emphasize female subordination to all males and older females in a patriarchal family structure (Ternikar, 2004; Espiritu, 2008; Ahluwalia and Suzuki, 2009; Hall, 2009; Park et al., 2009). The comments of the baby boomer daughter of Chinese immigrants is a good representation of these traditions.

> Despite my deference to traditional Chinese behavior, the day finally came when I had to disobey my father. I had received several offers of full scholarships to attend college. . . . When the time came for him to sign the college registration forms, he refused. "The proper place for an unmarried daughter is at home with her parents," he insisted. He wanted to keep me out of trouble until I found a husband to do the overseeing. (Zia, 2009:44–45)

Education is the key for Asian American women from all cultures to challenge such subordination. Today Asian American women lead women of all racial minorities in obtaining college degrees and are close to par with white women. Shattering gender barriers and juggling divergent cultural expectations, however, also take an emotional toll by disappointing one's family.

The extent to which these patterns occur is linked to length of residence in the United States. Recent arrivals are strongly connected to their ethnic community, for example, which provides social support and jobs in family businesses. Chinese and Koreans in particular appear to benefit from community ties—they have high

levels of education for both females and males and enjoy relatively fast upward mobility. Although still quite low, the divorce rate and the number of female-headed households are steadily increasing among all Asian American groups. When children become more "Americanized," intergenerational conflict increases, with males more likely to challenge restrictions imposed by parents (Chen, 2009; Kim, 2009). Among Chinese Americans, for instance, children will gladly provide economic help for their parents but resist their parents' advice on personal matters such as whom they choose as friends or dates. Traditional expectations for marriage are eroding, and emerging norms are now emphasizing choice of partners based on romantic love. Whereas arranged marriages have not disappeared among Chinese Americans, formal arrangements have been replaced with "strong suggestions" from parents and elders, which children are at least expected to investigate (Luo, 2008). And as expected, boys are less likely than girls to take their parents' suggestions for investigating a possible marriage partner.

Native American Families

Native Americans comprise less than 1 percent of the U.S. population and include those reporting American Indian and Alaskan (Eskimo and Aleut) origin. Native Americans are rapidly being assimilated into majority culture, and intermarriage rates have soared. At the same time, resurgent cultural pride has fueled tribal diversity and contributed to a rise in the number of people claiming Native American origin. Nonetheless, Native Americans share some key patterns related to gender roles in family life.

About one-third of Native American households are female headed; most of these are in poverty. The remaining two-thirds are made up primarily of married couples. These households are at risk for social problems related to their poverty status, such as unemployment, dropping out of high school, illiteracy, and alcoholism. Historic governmental policy is fundamentally responsible for the current economic plight of Native Americans (U.S. Commission on Human Rights, 2000).

Colonialism accompanied by Christianity altered ancient tribal patterns drastically, particularly those related to gender roles in the family. Women's power and prestige varied by tribe, but historical evidence indicates that women lost status with colonialization. Many tribal units were *matrilineal*, the family name being traced through the mother's line, and *matrilocal*, a couple moving into the bride's home at marriage. Although gender segregation was the norm, complementarity, balance, and *gynocratic* (female-centered) egalitarianism also existed both in and outside the home. Women held important political, religious, and other extradomestic roles. With increased European contact, women were gradually stripped of these roles (Chapter 5). To assimilate native people, the U.S. government first sought to obliterate ancient traditions—a policy that become known as "cultural genocide". Altered family patterns were its first expression, and an egalitarian family structure changed to a patriarchal one.

Cultural genocide did not succeed. Although ancient tribal customs were altered, they were not eradicated and they continue to reinforce family strength and stability. Women retain spiritual, economic, and leadership roles offering prestige and power in their families and communities. For those who live off the reservation,

these roles contribute to more equally shared household and parenting responsibilities (Hossain, 2001; Coles, 2006). Unlike other racial, ethnic, and religious groups, a return to cultural traditions among Native Americans may signal more, rather than less, egalitarianism.

Divorce

An enduring marriage is not necessarily a successful one. Because Americans say that romantic love is the primary reason for marriage, "falling out of love" is a reason for divorce. The two intersecting factors that most consistently predict divorce—as well as a breakup after cohabitation—are age and social class. Teenage marriages and cohabitants of lower SES are most likely to dissolve, probably within five years. For teenage couples who start out with less education, fewer economic resources, and less emotional maturity, the idealization of love quickly fades when confronted with the stark reality of married life. Whether married or not, teenage males lose the idealization quicker than teenage females (Sawhill, 2006). Although subject to historical anomalies such as the Depression and World War II, the divorce rate steadily increased throughout the last century, peaking in the 1980s, but decreasing continuously, although modestly, since. The marriage rate is also declining (see Table 7.2).

It is easier to calculate marriage rates than divorce rates. Depending on which standard for calculating divorce rates is used, the future of marriage in the United States as well as for its individual couples appears rather bleak. When comparing the number of divorces with the number of new marriages, it is fair to say that half will end in divorce. The problem with this comparison is that it does not account for how long a couple was married, so it may inflate the failure rate of new marriages. It is more revealing to look at annual divorces per 1,000 married women (half of married couples), which is about 20. This indicates a less discouraging four-in-ten marriage failure rate. Because the divorce rate is so high, first marriages may be referred to as "starter marriages." By all measures, the divorce rate is rising throughout the world, but the United States remains at the top (Figure 8.1).

Gender and Adjustment in Divorce

Divorce has profound social, psychological, and economic effects on the divorcing couple and their families. Research shows that divorce is strongly gendered—in how it is carried out and in its differential impact on women and men.

Gender Role Beliefs and Emotional Well-Being Although it is difficult to separate economic from noneconomic factors, women tend to adjust better to divorce than men. However, both men and women who are nontraditional in their gender role orientation adjust better than those who are traditional. Men and women with less traditional gender ideology are better at reconciling themselves to divorce than men and women who hold more conventional gender role beliefs. Women of all races who have higher levels of self-esteem and independence opt out of unsatisfactory marriages at a faster rate and adjust better to their postdivorce lives. Although religiosity may predict more traditional gender role beliefs, spiritual

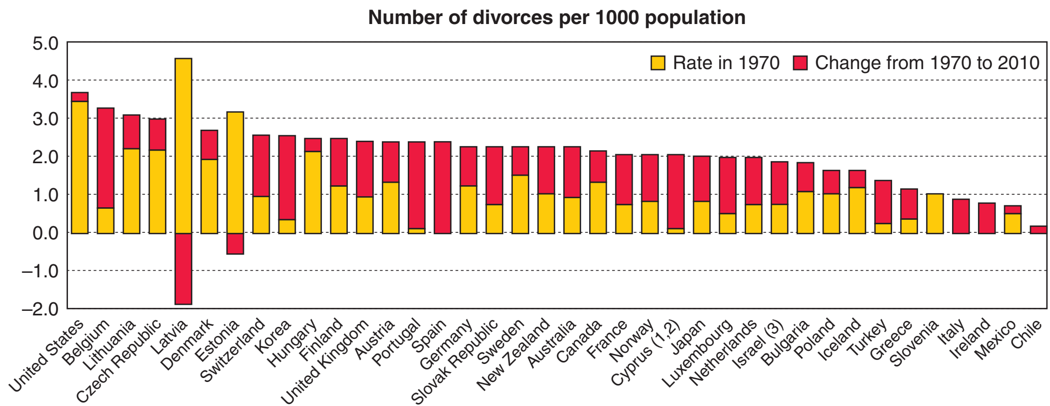

FIGURE 8.1

Increase in Divorce Rates from 1970 to 2010 in OECD* Countries

*Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Note: Countries are ranked by descending order of crude divorce rates in 2010.

Source: OECD Family Database. www.oecd.org/social/family/database OECD—Social Policy Division—Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs. http://www.oecd.org/social/family/SF3_1_MarriageAndDivorce Rates_Jan2013.pdf

well-being predicts better divorce outcomes for women. Nontraditional gender role beliefs, however, are less protective for divorced women with young children (Zimmer, 2001; Baum, 2007; Steiner et al., 2011). The powerful emotional toll of motherhood ideology works against a woman's well-being. Men who adjust better to divorce are likely to be connected to a new partner and quickly reestablish their preferred gender role pattern, whether or not it is a traditional one. Ex-spouses appear to adjust better when they attribute the cause of the divorce to the relationship rather than to themselves or each other (Amato and Previti, 2003; Natalier, 2012). In this sense, they leave the marriage with a more intact sense of self that serves as bolsters as they face a postmarried future.

Age Younger people are better at rebuilding their lives after a divorce, and the spouse who first sought the divorce adjusts to it more readily. Women are more likely to initiate a divorce than men, and younger women do so at higher rates than both older men and older women. Divorce at an earlier age can lead to more growth options and enhance the person's well-being over the long run. Older women suffer greater psychological trauma in divorce and may be more likely to stay in an unhappy marriage until a new partner is on the horizon (Sweeney, 2002; Pedrovska and Carr, 2008).

Employment Although most women are employed and may have the financial latitude to end an unhappy marriage, their income contributes more to marital happiness than marital dissatisfaction. A husband today is not only less likely to feel threatened by a wife who matches or outearns him, but also may celebrate the mismatch. As we have seen, for dual-earner couples, housework, rather than

income, fuels marital problems. The most dissatisfied couples are those in which wives want joint decision making and household task sharing by husbands, whereas husbands prefer a more traditional, patriarchal style of family functioning—a pattern that holds for couples of all races (Ono and Raymo, 2006; Lucier-Greer and Adler-Baeder, 2011; Offer and Schneider, 2011). Shifts in gender role ideology help explain why today's women are now more likely than their mothers and grandmothers to initiate divorce.

The Impact of Gendered Law in Divorce

Divorce is no longer a legally difficult process. The legal ease of ending a marriage is linked to the *no-fault divorce*, which allows one spouse to divorce the other without placing blame on either. Divorce is readily available to those who want it, such as women in abusive marriages, older men hoping to remarry younger women, and young couples who married quickly and confronted marital conflict just as quickly. "Irreconcilable differences" has become the generic default category used by divorcing couples (Watkins, 2006). No-fault divorces now represent the large majority of all divorces in the United States.

Custody Mothers gain custody of children about 70 percent of the time, usually without further legal action by fathers. Father custody and other joint arrangements constitute about one-third of child custody decisions. Although all states have gender-neutral child custody laws, custody is still likely to be granted to the mother, the preferred pattern for mothers and fathers. Most often fathers give in to the mother's demand for full custody without further legal action. A woman must now take on an array of roles that she and her husband previously shared. Even if she is working outside the home, the divorce increases financial obligations, child care, and household responsibilities. Conflicts involving children can intensify and create a greater sense of insecurity. For those divorced mothers who recognize that they do not have the financial capability to adequately provide for their children, the decision may be to give up custody. The belief that children—especially young children—should stay with their mothers is pervasive. Unlike a noncustodial father, a mother who voluntarily gives up custody is stigmatized; often she is viewed as abandoning her children. She may relinquish custody out of love, knowing that her ex-husband is in a better financial position to offer them what she cannot. Reinforced by social stigma, contact with her children also may be reduced (Kielty, 2008).

Fathers are now more likely to gain full custody in contested divorces. Custody revisionists have begun to challenge the maternal preference argument, citing the best-interest-of-the-child standard (BICS) (Goel, 2008). Fathers can be favored over mothers because fathers are usually financially better off. The courts rarely award alimony (and even less so to women capable of earning a living), so divorce requires women to give up any thought about remaining a homemaker if that was her predivorce existence. Earning a living can jeopardize her chances of gaining custody, especially if she has young children. Besides the father making more money, if he remarries, he has the possibility of another full-time caretaker. Although uncontrollable economic factors are the key reasons most mothers lose custody battles, they are cast into the

stigmatized role of unfit parents. The case for fathers' rights in custody decisions is often more of a case against mothers, with claims that men are the victims in a family law system that privileges women (Adams, 2006). Gender-neutral standards are supposedly in effect to ensure parity in divorce and child custody decisions, but gender stereotyping of parents works against this in both principle and practice.

Joint Custody To deal with problems associated with child custody, *joint-custody* arrangements—where parents share decisions related to their children, including how much time children will spend in the home of each parent—have skyrocketed. Joint custody is now the most prevalent court-ordered divorce arrangement. Coparenting occurs in a variety of contexts, from simply sharing day-to-day decisions about children with their ex-spouses to actually moving children (and sometimes parents) to different homes on a rotating basis. There are vigorous debates on the effects of such arrangements on children. Joint-custody fathers are more involved in their children's lives, have increased contact with them, and actively participate in shared decision making regarding their children. Complicated scheduling is a downside, but less strain is reported if one does not carry the full burden of parental responsibilities (Peters and Ehrenberg, 2008; Stirling and Aldrich, 2012; Vanassche et al., 2013). A huge issue is the degree of parental cooperation. If channels of communication remain open and children are not used as pawns, a joint-custody arrangement may be a constructive option. If parental cooperation fails, joint custody serves to increase conflict between parents. The quality of the coparenting relationship is the key factor in how a child adjusts to divorce. Gendered beliefs about who is a "good" or "better" parent intrude, however, and often thwart adjustment for parents as well as their children (Bokker, 2006; Finzi-Dottan and Cohen, 2014).

Another often overlooked issue in joint custody is that fathers are less likely than mothers to be available for coparenting. An "equal" pattern of care may be imposed, but it disguises the greater contributions of mothers, rather than fathers, to the "physical and emotional well-being of their children" (Elizabeth et al., 2012:256). Decisions about the degree of care and contact need to be determined based on the actual living situations of parents rather than the courts. As equitable as the arrangements may seem on paper, women take on the greater care and economic burdens associated with joint custody.

Divorce and Poverty Although women appear to fare better than men in the psychological trauma of divorce, the economic consequences are often disastrous for women in the United States as well as globally. Research shows that in the first year of the breakup, 1 in 5 women enter into poverty compared with 1 in 13 men, and women are at higher risk than men for chronic poverty (Gadalla, 2008). Adding parenthood to gender, compared with divorced fathers, divorced mothers have a disproportionate share of the economic burden of the divorce. Approximately 40 percent of divorced mothers enter poverty; 30 percent of custodial mothers are in poverty, twice as high as for custodial fathers (Grall, 20113). For both African American and white women, divorce increases a woman's financial burdens in two important ways. First, child support payments do not match expenses of maintaining the family; second, women must work outside the home, often in

low-salary jobs, a situation compounded by both race and gender discrimination. Older women, housewives, and those reentering the labor force after a long absence are in an extremely precarious position, especially if Social Security benefits continue to be assaulted (Butrica and Smith, 2012). These women are at a distinct disadvantage in the job market at the exact time they need an adequate income to support the family.

Dividing Assets No-fault divorce makes a bad economic situation worse for women when courts mandate an equal division of assets, such as the family home and savings. Coupled with no-fault divorce, joint custody puts women at great financial risk. Joint custody may be agreed on during a *divorce mediation* process in which parents meet with an impartial third party to reach mutually acceptable agreements. However, mediators may usher in beliefs about gender-neutral standards that are anything but neutral as far as finances are concerned (Comerford, 2006). Most women do not have the economic resources to coparent on an equal basis with their ex-husbands.

Misconceptions abound about women who are "set up" for a life of leisure by their wealthy ex-husbands. Actually, court-ordered alimony—"maintenance"—is awarded to only a small percentage of women and in amounts so low that they barely match welfare or Social Security. Laws in many states are not kind to the few women who do receive alimony. In Florida, a judge is allowed to reduce alimony if a former spouse enters into a "new supportive relationship." If money is received from a boyfriend, for example, a divorced woman's alimony can be reduced, regardless of whether she has custody of her children or she is living with her boyfriend (Caputo, 2008). If the relationship ends, alimony is unlikely to be reinstated, as much for the legal cost as for the lack of sympathy she will receive from the system. Divorced and cohabitating women of all races who end long-term relationships are often cast into dire economic circumstances.

Child Support The issue of what is awarded is related to the issue of what can be collected. Fewer than half of all custodial mothers are awarded child support. Half of these mothers actually receive it from nonresidential fathers, and only 25 percent receive the full amount. The amount of unpaid child support is staggering. The U. S. Census Bureau reports that almost 40 percent of $38 billion in child support is not paid to the custodial parent who was due support, forcing 10 million children into welfare. In half of divorced families, by two years after the divorce, there is no contact with the nonresidential parent, usually the father (Grall, 2013). The deep emotional loss that fathers experience at divorce may help explain the financial distancing from their children.

The severe economic consequences of divorce are played out among women of all races. Although young minority men are not well off economically, their post-divorce financial situation tends to be better than that of their ex-wives. A man's standard of living tends to show a moderate decrease in the immediate aftermath of a divorce but improves considerably over time. Although declines in postdivorce income are less for women than in years past, decreases and losses remain much greater compared to men's post-divorce income (Bedard and Deschenes, 2005; Daniels et al., 2006). A loss of half the family income is typical. Divorce is a principal

reason for the high poverty rate of single-parent women and their dependent children. In addition to the population of never-married women with dependent children, divorce contributes to the **feminization of poverty—**a global trend showing an increase in the percentage of women in the poverty population. Women at highest risk of poverty are single-parent women of color.

To help get divorced women off public assistance, states are more vigilant in enforcing child custody orders. To recoup the cost of collecting the money from fathers, however, many states keep the money rather than passing it on to ex-wives and children. The benefits of getting men to live up to their financial obligations, however, are greater when programs encourage men to maintain active contact with their children and are nurtured in their identities as fathers (Nepomnyaschy, 2007; Troilo and Coleman, 2012). In addition, the men who have been slipping out of their children's lives can be brought back, especially poor men of color. Welfare programs that work on issues to reconnect poor, absent fathers with their children may be more successful than programs that criminalize fathers when they do not or cannot pay child support (Bialik, 2008). Changes in divorce law also may help with a women's postdivorce income loss. States could retain the no-fault option while recognizing that men and women enter divorce with very different levels of economic vulnerability.

Remarriage The United States has a decreasing marriage rate and is near the top of the globe's divorce rate. Although the remarriage rate is also decreasing, the United States has the world's highest remarriage rate. About 80 percent of divorced people remarry, and one-half of all marriages are remarriages. The marriage–divorce–remarriage pattern is referred to as **serial monogamy**. Combined with a rising rate of cohabitation, remarriages are the primary reasons for the formation of a **blended family**, in which children from parents' prior relationships are brought together in a new family. This now normative form of kinship represents over half of children in the United States today; half of families with children are blended families.

About three-quarters divorced men and two-thirds of divorced women remarry. A large majority of men remarry within five years of their divorce. Most divorced men with children are free from sole custody and are economically better off than their ex-wives, allowing for greater latitude in the remarriage market. Men have an age advantage as well. There is more acceptance of the older man–younger woman pattern than the reverse. A ten-year age difference favoring men is common in remarriages. Women who are poorly educated are most likely to remarry. Their remarriage chances decrease if they have dependent children because they represent a financial liability for men. Financially independent women are attractive to men for remarriage, but these women have less to gain in a remarriage, especially if the women do not want to raise children. When adding race to the remarriage picture, African American women are least likely to remarry and white women are most likely. Latino women fall in between. These different remarriage rates are best explained by the influence of race, class, and gender in combination. Among women of all races, marriage and remarriage offer opportunities for economic stability. They seek married partners with work stability—men who can get employed and stay employed. But low-income African American single mothers attach more importance to respectability and control in

their lives. Low-income white single mothers mention issues of trust and domestic violence as more important. The meaning of marriage differs for these women. Many believe that marriage will make their lives more difficult and hence choose to remain single. It is difficult to determine, therefore, whether remarriage for these women offers more costs or more benefits.

Single-Parent Families

In 1980, 77 percent of children lived with two parents. In 2012, this number dropped to 64 percent. In single-parent homes, 24 percent of children lived with their mothers only and 4 percent lived with their fathers only; another 4 percent lived with neither parent (Figure 8.2). Whereas about three-fourths of white children live with two married parents, the number falls to less than two-thirds for Latino children and about one-third for African American children. It is difficult to sort out these numbers to account for the increasing variety of households and families. When considering cohabitants, for example, approximately 40 percent of unmarried partners had children younger than 18 (Chapter 7). When considering solo parenting, however, it is safe to say that approximately one-third of all children are living with one parent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

Poverty risk in single-parent homes increases dramatically in female householder families that are African American or Latino. In the United States, over one-fifth of *all* children live in poverty, but about half of children in female single-parent homes live in poverty; single-parent mothers outnumber single-parent fathers four to one. The poverty is triple for African American children compared to white

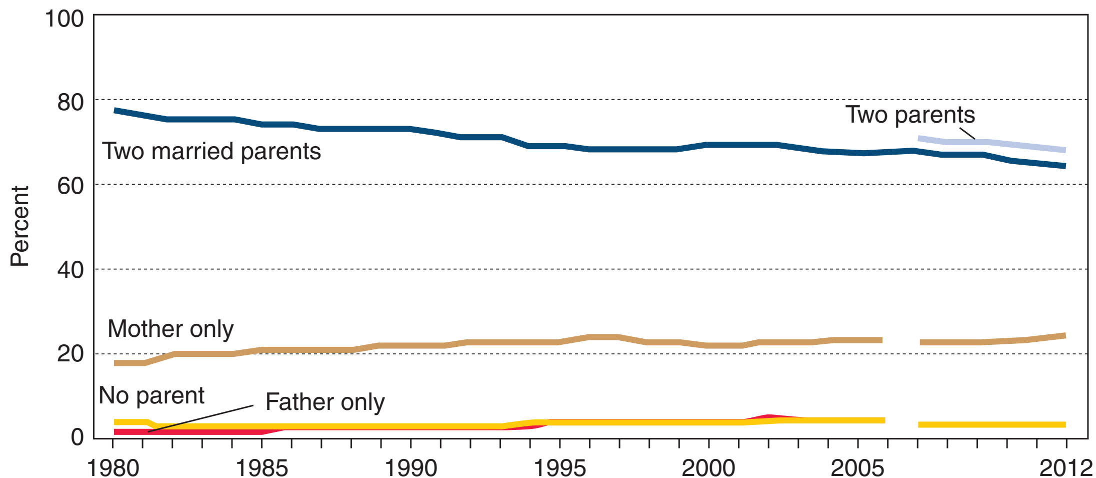

FIGURE 8.2

Percentage of Children Ages 0–17 by Presence of Parents in Household, 2008–2012.

Source: ChildStats.Gov Forum on Child and Family Statistics. America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2013. "Family Structure and Children's Living Arrangements. www.childstats.gov/americaschildren/famsoc1.asp

children, with Latino children faring only slightly better (Figure 8.3). Almost half of African American children live in families headed by women, often with a female grandparent. The staggering statistic is that before they are 18, almost two-thirds of U.S. children will live part of their life in a single-parent household or in other households with adults who are not their parents.

Because the media focus most on the never-married rates of single-parent mothers, people often forget that single parents include divorced parents and an escalating subset of highly educated women who choose motherhood but not marriage or remarriage. These are college-educated—often postgraduate—degree-holding, financially secure women who adopt children—usually girls—or may choose birth through artificial insemination. These risk-averse women often wait until after they turn 30 for their first child (Schmidt, 2008). With careers on track, financial security for their families is better ensured. They are single mothers with adopted children who spend time with each other and whose children grow up in the company of children much like themselves. Their households and families can be described as extended, platonic, female centered, and middle class. They have the resources and networks for support but rely on one another for help in a pinch. Mothers do not rule out dating, but rather than searching for a husband or male life partner, many prefer to give their children another sibling rather than a father. These women suggest that they are "one another's primary asset." As one mother explains,

> If I had a great job opportunity somewhere else, I wouldn't move now. . . . If I went somewhere else I'd have to reform what we have here, and I don't know if I could. . . . The next 8 to 10 years is my time for child-rearing. I'd like to keep that protected. (Bazelon, 2009:33)

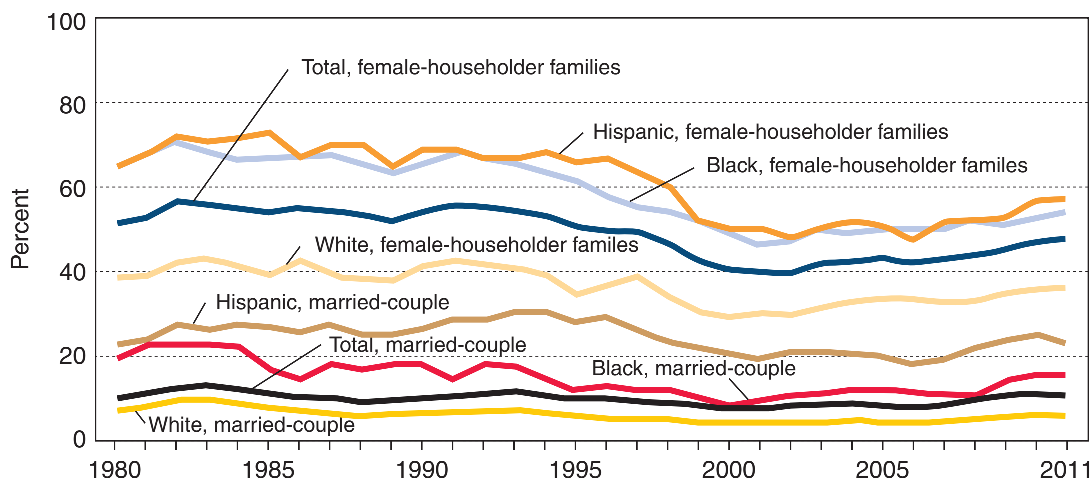

FIGURE 8.3

Percentage of Children Ages 0–17 Living in Poverty by Race and Family Structure, 2008–2011.

Source: ChildStats.Gov Forum on Child and Family Statistics. America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2013. www.childstats.gov/americaschildren/eco1a.asp

Although the number of such financially secure unmarried mothers is growing, their percentage in the ranks of single-parent mothers is still quite small. That they are better off financially is what separates them from the majority of their single-mother counterparts.

Despite the drop in marriage rate, increased cohabitation, and increased number of single parents, the nonmarital birth rate for all age groups, including teenagers, has actually *fallen*. However, the decreased birth rate of unmarried women does not offset the even steeper decline of births for married women (Martin et al., 2013). The net result is that unmarried women have a larger share of overall births and this share of women is at high risk for poverty. Even with the increased number of fathers gaining sole custody in contested divorce, the number of never-married poor women with children continues to escalate. About half of all single parents are divorced; the other half have never been married. The divorced half of single-parent mothers appears to fare better than their never-married counterparts—they probably finished high school, live in their own homes, and have higher incomes. If children from divorced homes are living with their fathers, the median family income is over one-third higher than if they live with their mothers. Overall, median family income is almost four times less in single-parent families compared to husband–wife families. Poverty rates for all single-parent families crept higher as the recession deepened and to date have not appreciably declined in the recovery.

Mothers and the Single-Parent Household

In mother- or grandmother-headed single-parent families, economic vulnerability is a way of life. Female-headed families are the fastest-growing type of family in the United States, and the odds that it is in poverty approach one in two (Figure 8.3). Single-parent families headed by mothers are more than twice as likely to live at less than 100 percent of the poverty level compared with single-parent fathers. Median income is an astonishing four times lower than in husband–wife families. Many factors contribute to this situation. We know that child support, alimony, and joint custody are not the financial salvation for these women. Neither are welfare payments in a restrictive system, which can contribute to, rather than deter, the cycle of poverty. Because women are more likely than men to be in low-paying jobs—if employed at all—their income is far from adequate to meet the needs of the family (Chapter 10). The financial burdens of the single-parent family headed by a woman who is divorced, never married, or cohabiting fuel the feminization of poverty. The distinctive character of a woman's poverty is that she has the economic responsibility for children.

Financial uncertainty heightens the physical and emotional demands on single-parent women. Compared with married couples, they rely more on children for housework, have fewer social supports, and raise children who are also more likely to become single parents. Single mothers report higher rates of depression and lower levels of self-esteem than married mothers do, especially if they were teenage mothers and did not graduate from high school. Money is the key factor in these patterns. Support from kin, an important form of social capital, can help moderate these risks, but they will not be eliminated because of the ever-present money worries. All forms of social capital must be expansive enough to challenge the disadvantages of low-income single mothers (Taylor et al., 2014; Coley and Lombardi, 2014;

Johnson et al., 2011). Women who are more financially secure adjust better to single parenting, feel better about their family and their jobs, and have better child care options. Their children tend to have better educational outcomes and fewer behavioral problems. Single women perched on the poverty line, however, experience chronic life strain, which impacts their physical, social, and psychological well-being.

Fathers and the Single-Parent Household

As single parents, men face a situation far different from that of women. Five percent of *all* households are single-parent male households; nearly 15 percent of all *single-parent* households are male households. These numbers are expected to increase as more fathers gain custody of their children. Custodial fathers have more social support and fewer problems adjusting to single parenthood than do custodial mothers. Never-married custodial single fathers are viewed more positively than comparable mothers (Dejean et al., 2012; Haire and McGeorge, 2012). Fathers are usually better educated, occupy higher-level occupations, and continue their careers after becoming single parents. Remember, too, that financial strength is a key reason why fathers are increasingly awarded sole custody when they request it. Like single mothers, single fathers report problems balancing work and family. Single fathers who cope successfully have more flexible work situations and more support networks.

For child care and household tasks, single fathers appear to adapt well, perceive themselves as competent, are meaningfully involved with their children, and shoulder household responsibilities without much outside help (Linnenberg, 2007). When they become single fathers, many set out to learn new tasks and domestic skills. Fathers who are more involved with housework before the divorce make a smoother transition to their new domestic roles. After divorce, single-parent mothers do less housework; fathers do more. Although single-parent fathers rely on their children to help with housework, it is distributed along the gender lines found in two-parent families. Daughters do more housework and more "feminine" housework than sons (Pasley and Minton, 2001; Raley et al., 2006b). When fathers take on the role of the "primary" parent, they report close ties to their children and high levels of family satisfaction. But they still must deal with gender role stereotyping that assumes that they cannot be as competent parents as women.

Gender Patterns in Gay and Lesbian Families

As society's most conservative institution, the family is highly resistant to change. Political debate concerning definitions of the family also is linked to antigay campaigns focusing on homosexuality as the enemy of the patriarchal family and the American way of life. Gay and lesbian families do exhibit characteristics contrary to the structure and behavior patterns of the patriarchal family. As we will see, this seems more to the credit of these families than to their detriment.

Same-Sex Marriage

In 1995, Utah became the first state to expressly prohibit same-sex marriages. In 1996, Hawaii became the first state to legalize same-sex marriage but reversed the ruling two years later. In 2004, a San Francisco judge began issuing marriage licenses

to same-sex couples. Judges in Massachusetts followed. A firestorm of controversy ensued as other states grappled with how to deal with the large influx of same-sex couples demanding marriage licenses. California legalized same-sex marriage in the summer of 2008, but five months later voters approved Proposition 8, which again banned it. In 2013, by court decision, California reinstated it. The federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), defining marriage as a union between a man and a woman, was passed in 1996 but was declared unconstitutional in 2013. In 2014 the Supreme Court refused to hear cases from five states seeking to retain their same-sex marriage bans. This ruling in effect gives tacit approval for granting same-sex marriages in those states and paves the way for five additional states with such bans to follow. As of this writing, 19 states, the District of Columbia, and 10 Native American tribes have legal same-sex marriages; with this Supreme Court ruling, however, it is expected that 30 states will soon legally recognize same-sex marriage.

Those states continuing to circumvent rulings banning same-sex marriage may allow same-sex couples to enter **civil unions**, a legal classification entitling same-sex couples to the rights and responsibilities available to married partners, such as inheriting a partner's estate and filing joint tax returns. Other states represent a mixed bag of unions granting rights similar to marriage, domestic partnerships granting limited and specified rights to both same-sex and opposite-sex couples, and recognition of foreign same-sex marriages. Because many nations, including most of northern Europe, recognize same-sex marriage, the reciprocity issues in banning same-sex marriages are not resolved.

The highly contentious politics around same-sex marriage involves definitions of marriage that revolve around images of traditional, patriarchal families. Although the courts often uphold these definitions, they are being challenged in the workplace, in the unions, and in the schools in support of couples choosing more nontraditional family structures and lifestyles related to sexual orientation, nonpatriarchal parenting, gender roles, or cohabitation. A productive twist to the same-sex marriage issue is that people who identify themselves as transgendered and transsexual will be able to skirt issues related to "what sex they claim to be or what sex they became" (Chapter 2) to obtain a marriage license.

LGBT Families and Gender Roles

The U.S. Census reported in 2012 that over 600,000 LGBT families were divided almost equally between gay male and lesbian families. Gay men and lesbians who form families and stepfamilies tend to incorporate a network of kin and nonkin relationships, including friends, lovers, former lovers, coparents, children, and adopted children. These families are organized by ideologies of love, social support, flexibility, and rational choice (Johnson and O'Connor, 2005; Ryan, 2007; Goldberg and Smith, 2014). Notice how this structure is similar to the fictive kin and familism evident in African American and Latino families.

Children Same-sex families with children are highly child focused. The most important conclusion about the adjustment and psychological development of children and adolescents raised by same-sex couples compared to other-sex couples is that "research fails to reveal any important differences." This is despite the huge pressure of these couples to raise children in a heteronormative culture so that heterosexual,

gender normative children with no gender identity issues are produced (Lev, 2010; Tasker, 2010). Research is ongoing but generally confirms that quality of the relationship between parents is more important for children than the sexual orientation of the parents (Biblarz and Stacey, 2010; Golombok, et al., 2014). Gay and lesbian parents closely monitor their children in all facets of their development, including emotional health, peer influences, and school progress. When problems arise, they are likely to seek the support and counseling services that are now more available from therapists specializing in lesbian and gay psychology, many who adopt a feminist perspective in their therapeutic approaches (Negy and McKinney, 2006).

Egalitarianism An early literature review of LGBT couple families showed more equality in their household arrangements than those of heterosexual couples (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). The conclusion of more egalitarianism was confirmed in the first comprehensive study that compared homosexual and heterosexual couples (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983) as well as in research that followed (Duncan and Joos, 2011). Research generally discounts the stereotypical image of a gay relationship with one dominant and one submissive partner. The egalitarian pattern tends to occur for both lesbians and gay men, although lesbians are more successful in maintaining it over the long term.

Although household work is divided by talent and interest, research does suggest that, like heterosexual couples, gay men and lesbian couples show one partner taking more domestic responsibilities than the other and that domestic work is hidden and devalued (Hagewen, 2002; Goldberg et al., 2012b). In addition, the monogamy that gay men value is harder to achieve. Mirroring gender role norms in the wider society, gay men also value sexual prowess and, like heterosexual men, fall prey to its power as a defining mark of masculinity. On the other hand, young gay men are leading the pack to the altar. With a marriage license as the monogamy standard, these young men are "a lot more like married heterosexual couples than they are like older gay couples" (Denizet-Lewis, 2008:34). And like heterosexual women, lesbians view sexual prowess as less important than emotional commitment, particularly in the beginning stages of a relationship. Lesbian couples frequently adopt a peer-friendship bond that later culminates into a sexual one as physical closeness grows and the relationship progresses (Glazer and Drescher, 2001; Connolly and Sicola, 2006).

In housework and in child rearing, LGBT couples tend to act out egalitarian beliefs more than heterosexual couples. The debate about levels of egalitarianism in same-sex couples has implications for the same-sex marriage issue overall. If same-sex couples are more egalitarian, would legally recognized marriage make them less so? Overall, since marriages are more likely to be patriarchal rather than egalitarian, legally married same-sex couples may succumb to patriarchal family lifestyles. Symbolic interactionists suggest that, in turn, household egalitarianism as it plays out in their daily lives may be compromised.

Lesbian Mothers

Whether as a civil union or a marriage, legal acceptance does not mean social acceptance. We have already seen that in divorce, mothers usually gain custody of children. With lesbians, however, this is less likely. Some women hide their lesbian

identity to win custody and then live in fear of being exposed by their husbands and having the courts reverse the decision. Others who are granted custody after bitter court battles may endure continual harassment from their ex-husbands or their own relatives. Some mothers fear that their children will be traumatized by a custody fight and voluntarily accede to their husbands' demands. (Sherman, 2005). Lesbians may be less stigmatized than gay men when they raise children with their partners. But their "mainstream" motherhood identity exists alongside their stigmatized lesbian identity, and they walk a fine line between the two. They must negotiate these two identities in a society that takes for granted heterosexist notions about ideal mothers raising perfect children (Henehan et al., 2007; Massey, 2007).

Gay Fathers

Just as lesbian mothers can lose the opportunity of raising their children, gay fathers are even more likely to be denied custody. About one-third of gay men have been married at least once, and many of these men are natural fathers. The coming-out process can trigger a domino series of events that reverberate through the family, including separation, divorce, child custody disputes, loss of support from family and friends, and loss of job. Children may feel alienated from their fathers and may cast blame on their mothers. Gay fathers may find that visiting their children is so discouraged that they are reluctant to subject themselves and their children to the turmoil the visits may bring. If their children remain unaware of their fathers' gay identity, the gay fathers lead compartmentalized existences that compromise their emotional well-being. Like lesbian mothers, they fear that their gay identity will be exposed and their children traumatized. When courts endorse beliefs about "family values," gay fathers are viewed as "bad parents" and custody is less likely to be granted (Warwick and Aggleton, 2002; Vescio and Biernat, 2003; St. John, 2006).

On the other hand, some research shows that most children of gay men do reconcile with their fathers and reinstate contact. Being gay may not be compatible with traditional marriage and the family, but it is compatible with fathering (Berkowitz and Marsiglio, 2007; Brinamen and Mitchell, 2008). Gay men without biological children express a strong desire to parent with a life partner through either adoption or surrogacy (Friedman, 2007; Galvin, 2008). For families with publicly gay fathers who do have custody of their children, research shows positive histories. When gay men productively resolve identity issues, gay fathers are comparable to single heterosexual fathers who have custody of their children. The conclusion of this research is that the adult children of gay men—who were raised by gay men—do not differ in terms of life satisfaction, self-esteem, sexual attitudes, or sense of well-being (Hicks, 2005; Johnson and O'Connor, 2005; Macatee, 2007).

Future Families

Alternative families consisting of gay men and heterosexual women also are evolving. Some gay men maintain liaisons with heterosexual women with whom they may have children. Women who desire children without the confines of marriage may choose to have a child with a gay man with whom she may or may not be emotionally attached, who provides financial support and help with parenting. There

is no legal obligation, they do not live together, and the child is "hers." In this way, desires on both sides are met. Success with such arrangements varies considerably, but it is likely that more couples will choose this new family form to fit distinctive life goals in a rapidly changing society. This form adds another diversity piece to nontraditional family and household arrangements.

Overall, a growing number of gay men and lesbians have gained custody, have brought their biological children into an "openly" LGBT home, have adopted children, and live in permanent households with their homosexual partners and their children. Generally positive research outcomes on children raised in these homes are bolstering claims for adoption and custody. LGBT adoptions are legally banned across the board only in Florida. States have a variety of confusing statutes that may or may not allow for gay fostering under specific circumstances. The courts tend to view gay adoptions, however, as private contractual matters (O'Neill, 2009). LGBT families tend to be child centered, egalitarian, and financially well-off (Henehan et al., 2007).

This section reports overall neutral to positive outcomes for LGBT couples and their families on a variety of indicators. With much more positive media portrayals at the vanguard, "social approval" of these families shows continuous increases. However, these families must deal with the strains of daily life in a heteronormative culture. Idealized versions of LGBT life on television ("*Glee, Modern Family*") and movies (*The Kids Are All Right*) generally gloss over this fact. Similar to violence against women, transgender children are often pushed out of their families but are subject to abuse when they cannot leave. Bullying of sexual minority youth is widespread (Chapter 9). Gay and lesbian families live under a microscope in the way they conduct their lives as couples, but particularly as parents.

LGBT families face hostility and suspicion with stereotypes about sexual orientation; idealized notions about families, especially the benefits of patriarchal and authority of fathers; and the way gender roles should be enacted in their families. Social conservatives wield very strong political power at both federal and state levels. They continue to advocate that same-sex marriages and the families they spawn will end fatherhood, destabilize families, and in turn even destabilize civilization (Green, 2013). Even with legal recognition, rights as parents and partners still may be denied. Legal interpretations in many municipalities continue to work against gay men and lesbians by defining them as unfit to raise children (Niedwiecki, 2014). On the optimistic side, however, family law eventually will be swayed in support of LGBT couples as research accumulates on increasing numbers of children with good development outcomes raised in their families.

Summary

1. The transition to parenthood is seen as both a crisis and a normal development stage. The motherhood mandate makes parenthood more stressful for women. The motherhood mandate is supported by functionalism for its socialization benefit to children; conflict theory challenges this view because it ignores individual growth for mothers; feminists are redefining motherhood to fit the new lifestyles of women who desire career and children. Both men and women believe that children benefit with stay-at-home mothers.

2. Fatherhood is tied to the good-provider role but the involved-father role is gaining in importance for men. Fathers are taking on more child care than in the past. An emerging fatherhood mandate would combine instrumental and expressive roles.
3. Voluntarily childfree married couples express similar levels of marital satisfaction as couples with children.
4. Dual-earning families are the norm. Children of employed women are not harmed by their employment and neither are children who are in high-quality day care. When mothers work for pay, social and intellectual development of children is enhanced.
5. Underemployment of men and employment of women in African American families is typical. Working-class and middle-class couples are likely to be in dual-earner, egalitarian family roles. African American husbands adapt themselves to their employed wives more than white husbands. Multiple oppressions of race and gender keep earnings low for African American women.
6. Gender roles in Latino families are tied to economic well-being, number of generations in the United States, and which subgroup they represent. Women who hold low-paying jobs head half of Puerto Rican families. Machismo ideology serves to subordinate Mexican American women. Compared to other Latino families, Cuban Americans have fewer children, are economically better-off, and are headed by a married couple with a college-educated wife. For all Latino subgroups, trends toward gender equity are growing.
7. Asian American families are also diverse and share gender patterns from their originating Asian cultures. Overall, women are subordinate to all males and older females in a patriarchal family structure. Traditional expectations for arranged marriages are eroding.
8. One-third of Native American households are headed by women and likely to be in poverty. The U.S. practice of cultural genocide altered but did not erase tribal customs related to family strength and stability and women's leadership roles. A return to cultural traditions signals more, not less, gender egalitarianism.
9. Women tend to adjust better to divorce than men, especially those who are nontraditional in their gender roles, those who are younger, and those who have the financial latitude to end an unhappy marriage. Mothers usually gain custody in a divorce, but joint custody is becoming more common. Many women are propelled into poverty after a divorce. Remarriage rates for both men and women are high, but men have an age and income advantage for remarriage.
10. Single-parent families headed by women are likely to be in poverty. Mothers report high levels of depression and low self-esteem. Single-parent families headed by men are likely to be financially secure, have flexible work and support networks.
11. Same-sex marriage is legal in 19 states and is expected to soon be legal in 30 states. Gay and lesbian families are child focused and show high levels of egalitarianism. Lesbian mothers walk a line between mainstream motherhood and stigmatized lesbian identity. Gay fathers who resolve gay identity issues are comparable to single heterosexual fathers who have custody. With positive media portrayals, social approval of LGBT families continues to increase.

Key Terms

Blended family
Civil unions
Familism
Feminization of poverty
Fictive kin
Machismo
Marianismo
Motherhood mandate
Serial monogamy

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Demonstrate how gender ideology permeates beliefs about motherhood and fatherhood in the United States and creates a paradox for parents. Document the benefits and/or liabilities of this ideology for couples and their children. As a result of this evaluation, what conclusions do you draw about the relationship between gender beliefs and parenthood and the likelihood of a productive resolution of this paradox?
2. Compare African American, Latino, and Asian American families in terms of gender socialization of children and the influence of the multiple oppressions of race, gender, and social class. Based on this comparison, determine the prospects for movement toward more gender equity in these families.
3. Identify the similarities and differences between homosexual and gay and lesbian couples in terms of their family arrangements, gender roles, and child rearing. Demonstrate how functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interaction account for these patterns. How does the feminist perspective provide an overarching framework that incorporates all three theories?

CHAPTER 9

Men and Masculinity

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Discuss war and soldiering as the quintessential markers for American views of masculinity and explain how these markers unfolded during wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan.
2. Define hegemonic masculinity and list norms and consequences of the norms associated with it. Discuss any changes to norms of masculinity that may have emerged.
3. Define homophobia and provide a demographic portrait of it.
4. Describe how gender roles and ideas about masculinity constrain men who want to be more involved in the lives of their children.
5. Compare women and men at midlife.
6. Provide a profile of a rapist and describe how the profile is influenced by masculinity norms.
7. Identify the major men's movements in the United States and determine the success of these movements on the lives of men.

- *Boys don't cry.*
- *Don't get mad, get even.*
- *Take it like a man.*
- *Size matters.*
- *Nice guys finish last.*

What it means to be a man: Adapted from the "The Guy Code"

—Michael Kimmel, 2008:45

A separate chapter on men and masculinity in a book on gender roles is not without controversy. Although comparisons between men and women—how we are alike and how we are different—are explicitly incorporated throughout this text, some may argue that men are cast into the "default" category and marginalized in a book focused on women. As we saw in Chapter 1, feminists from all disciplines were the catalysts for early research on gender and the development of women's studies. An explosion of scholarship

on women *and* gender followed. This scholarship made clear that books, research, law, history, and literature that did not mention women were about men. In this sense, women are the default category and men are the unquestioned norm. This argument is less meaningful today because of the parallel explosion of scholarship devoted to the rapidly emerging discipline of men's studies. It is difficult to sort out viewpoints about how much space should be devoted to men and how much to women. *Gender studies* may be the "legitimate" default category. It is through gender studies that men and masculinity are made visible (Hearn and Kimmel, 2006:53). As this chapter documents, therefore, men's issues are not excluded; neither are they marginalized.

Despite social change, men are still viewed as superior to women. Whereas women wage battles for economic, political, and social equality, men wield the power that often determines the outcome of the fight. All roles are made up of both rights and responsibilities, but *both* men and women perceive the rights and privileges of the male role as enviable, desirable, and well worth the responsibilities associated with the role. Men have careers; women have jobs. Men are breadwinners; women are bread bakers. Men are sexual leaders; women are sexual followers. A man's home is his castle. Father knows best. Is this the accurate story? The male mystique is based on a rigid set of expectations that, as we will see, few men can attain. The social and psychological consequences of striving for the impossible plus the impractical can be devastating. We will see that the role that appears to offer so many rewards also has its deadly side. In discovering more about this role, we can understand that a men's liberation movement is not a contradiction in terms.

Historical Notes and Masculine Markers

Images of masculinity are often confusing and contradictory. Over a half century of media heroes show men as courageous, competent, and always in control, such as Clint Eastwood, Tom Cruise, Russell Crowe, Brad Pitt, Leonardo DiCaprio, and Matt Damon, and the enduring images of Sylvester Stallone's *Rocky* and *Rambo*. Leonardo DiCaprio's early movie successes in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Titanic* painted him as a romantic, sensitive leading man. Considered to be typecast for "chick flicks" and unfit for "more masculine" roles, he is now likely to star in movies containing extreme violence, such as *The Departed*, *Gangs of New York*, and *The Revenant*. All of these images exist side by side with fallible antiheroes such as Dustin Hoffman, Jack Nicholson, Tom Hanks, and Christian Slater. Women praise the sensitive man who can admit to his vulnerability yet admire the toughness of the man who refuses to bend in the face of overwhelming odds. Most men fall short when attempting to satisfy both standards. History provides some insights into how this situation arose.

Patriarchy and History

Patriarchy is tied to male dominance, a theme in Western and Eastern civilization. It is a theme that remains accepted, unquestioned, and taken for granted. From a Western civilization perspective, male role standards can be described in terms of five historical periods, ranging from the Greco-Roman era to the eighteenth century (Table 9.1). Except for the standard of "spiritual male," contemporary views of masculinity continue to be based on these historical models. The fundamental

TABLE 9.1 Historical Ideals for Male Roles

Ideal	Source(s)	Major Features
Epic Male	Epic sagas of Greece and Rome (800–100 B.C.)	Action, physical strength, courage, loyalty, and beginning of patriarchy.
Spiritual Male	Teachings of Jesus Christ, early church fathers, and monastic tradition (400–1000 A.D.)	Self-renunciation, restrained sexual activity, antifeminine and anithomosexual attitudes, and strong patriarchal system.
Chivalric Male	Feudalism and chivalric code of honor (twelfth-century social system)	Self-sacrifice, courage, physical strength, honor and service to the lady, and primogeniture.
Renaissance Male	Sixteenth-century social system	Rationality, intellectual endeavors, and self-exploration.
Bourgeois Male	Eighteenth-century social system	Success in business, status, and worldly manners.

Source: James Doyle, *The Male Experience*, 1995:27.

features of a male ideal that persist after two centuries attest to the stubborn rigidity of a definition that defies even global social change.

With patriarchy already firmly entrenched, the peculiarities of American history tightened its hold. From the Puritans to the frontier era to the Civil War and World War I, the value of individualism was propelled as the hallmark of the United States. Not only did Americanism and individualism soon become inseparable as key masculine markers, but the line between nationality and masculinity also was blurred. Virtually unlimited opportunities beckoned men into farming, politics, business, or wherever their imagination and ambition led them. The fact that men of color and women were largely excluded from these opportunities was overlooked in the quest for individual success. The image of the solitary, independent man against the world was a powerful image throughout the period of preindustrial expansion. Nothing could stand in the way of dedicated American men setting out to achieve their objectives. Initially these objectives related to material success through hard work and physical endurance, with intellectual skills coming in second. Success based on acquiring material wealth and getting ahead were, and are, integral to American validation of masculinity.

War and Soldiering Soldiering also validated masculinity. Historically war is associated with the idealized rhetoric of virtue and glory but ignores its destruction and sheer horror. There are secret attractions for war: "the delight in seeing, the delight in comradeship and the delight in destruction" (Gray, 1992:25). Functionalism views war as a way to integrate society by bringing former rivals and other disparate elements together as comrades in arms to confront a common enemy. In

both World Wars military training was seen as the way to build the manhood of the nation. Women served men as nurses; clerks; or, during World War II, builders of war equipment. Women were considered helpmates to the men who fought the real battles. War and the preparation for war encourage men to perform according to the highest standards of masculinity. In this sense, war is the supreme standard for defining masculinity.

War and soldiering embrace key characteristics of masculinity that include violence, risk-taking, sadism, masochism, independence, and heroism. Although women now routinely fill soldier ranks, the underlying masculine ideology has not changed. Soldiers may be female and the policy known as "Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT)" has been abandoned, but the military is not, and cannot, be feminized in any manner (Belkin, 2012; Rich et al., 2012). Regardless of gender-neutral rhetoric, the military continues to hold destructive stereotypes that denigrate men for anything associated with "nonmasculine" qualities. Military masculinity, therefore, equals not just *non*femininity, but *anti*femininity.

The Depression The American version of masculinity was assaulted during the Depression. The loss of jobs and daily economic uncertainty for those fortunate enough to have jobs during this time trampled the self-esteem of men accustomed to their role of breadwinner. The fact that men throughout the nation faced similar circumstances offered little assurance. Many blamed themselves for their inability to get or retain a steady job. When their wives were able to find work outside the home, their emasculation may have been complete. Male self-indictment reverberated throughout the United States. Beyond the economic wreckage of high joblessness, the psychological toll also was sadly demonstrated. Many men became estranged from their families; others coped by deserting them. Alcoholism, mental illness, and suicide increased. Contrary to the image of the American man as invincible and able to overcome any obstacle, men and women alike recognized their vulnerability.

Vietnam The Depression offered insights into how impractical masculinity ideals had become, but these were largely ignored. World War II helped bring the nation out of the Depression and revitalized traditional images of masculinity. The harshness of the Depression added luster to these images. Even considering that Korea and Vietnam were not the victories Americans had learned to expect, beliefs about war as a proving ground for manhood continued. A "cult of toughness" emerged to sway public opinion in favor of escalating the war in Vietnam (Fasteau, 1974). America, like its fighting men, was tough. Politicians cultivated this image of toughness, but the battle carnage, the rising body count of young draftees, and the untenable political situation in Asia served to fuel protest against the war. The first young men who burned draft cards or sought asylum in Canada or Sweden were viewed as cowards and sissies, afraid to face the test of war. As the protesters grew in number and the war became increasingly unpopular, more potential draftees joined the antiwar movement. Comments about bravery and cowardice were not wiped out, merely driven underground.

Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan Other opportunities to challenge what it means to be a man emerged. War, at least as embodied in Vietnam, was not the

answer. Nevertheless, the cult of toughness reasserted itself in the 1980s, continuing into the millennium. The Reagan era was predicated on a show of toughness and "staying the course." The administrations of George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush continued the cult of toughness in relation to the Gulf Wars. Like Reagan, they were "men's men." Indeed, the height of popularity for George H. W. Bush came with Operation Desert Storm. George W. Bush also sought to continue this toughness and manliness legacy to bolster support for the continuing Iraq war that, like Vietnam, became increasingly unpopular. The image of the President in his commander-and-chief role sharply improved sagging approval ratings when he guided an airplane landing on a carrier. Global media coverage of the staged event spotlighted Americanized masculinity norms—courage, individualism, toughness, and especially independence. The world may not support wars in Iraq (or Vietnam), but the United States, like its president, will not yield. Politicians believe that this image must be maintained at all costs. George W. Bush garnered one of the worst approval ratings of any president in history, but these were due primarily to policies fueling the Great Recession rather than the Iraq War. Although the Obama administration has softened the tone considerably, the war in Afghanistan and militancy by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) continue to be reported according to masculinity images that are synonymous with toughness. President Obama's approval rating soared when he reported on the operation that killed Osama bin Laden.

These wars did not alter the image of masculinity. The first Gulf War was perceived as a victory that avenged Vietnam (Pettigrew, 2007:264). The media and the President "gendered" the moral discourse of war to "reaffirm the dominant, masculine identity of America as the world's one remaining superpower" (McBride, 1995:45). Although media now routinely report on "the men and women" soldiers serving the nation, there is no hint that the women are any less masculine than the men.

Suicide and Soldiering

After periods when assaults on traditional masculine ideals are at their heights, I suggest that old definitions reemerge with a greater tenacity and more deadly consequences. An epidemic of suicides is sweeping soldiers, veterans, and even the recruiters of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. Regardless of whether they were ever deployed, about 25 percent of all suicides are in the active military or are reservists and veterans. This translates to approximately 18–22 suicides per day. Suicides account for almost the same number of deaths as in combat (Baldor, 2013; Bogan, 2013). The military continues to confront suicide in highly masculinized ways. Soldiers are urged to "fight their internal insurgents" (if you expect to suffer you will) and accept horrors of war as empowering rather than traumatizing. Men who commit suicide are often blamed for harming their families, their units, and other soldiers. After the initial trauma, families are damaged by what doctors refer to as "survivor's guilt." Mental health counseling is translated to warrior resilience and thriving. Soldiers are encouraged to open up about their troubles. However, veterans see asking for help as a sign of weakness and soldiers are reluctant to seek counseling for fear that it will damage their careers. Alternative programs to minimize these issues are emerging and may be linked to at least a small decline in suicide. It is unclear whether older or newer programs, crisis counseling, media attention, or

the fact that each branch of the service is now held accountable for suicides of soldiers can be traced to this decline (McCarl, 2013).

Gender is a fundamental factor in all suicide rates. For the general population, male suicides outnumber female suicides 4 to 1 (Chapter 2). Compared to all females, women veterans have double the suicide rate, but this number triples for male veterans (Kemp and Bossarte, 2012; Basu, 2013; Murphy et al., 2013). Reinforced by broader gender norms, military masculinity carries over to soldiers' civilian lives. We will see later that revealing emotional anguish is viewed as incompatible with masculinity and soldiering. Despite wide-scale acknowledgment that mental health urgently needs to be addressed, conceptions of military masculinity intrude on soldiers and veterans seeking the help they need. Narrative of war and soldiering continue to reinforce traditional images of masculinity.

Sports

Men today do not rely on war for validating masculinity. Whether as athletic competitor or spectator, sports have unquestionably emerged to fill this need. Sports and war metaphors—"jump on the team and come in for the big win"—are used in the military to train recruits and by coaches to train athletes (Pettigrew, 2007). Like the military, sports build character and comradeship, provide heroes and role models, teach about courage, and show how to overcome adversity against all odds. Fathers are powerful socializing agents for introducing their children to sports, especially their sons. Children learn early in life that sports are associated with masculinity, risk-taking, physical harm, and violence. The intellectual aspects of masculinity have not kept up with the physical aspects where sports are concerned. Bill Gates may be one of the richest men on the globe, but he is less of a role model than is Michael Jordan. A billion-dollar industry flourishes on contests where winning can literally call for the obliteration of the athlete. Boxing, race-car driving, football, hockey, skiing, diving, and gymnastics often brutalize competitors. Sport is an area where boys learn that pain is more important than pleasure (Sabo, 2004). Bodies and emotions are injured, but they are hidden or ignored in the name of competition, efficiency, team bonding, and, of course, winning.

Brutalized Bodies Men are not immune to the issues of weight and body image usually considered the province of women. The enormous pressure males feel early in life to achieve athletically is linked with psychological obsession and brutalized bodies. If brutalization is the price for winning friends and carving out one's place in the male pecking order, then so be it. The quest for the muscular ideal perceived as necessary for athletic success and female admiration leads to steroid abuse, eating disorders, and overexercising that injure rather than strengthen the body (Thompson and Cafri, 2007). Injury is framed as a masculinizing experience and reinforces highly valued notions of masculinity. A jock image in college is associated not only with injury risk, but also with prized masculinity roles acted out by athletes (Miller, 2008). With sport as such an intense masculine marker, it offers self-esteem for some but crippling insecurity for others. Athletes deciding that a sport is not worth the risk of injury, such as brain concussions in football, can garner public disapproval, even as allegations of the N.F.L. hiding the dangers of concussions

continue to emerge (Thomas, 2012; Belson, 2014). Consider, for example, the case of men with physical disabilities:

> Paralytic disability constitutes emasculation . . . and the weakening and atrophy of the body threaten all the cultural values of masculinity: strength, activeness, speed, stamina, and fortitude. (Gerschick and Miller, 2004:349)

Sports Violence Other than the military, sport is the only social institution that condones violence in achieving a goal. Deliberate fouls in basketball, high sticking in hockey, late hits in football, and the taken-for-granted intentional injuries in rugby are frequently overlooked by referees and applauded by spectators. As social learning theory suggests, if sports violence on the playing field is associated with admiration, respect, money, and media attention, sports violence off the field is likely. Much of that violence is directed toward women. College athletes in contact sports are significantly more likely to be involved in all forms of aggressive behavior, but especially sexual assaults (including those involving young male athletes), partner battering, rape, and date rape. Consider, for example, Mike Tyson, O. J. Simpson, and Kobe Bryant. Sexual assaults of young male athletes by coaches such as Jerry Sandusky and the cover-up by iconic football figure Joe Paterno are added to this list. Sports heroes have figured so prominently in violence toward women that efforts are being made in schools and through prosocial media messages to provide young athletes with messages that do not equate male strength with dominance over women or other men. Scandals involving payoffs and kickbacks to athletes and college programs and coverage of rape trials of sports figures do not dampen the thirst for sports. Sports remain one of the most powerful markers of masculinity. The physical and mental stamina required of modern athletes allow men who are not themselves athletes to validate their own masculinity, if only in a vicarious manner.

On Masculinity

Definitions of masculinity have remained remarkably consistent over time. All sociological perspectives on masculinity highlight how masculine role ideals embodied in the historical standards have been adapted to the lives of contemporary men. Although the definitions may be consistent, as a result of these adaptations, masculinity is enacted in myriad ways.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Given the consistent definitions of masculinity, it may seem paradoxical that masculinity can be viewed as fragmented and uneven and at the same time tenacious and steadfast. The notion of **hegemonic masculinity** makes this paradox more understandable. This notion asserts that a number of competing masculinities are enacted according to particular places (contexts) and particular times. The characteristics of masculinity that become the idealized norm are those acted out by the most powerful men. The taken-for-granted statuses are likely to be those men who are white, middle class, and heterosexual. In this process, all other masculine styles are rendered inadequate and inferior (Beynon, 2002:16). A good example of enactment of hegemonic masculinity is demonstrated by the gun culture of the United States.

Hegemonic masculinity harms men in subordinate statuses (men of color, poor men, nonheterosexuals) because it narrows their options to choose other enactments of masculinity. It also harms women because it positions masculinity in opposition to women (Gardiner, 2002). The key is to recognize who has the power in a given situation to determine what is a dominant masculinity and what is a subordinate one. Hegemonic masculinity of the white, middle-class, heterosexual variety not only is the dominant form, but also, in relation to women, *is* masculinity.

Masculinity's Norms

Decades of research on hegemonic masculinity show that there are a number of ways masculinity (manliness) can be "successfully" acted out (Brannon, 1976; Smiler, 2006; Jandt and Hundley, 2007). These different enactments can be subsumed under categories that serve as both traditional and emerging norms of masculinity. There is overlap in these categories. They have been adapted here to incorporate recent work on masculinity and to use it as a framework for approaching a variety of issues concerning masculine gender roles. Most of these informal rules have become institutionalized norms (also referred to as standards, markers, or themes) that have strengthened over the decades.

Antifeminine Norm This powerful norm stigmatizes all stereotyped feminine characteristics and the qualities associated with them, including openness in expressing emotions related to vulnerability. It is so closely tied to every other norm of masculinity that it may be viewed as the overarching norm that literally defines masculinity. Males are socialized to adamantly reject all that is considered feminine. Men dichotomize gender more often and more strenuously than women (Bosson and Michniewicz, 2013). Women and anything perceived as feminine are less valued than men and anything perceived as masculine. Acceptance of the antifemininity norm and the traditional scripts it includes comes with huge costs.

Interpersonal Relations Beliefs about feminine behavior disallow many men from revealing insecurities and vulnerabilities to others who could help them cope with difficult life situations. Restraints in emotional openness are associated with suicide; Type A behavior; heart disease; and stress-related conditions such as ulcers, stroke, back pain, and tension headaches. Concealing emotions also inhibits development of the repertoire of interpersonal skills essential for successful relationships in all areas of life. Intimate friendships between males are discouraged, and intimate friendships between females are blocked by messages that tell men they will be judged negatively if they exhibit "too much" emotion or sensitivity (Chapters 2 and 3). They believe emotional expression drives others away rather than bringing them closer.

Boys of all ages learn quickly that gestures of intimacy with other males are discouraged and that expressions of femininity, verbally or nonverbally, are not tolerated. Male role models—fathers, teachers, brothers, school athletes, peers—provide the cues and the sanctions to ensure compliance on the part of the young boy. The "boy code" is monitored carefully by other boys. Anger is accepted, but displays of "soft" emotion are swiftly censured (Serriere, 2008; Oransky and Fisher, 2009). As we will see, the culturally inbred antifemininity norm in particular keeps teenage

boys from expressing feelings toward other boys on pain of being ridiculed as "sissies" at best or "fags" at worst.

To bolster their formative masculinity, boys strictly segregate themselves from girls in school. This segregation means that intimacy with boys must be achieved in other culturally acceptable ways. Throughout childhood and into adult life, male camaraderie occurs in male-only secret clubs, fraternal organizations, the military, sports teams, or the neighborhood bar. Although men are taught that too much intimacy among males is forbidden, the human desire for informal interaction is powerful. The separate groups allow men to act out this human need in safety according to masculinity's antifeminine norm; otherwise, people would be suspicious of such close male interaction. Men rarely talk about friendship in these groups. The antifemininity norm blocks the expression of the deepest feelings of affection between men. The norm also reinforces stereotypes about homosexuality and, in turn, breeds anger and antigay aggression (Parrott et al., 2008).

Men may be considered superior over women, but at the enormous expense of remaining psychologically defensive and insecure (Chodorow, 1993:60). Males of all ages are more likely to express feelings of uncertainty and anxiety to females, but the healthiest men are those who have an array of both male and female friends with whom they feel comfortable in expressing their emotions and concerns. Overall, men's endorsement of the antifemininity norm's quest for invulnerability has the opposite effect: It makes them more vulnerable than less vulnerable.

Success Norm This norm suggests that men are driven to succeed at all costs. Also referred to as the status norm, men need to be looked up to, and prestige is associated with the belief that money makes the man. Manliness is tied to career success and the ability to provide for a family in his breadwinner role. The positive "good provider" role is salient in this norm, but it comes with more than an economic price. Men feel compelled to emulate other men, and in doing so, families become display cases for masculine success. Because prestige is gained from their work outside rather than inside the home, competency as a parent is less important than competency in the world of paid labor. It is expected that the wives, children, colleagues, and peers of these men judge them accordingly. As the Depression so aptly demonstrated, self-esteem is assaulted with the loss of a job. We saw earlier that unemployment for men is correlated with an array of risks to emotional well-being. Men are told that ensuring the family's financial security is their top priority in life, a message that eclipses every other role.

Gendered Occupations In the workplace, men are threatened by women's competence and their entry into traditional masculine occupations, thereby kindling controversy about what constitutes a "man's" job. Blue-collar men express the most hostility, but the resistance comes from men in the professions as well. Consistent with both the antifemininity and the success norms, they may believe that their jobs will be tainted by femininity and regarded as less manly. Men who succeed in feminine jobs are frequently viewed as less competent than those who succeed in masculine jobs. An influx of women in an occupation decreases its attractiveness to men. Those outside the job may view males who do work in predominantly female fields as less competent, but they have more advantages than females in these fields (Chapter 10). From a

symbolic interaction and social constructionism view, a labeling cycle producing a self-fulfilling prophecy occurs: The job is "feminized," men desert it; working conditions deteriorate, and pay decreases. The job is resegregated, going from almost all men to almost all women. Success at a job where women are doing essentially the same work can be demeaning for men who favor conventional gender roles. Males are bound to a concept of masculinity that assumes they will dominate women occupationally and that they will enact a strong breadwinning role, with their self-esteem tied to both. Females may reinforce these beliefs by viewing men as success objects.

In the bleakest recession years, men flocked to female jobs as nurses, caseworkers, elementary school and preschool teachers, and even nannies. Men reported that even with lowered pay, working with children and in caregiving roles offered flexibility, satisfaction, and a belief that they were "making a difference." However, masculinity's stubborn success norm erodes these beliefs. If men feel that others view them as lacking ambition or being deficient in their provider role, they may wait out the economic downturn in female jobs and jump back into higher-paying, more prestigious male jobs when conditions improve. Men also face confusion when they are challenged by a new economy that has transformed the traditional provider role for men. As highlighted throughout this book, dual-earner couples are not the exception but the norm. Although beliefs about egalitarianism in the workplace are being expressed much more by men and women than in the past, a retrenchment favoring the conventional norm of male superiority in terms of the success norm remains. When wives work outside the home, both spouses—but particularly husbands—are reluctant to define her as being on equal footing in the provider role. Conflict theory suggests that one reason married men embrace the breadwinner role is that it entitles them to privileges in the home, including less housework, more time for leisure and recreation, and more services provided to them by wife and children.

Intellectual Success In addition to economic success, males are expected to demonstrate intellectual superiority over women. The feminist movement ushered in the idea that intellectual companionship between the genders is possible and preferable. With a few modifications, however, traditional beliefs still hold. Men now expect that their wives will be wage earners, and they express admiration for their wives' careers. But they also believe that the bulk of child care and household responsibilities should rest with a wife and that her career should be interrupted if these responsibilities are jeopardized. Although one-third wives outearn their husbands (Chapter 10), men also believe that a husband should outearn his wife and that her career success is less important than his. Men are threatened by female coworkers who are promoted over them, and husbands are threatened by wives who are equal or above them occupationally. Men are appreciative of their wives' earnings and success, but men's self-esteem is threatened if they see their wives "winning" over them occupationally. Gender-related attitudes for men are reemphasizing work roles for men and maternal roles for women (Chapter 8). Men's attitudes are strongly influenced by the social and historical period in which they live as much as they are influenced by personal experiences.

Toughness Norm As embodied in war and sports, the toughness norm of masculinity tells men and boys to be strong, confident, self-reliant, brave, and independent. Any male must express confidence in his ability to carry out tasks that

appear insurmountable. He must do so with a sense of stoicism that shows he is in command of the situation. Leadership is reinforced by toughness. Men believe that "If I ask for help, they may think I lack self-confidence or need reassurance." Any behavior associated with anxiety or lack of self-confidence is the antithesis of traditional male role behavior embodied in the toughness norm (Bruch, 2006:287). Rodeo cowboys exemplify this norm. The stoic and independent cowboy is iconic in American culture as is the samurai in Japanese culture. Contemporary cowboys who endorse masculinity norms, especially related to toughness, are less likely to seek help or talk to friends when they are experiencing a major depressive episode (Herbst et al., 2014). Suicide risk for all men is increased by lack of emotional openness to others. Antifeminine elements intrude here by implying that compliance and submissiveness are the negative qualities that the tough male disdains. The opposite of the tough male is the "wimp." Men may be labeled wimps for crossing boundaries and relating to their partners, wives, and children in "sensitive" ways. Indeed, this sensitive man view suggests that a "male" wimp is redundant.

Sensitivity may be the opposite of toughness, but like cowboys, in the strongly gendered world of oil rig crews, tough guy behavior can be personally harmful as well as dysfunctional and dangerous. Displays of risk-taking and masculine strength interfere with safety and performance in a potentially deadly environment, especially when men try to prove themselves through toughness. Beginning with the police shooting of unarmed African American teenager Michael Brown, continuing events in Ferguson, Missouri spotlight the ongoing challenge African American males in particular confront in navigating masculinity norms. Compared to white males, when a toughness norm is enacted, the consequences can be deadly. When tough guy hypermasculinity is abandoned in favor of working as a team, admitting mistakes, and showing interdependence, improvements in performance, safety, and efficiency follow (Ely and Meyerson, 2008). As explained by symbolic interaction, by risking a blow to their image, these men adjust their sense of self to accommodate a different, but nonetheless prized, form of masculinity.

Aggression Norm As a key marker of manliness, aggression is associated with risk, lack of compromise, and unbending will in the face of adversity. Manliness as connected to aggression has been central throughout history and is often played out in revenge, a theme that endures today. Consider, too, that guns are a powerful symbol of masculinity. Masculinity motivates men to buy handguns, to legally conceal them, and to construct masculinity around them—whether they are fired or not (Stroud, 2012:219). Abundant research indicates that males who adhere to traditional masculinity norms are more aggressive in the worlds they inhabit—whether in school, in the workplace, or in their families—compared to men who adhere less to these norms. Masculinity ideology is a better predictor of aggression than is gender (Cohn and Zeichner, 2006; Richardson and Hammock, 2007). Boys learn early that turning the other cheek is less respected than fighting one's way out of a difficult situation, especially if bullied. Media reinforce these images by aiming stories at youngsters who glorify violence and revenge in the name of a good cause. The cause itself is usually defined as patriotic, but is often portrayed ambiguously or personally, showing that war is comprised of guts and glory on the battlefield of honor. The title of "hero" is readily bestowed on those who win by using physical force. Diplomats who quietly

work behind the scenes hammering out vital peace agreements are less likely to command public admiration than frontline soldiers. President Jimmy Carter, who pursued a diplomatic solution to the Iran hostage situation, was seen as soft for his refusal to use military channels. An ill-fated rescue attempt was a way to escape this pressure. President Obama faces the same challenge related to aggression by ISIS.

Functionalists emphasize that by socializing boys into masculinity with the aura of violence and aggression surrounding it, the soldier role, which they may eventually assume, will be easier to accept. In this view, the aggressive masculinity needed in wartime is latently functional. Such views also are linked to the antifemininity norm. Toughness, the repression of empathy, less remorse for "accidental" violence, and less concern for moral issues are deemed essential for winning. The human cost of war is cast aside. As a marine serving in Iraq reports,

> We had a great day. . . . We killed a lot of people . . . we dropped a few civilians . . . but what do you do? . . . [and for killing an Iraqi woman] I'm sorry . . . but the chick got in the way. (Filkins, 2003)

The problem with this view is that aggression and masculinity become inextricably linked and carry over into the nonwar existence of men. The hypermasculinity associated with the Iraq War and its warriors is simultaneously acknowledged and hidden (Pettigrew, 2007). Many soldiers also expressed great remorse about killing to journalists only under conditions of anonymity. They do not utter these things to other soldiers. A soldiering mentality is maladaptive in a man's daily life, but he hauls its baggage as surely as his battlefield pack.

School Violence The deadly influence of three masculinity norms—antifemininity, toughness, and aggression—is plainly evident in two decades of school violence resulting in the death and injury of students and teachers in small cities and suburbs across the United States. Toxic masculinity is a critical factor in understanding this violence, but one that is ignored by almost all media accounts and many professional ones. Reporters, educators, parents, and scholars refer to the perpetrators as "violent youths," "isolated adolescents," "lonely teenagers," and "unhappy students" and rarely mention the fact that virtually all of the killers are boys. Overall, this translates to males perpetrating 99 percent of school shootings and 67 of the last 68 mass shootings in the United States (Media Education Foundation, 2013). A mass shooting is usually defined as a single incident in which a perpetrator kills four or more people, not including the shooter. Many of these boys were considered good students but also were identified as passive, alienated, and ostracized or were shamed by their peers—especially the schools' "popular" cliques. They were called "nerds," "wimps," and "sissies" and targeted for homosexual slurs. The Columbine killers also were addicted to a diet of extremely violent video games, such as *Doom* and *Quake*, specifically designed with adolescent boys in mind. The 20-year-old killer of 27 people, including 20 Sandy Hook elementary school children in Connecticut, was fascinated by mass shootings at schools, including Columbine. Isolation and humiliation by peers are likely triggers for the violence. Regardless of race and social class, peer victimization is one result of low self-esteem and is a key predictor of later aggression (Hong and Espelage, 2012; Mitchell and Brendtro, 2013). All of these patterns have traceable links to the way masculinity is defined and acted on by men and boys.

Sexual Prowess Norm The theme of sexuality permeates a norm that may be referred to popularly as "macho man." In this image, men are primarily sexual beings living and having ongoing heightened interests in sexuality in all of its forms. In the sexualized world they create and function in, men are judged according to their sexual ability and sexual conquest. Men who sustain injuries that compromise their beliefs about sexual prowess are prime candidates for depression, self-neglect, and suicide. Strong masculine role ideology, for example, is associated with barriers to effective treatment (Schopp et al., 2007). Male sexual identity is experienced as sensation and action. Sexual harassment is a case in point. This identity is so taken for granted that men's ogling, touching, or sexual remarks or jokes are dismissed as harmless fun rather than as sexual domination or exploitation. Men are mystified or angered when they are accused of harassment because they view it as normal gender interaction (Thomae and Viki, 2013).

This form of sexual identity is reinforced by essentialist beliefs that masculinity is biologically rather than socially constructed. An "impotent" man is cast into a stigmatized, demeaned category because the term is used to describe more than just his penis. Media depict a man's sexual performance as a way to confirm his masculinity, with success in sex linked to success in life. Mostly used as a front, boys develop stories and routines documenting their sexual escapades and describing successful pickup ploys. As boys mature and strive to be "masculine," they soon understand that credibility and bonding are achieved with male peers through sexual talk laced with aggressive overtones and sexist joking, with girls and women as their unflattering targets (Curry, 2004). As a staple for preadolescent boys, pornography provides their initial foray into sexual images of male and female. Of the numerous masculinity and guy code lessons learned from pornography, boys often choose two as standards to chart their fledgling sexuality: "porn makes the man" and "size matters" (Jensen, 2007). When boys and men rely on sexuality to define masculinity, their vulnerability inevitably increases. They gain a measure of respect for sexual talk and bravado of the locker room, but at the same time, they understand that they can never live up to the sexualized selves they present to others. And they are well aware of the disastrous consequences if they act on the aggression in their sexual talk. In the pursuit of the illusion of masculinity, one set of vulnerabilities is exchanged for another.

Tenderness Norm This emerging norm is characterized by those men who reject a rigid cultural construction of masculinity that disallows them from displaying sensitivity or tenderness to others. Tenderness masculinity encompasses beliefs that expressions of sensitivity are beneficial to men, both personally and socially in their relationships with others. Referred to positively as "sensitive guys," men accepting this norm strive for more emotional openness with men and more egalitarian relationships with women.

Because tenderness masculinity allows for less emotional restriction, it is the healthiest of the masculinity norms (Chapter 2). Willingness to forgive, reconcile, and maintain a positive outlook after an episode, for example, is associated with psychological benefits. Although "anger-out" is masculinity's accepted emotional display, it not only is the least healthy for men, but also is socially unproductive. Men and the people they display anger toward do not "forgive and forget." If forgiveness is viewed as feminine, then men also tend to reject it, a belief that cuts

across race and social class. Men in supportive networks that include both genders also are more likely to forgive and to feel good about it (Hammond et al., 2006; Miller et al., 2008). The tenderness norm is emerging, but it competes with the more powerful aggression and antifeminine norms.

Whereas the sensitive guy image resonates with men and women seeking equitable partnering roles, it is a masculinity image that remains subordinate to all others. When images of tenderness masculinity make their way into the media, they are undermined by the more normative images. Think of classic Arnold Schwarzenegger in *True Lies* and *Kindergarten Cop* to understand how tenderness masculinity is subverted to the other types. Heterosexual men often are portrayed as exploitive sexual beings who strive to create pleasure for their partners. The latter more "sensitive" view is not particularly progressive or egalitarian if masculinity still is associated with control. The male takes charge of sexual activity and decides the sequence, the pace, the positions, and the best way to stimulate his partner. Women may want to lead or to communicate other needs. Whenever the "crisis of masculinity" becomes a media focus, it is usually because women are outperforming men in traditionally male spheres and men are not being assertive enough to retain or regain their positions of dominance. Their lack of assertiveness is associated with being too nice, too tender, or too sensitive.

Images to Reject or Accept? Masculine images have a contradictory quality that may seem confusing to men. Men are presented with alternative images that challenge the traditional version of a male mystique. In accepting these revised images as legitimate and offering more benefit than liability, men could rally behind new definitions of masculinity. The tenderness option is one that is sought by men and women as individuals. But when men come together in groups, the older images of masculinity surface and the newer images are subverted. Both genders adhere to rigid views of masculinity. Men are threatened by changes in definitions of masculinity, regardless of the virtual impossibility of meeting the traditional standards. Men's roles have not kept pace with the changes in women's roles. The evidence is clear that attitudes toward masculinity have served to hamper those men seeking to free themselves from restrictive male stereotypes. The majority of men, however, are on no such quest.

On an optimistic note, new masculinities such as the tenderness option—however small the breakthrough may be—emphasize the development of a deeper awareness of the mutuality of the two genders. This awareness needs to be taught to children. Stunned by escalating school violence, for example, educators are adopting socialization practices emphasizing nurturance and nonaggressive means of resolving conflict. Boys learn about positive forms of masculinity that steer them away from traditional forms that can do more harm than good (Kiselica et al., 2008). As the director of one such program reports,

> We live in a society that accepts behaviors that men can be possessive of women and use women for any purpose, even sexually . . . If we have a corps of young men who say: "that's not acceptable" men will change the norm within society. (Jewett, 2007)

By accepting attitudes that traditionally have been labeled as feminine, tenderness masculinity is necessary for the development of full human potential.

Social change has influenced the behavior of men in their masculine roles, whether it is acknowledged or not. But cultural lag remains: Attitudes have not caught up with the behavior change that is evident. As far as masculinity is concerned, the disheartening overall conclusion is that the more things change, the more they remain the same.

Homophobia

The world is primarily based on **heterosexism—**people view relationships only in heterosexual terms, and in doing so, other sexual orientations are denigrated. A *heteronormative* world view assumes that heterosexuality is both preferred and normative. Reflecting the taken-for-granted belief that the world is heteronormative, at various times in history, homosexuality was a sin, a disease, a crime, a mental illness, an immoral choice, an alternative lifestyle, and an unavoidable tragedy (Tin, 2008).

To be masculine means more than being nonfeminine; it means antifeminine. A heterosexist view fuels **homophobia**, the fear and intolerance of homosexuals (gay men and lesbians) and homosexuality. All transgendered people fall prey to homophobia. Researchers identify homophobia as fundamental to heterosexual masculinity. Compulsive heterosexuality spells out to men that to be a man, one cannot be a homosexual. Data from the United States and Europe suggest that homophobia is learned early and reinforced through the media, religion, and peer interaction at school and in the workplace (Barnes and Meyer, 2012; Hooghe and Meeusen 2012). In the United States, the majority of teenage males express moderate to high levels of homophobia. More positive media images are tempering these beliefs as teens get older, but the beliefs are not likely to be erased.

The Demography of Homophobia

People with higher levels of homophobia also are likely to be heterosexual; elderly; not college educated; living in the South; and religiously, sexually, and politically conservative. They also tend to be more authoritarian and hold rigid, highly traditional views of masculinity and femininity. Homophobia is also correlated with sexism and racism (Embrick et al., 2007; NORC, 2012; McDermott et al., 2014). People who have LGBT friends and who believe that homosexuality is due to biology are less homophobic (Hegarty, 2002; Kantor, 2009). Homophobia translates into stigma, depression, and fear in the lives of gay men and lesbians. Homophobia and violence aimed at LGBT people are all too common occurrences.

The Risks of Race and Ethnicity When the minority status of "homosexual" is added to an already disadvantaged position due to race or ethnicity, stigma for gay men increases. Those disadvantages may be higher within their own subcultures: African American gay and bisexual men, for example, may be at higher risk for violence and HIV infection because they need to maintain a facade of heterosexuality and adhere to heterosexist masculinity norms in their own subcultures with higher levels of homophobia. Although secrecy may protect them against violence, it does not protect them from HIV risk. Risky sexual behavior is associated with the

sexual prowess masculinity norm that works against all men, but especially gay men and boys of color (Clerkin et al., 2011; Hill, 2013; Watson and Dispenza, 2014). Among Latinos, a similar scenario is played out that impacts both homosexual and heterosexual men and women. Throughout Latino cultures in North and South America, Latino males are expected to be dominant, tough, and fiercely competitive with other males. This exaggerated *machismo* masculinity is displayed more frequently in poor and working-class neighborhoods. Unprotected sex with multiple partners is proof of virility and masculinity, and therefore not homosexuality. Young Latinos are aware of the dangers, but cultural norms about manhood and homosexuality continue. Although homophobia in Latino communities is very strong and male-to-male sexual liaisons are kept secret, they may be accepted as transitory until marriage because they say a sexual outlet is needed. A gay identity, however, is not acceptable (Zellner et al., 2009; Arreola et al., 2013).

Among Asian Americans, especially in Chinese communities, gender roles and images of masculinity are extremely rigid. Gay Chinese Americans express high levels of anguish not only because they were socialized for strong family ties, but also because their families trace their heritage only through male offspring. An only son who is gay dooms a family line. Although it is difficult to generalize about levels of homophobia within different racial and ethnic groups, it is clear that gay men of color must contend with other layers of minority status that increase their risk for depression and anxiety (Choi et al., 2013).

Gender Homophobia has declined significantly for most demographic categories. Today there is more support for extending the same rights pertaining to employment and military service to all people regardless of sexual orientation. The increasing number of states allowing legal marriages for gay couples also attests to the decline in homophobia (Chapters 8 and 14). Media representations of gay men are becoming mainstream and popular, portraying positive, affirmative friendships between gay and straight men (think classic shows such as *Will and Grace and Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* and the movie *Brokeback Mountain*). Overall, young adults identify themselves between tolerant of and accepting of gay men and lesbians (NORC, 2012).

Gender differences in level of acceptance of homosexuality are the single most important contradiction to the trend. Males may be less homophobic than in the past, but they have been slower to change than other groups. For adolescent males, the gender gap in homophobia may be widening.

Masculinity and Homophobic Labels

The feminine labels that boys use in name-calling denigrate other boys precisely because the word is associated with a devalued group—females. The most popular, taken-for-granted label males use to insult other males is "girl."

When stereotypes about femininity and homosexuality collide, boys then combine two devalued groups (females and gay men) when using their denigrating labels. These labels range from "sissy," "wimp," and "pussy" to "homo," "fag," or "cocksucker." Rap icon Eminem routinely uses homophobic labels in his repertoire as a slur less against a man's sexuality, but more related to his gender. With "fag

discourse" rampant in high school, the "specter of the fag" is a powerful mechanism used to regulate the behavior of boys, with "gay-baiting" an accepted practice (Pascoe, 2007; Tharinger, 2008). Boys distance themselves from any behavior suggestive of these labels. They are reluctant to challenge the inconsistencies and stereotypes associated with their usage because, just by doing so, they themselves may be threatened with the label of "faggot." As adults, men continue to fear these labels and subtly use homophobia to control other men. Men who are highly homophobic are likely to enact hypermasculinity to dispel any notion that they may be viewed as feminine—hence homosexual.

Gay Men Homophobia takes its toll on gay men who are socialized to accept the same masculinity norms as heterosexual men. Gay relationships, whether they are sexual or not, demonstrate the impact of socialization to masculinity standards and the homophobia of the standards. For example, in gay subcultures throughout the world, a powerful gay machismo element is evident. Exaggerated masculinity takes the form of dress (leather, motorcycle regalia, military uniforms); rough language; and risky, sometimes violent sexual encounters. Beliefs about masculinity can propel gay men into risky behaviors related to drugs, alcohol, and sexual practices. Risk is increased when gay men seek sex from partners who are "highly masculinized," whether they are other gay men or men who do not identify themselves as gay (Hamilton and Mahalik, 2009; Grov et al., 2013; Downing and Schrimshaw, 2014). Gay machismo presents an image of masculinity that gay men have been taught as the proper one. Sexual prowess, power, and control are its central characteristics. When gay men adopt the heterosexist masculine standard, however, their reality is distorted because they are still gay and open to the rejection and homophobia existing in the broader society.

Gay men must contend with feelings of self-worth in a heteronormative society. Compulsory heterosexuality and hegemonic masculinity ideals take a huge psychological toll on gay men and boys, whether they reveal their nonheterosexual status or not. By internalizing the negative labels of dominant groups, gay men may learn to accept the stereotyped, pejorative view of themselves. The other side of homophobia is its counterpart in gay men: diminished self-esteem and shame (Szymanski and Carr, 2008).

Gay Rights The emergence of a strong gay rights movement is clearly responsible for the rapid legal victories of same-sex marriage and the defeat of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) (Chapter 8). It also has helped gay men affirm positive identities and the right to sexual self-determination. In this manner, both political and individual agendas are being met. Patterned after the women's movement, one faction is working to escape the bonds of a sexist culture in which they recognize the common oppression and levels of discrimination they share with women. They are working to cast aside restrictive role playing that distances them from other men and to challenge masculinity norms that are harmful to the well-being of all males, whether gay or not.

On the other hand, many gay men recognize that because women and gay men are both subordinate in society, it may be better to capitalize on their advantage of being male—regardless of how it undermines women. Even with the defeat of

DOMA and the rapid pace of legalization of same-sex marriages, like the general public, the LGBT movement is not in accord with how marriage is imaged and defined (Green, 2013; Olsen, 2013). The personal enactment of marriage can collide with a political agenda. For gay men, lurking hegemonic masculinity is ever present. The inclusiveness of the LGBT label may be rejected in favor of a gay rights (white male only) agenda. From this white male advantage view, a gay male executive moving up the corporate ladder can wield power over any competing female and any male of color. As conflict theory suggests, white males are higher in the stratification system than are females and racial minority males. Males are socialized into accepting the masculinity norms described earlier, whether they are gay or not.

Masculinity and Fatherhood

Can men have it all? This question is usually connected to women who want to combine a career with marriage and children. Femininity norms have been flexible enough to accommodate women with such aspirations. Masculinity norms have not. The success and toughness norms dictate that men take on the responsibilities of parenthood primarily through their breadwinning roles.

Like women, men envision the American Dream in terms of successful marriage, satisfying career, contented spouse, and happy children. Idealism notwithstanding, men willingly abdicate the daily household and child care responsibilities to their wives. Masculine images of success tied to career priorities do not allow the latitude necessary for the degree of family commitment that many men desire. Contrary to common belief, men do not "have it all."

Images of Fatherhood

Fatherhood means more than paternity. The word *fathering* is associated with sexual and biological connotations. The word *mothering* is associated with nurturance. The biological father who takes his provider role seriously has met the necessary criterion for masculinity. This narrow outlook disregards, even belittles, those men who want to expand their parenting roles and choose to be stay-at-home fathers (SAHFs). SAHFs report less traditional gender role attitudes. Employed fathers are viewed more positively than SAHFs; employed mothers are viewed more negatively than homemakers (Brescoll and Uhlmann, 2005; Fischer and Anderson, 2012). In families where men are SAHFs and women are breadwinners, ceding control of parenting to men is difficult. Women cast men in a suspicious light, as one SAHF explains at a playground:

> . . . you will get this stink-eye from the moms, this sort of 'Who the hell are you and what are you doing here?' (Rochlen et al., 2008a:200)

Complete role reversal is rare. On the other hand, despite beliefs about essentialism and the pervading norm that men are providers and success objects, SAHFs have high levels of psychological well-being, adjustment, and life and relationship satisfaction (Rochlen et al., 2008b). However, the demeaning stereotypes of bumbling men who do not know how to hold a baby, soothe a sobbing child, or buy groceries persevere and serve to lower the skill level that men need to succeed in domestic

roles. Some men use the bumbling father stereotype as a strategy to get out of performing certain tasks:

- Getting the kids dressed—these buttons are so tiny—I can't do tiny buttons.
- Poor kids, they are always getting dressed backwards.
- When the kids hear daddy's going to make dinner they'd rather eat out. (Deutsch, 2004:470)

These men belittle their own efforts and at the same time praise their wives for succeeding where they have failed. This self-effacement also functions to maintain the traditional gendered division of labor in the household.

Regardless of whether he is "playing dumb" to get out of household work, masculinity's antifemininity norm bolsters his behavior. Men who freely choose to take care of their own children as househusbands or SAHFs, who take on equal partnering with their dual-earning or full-time homemaker wives, who take care of others' children, or who are early childhood educators are suspect in their masculinity. The exclusion of men from more meaningful participation in the lives of their children can devastate fathers who avidly desire these very roles.

Socialization Although fathers have fewer expectations built into their roles regarding socialization of their children, the child-nurturing roles they do take on are extremely important. Strong father–infant attachment and involvement of fathers with their young children are linked to a child's personality adjustment, positive peer relationships, level of self-esteem, and overall sense of well-being (Brand and Klimes-Dogan, 2010). Regardless of race or social class, in homes where fathers are absent or gone much of the time, children are at greater risk for maladaptive psychological, social, and development outcomes. Increases in divorce and cohabitation undermine already fragile father–child relationships, reinforce masculinity norms about men's economic roles, and increase women's domination in child socialization (Dermott, 2008).

Decades of research on the aspirations that fathers hold for their children remain remarkably consistent. In all social classes, fathers are stricter in gender-typed intentions of their children than mothers, and they give sons less latitude than daughters in experimenting with different gender role definitions. Fathers now believe that both their sons and daughters should go to college, but that the college should provide a different option for sons. Fathers pay close attention to the potential for their sons to be breadwinners and good providers but believe their daughters can use a degree "to fall back on." Whereas these patterns are more pronounced among working-class men compared to men in middle and upper classes, gender stereotypes surrounding masculinity norms invade socialization practices by fathers (Chapter 3).

Parents as Partners

To make parenthood a true partnership for a couple, fathers and children need to be brought closer together. Research suggests that this is what is highly desired by fathers, but as we saw in Chapter 8, it is eroded by images of masculinity that underscore the "good provider" image (success) of fathers to the neglect of a fledgling "involved-father" model. Fathers want to embrace new role definitions that rank nurturing equal to or higher than breadwinning but feel blocked by broader

masculinity norms bolstering their advantage in the workplace but disadvantage at home. Fathers mention repeatedly that they want to be role models, teachers, companions, and playmates to their children (Miller, 2011; Hofferth et al., 2012).

A father's participation in family life is enhanced when expanded role definitions are accepted on all fronts. Wives, children, other kin, friends, and coworkers can be supportive of men who take on a variety of not just child maintenance, but also child-rearing responsibilities. Divorced fathers, for example, who talk to other divorced men about parenting after divorce are often better partners with their ex-wives. Men also can learn from each other about how to enrich opportunities when dads are with their children.

> Spending time with my children is a much more intense experience than it was before. I'm more aware of what my children mean to me. . . . My relationship with their mother is developing more and more into a genuine and very deep friendship . . . we're very close, but without being in love. (Amendt, 2008:215)

Family-supportive workplace policies allowing flextime and paternity leave also serve partnering and nurturing roles for fathers. However, when paternity leave options are available, few fathers avail themselves of these opportunities. Because these are rarely paid options, many fathers cannot afford the time off work. The more common reason, however, is that employers and coworkers believe that men who take paternity leave are less serious about their careers. This is clear in the comments of a new father who did not extend his two-week leave after the birth of his child.

> I probably wouldn't have [taken more extended time off] because of the way it would've been viewed . . . and I've heard executives say this—excuse the language—I can't fucking believe that guy took a month off after the birth of his baby. (Rehel, 2014:120)

Like the emerging tenderness masculinity norm, these comments suggest that men are in transition to gender role change. Involved fathers, for example, are not yet on equal par with provider fathers. A masculinity image equating success in fatherhood largely in economic terms persists.

Men in the Birthing Room Another powerful partnering tool is a father's inclusion in the childbirth experience—from the training to be a labor coach and preparenting classes to the birthing (delivery) room itself. Expectant fathers in Lamaze classes are quite aware that women control the class. A man may joke about the classes, but he is frightened by the physical pain his wife will endure and by the isolation he feels during his wife's pregnancy. Being present at childbirth offers a new father an incredibly powerful bond to his infant and to his wife or partner. After sharing in the birth of the child, the marriage is likely to be stronger, particularly if the father is highly involved in later child care.

Today the doors are wide open for expectant fathers who only a few decades ago were removed from the birthing process. Fathers were relegated to waiting rooms, where they nervously paced until the doctor brought news of the birth, upholding older images of men as appendages who get in the way. At childbirth, men are constrained by a double standard built into their role. Today they are

encouraged to actively participate, but at the same time, they are seen as outsiders. Women dominate the moral discourse on childbirth. Expectant mothers are cast into positive, normative roles, but there are no corresponding roles for expectant fathers. Except for his laughable nervousness, his fears are not addressed. Fear of his wife's death during childbirth, anxiety over what kind of parent he will be, and his new family responsibilities are major concerns of expectant fathers, but are rarely discussed. With attention turned to motherhood, the transition to fatherhood is overlooked. When natural fears experienced by expectant fathers are discussed openly and unashamedly with their spouses, relationships are deepened. Health care communities need to be aware of their own stereotypes in working with expectant fathers. The evidence is clear that when this occurs, benefits will be realized for the marriage and for later parenting.

Divorce

Divorced fathers who would like to be actively involved with their children must contend with restrictions on parenting tied to masculine gender roles that interfere with responsible parenting. Fathers who feel cut off from their children after a divorce have heightened levels of anxiety, depression, and stress. The bleak statistics on child support payments by fathers is well documented (Chapter 8). Joint custody may be less economically advantageous for ex-wives, but it increases contact and self-esteem for ex-husbands. Those fathers who absent themselves from their children after divorce and fail to pay child support often report that they were treated unfairly in the divorce settlement. They may view this as a legitimate strategy to maintain control over their former wives (Flood, 2008; Unger, 2008). These regrettable practices suggest that fathers may be locked in to a system shaped by gendered ideology that discourages positive postdivorce relationships for the ex-spouses and their children.

Men at Middle Age and in Later Life

Sociological perspectives on the **life course** highlight the process of continuing socialization in the roles people play over a lifetime and the ages associated with those roles. The varied paths of the life course are shaped by individual experiences as well as broader social change, particularly related to gender.

Retirement

The transition to retirement requires major adjustments in all segments of life. It restructures daily living, alters family relationships and spending patterns, and can generate psychological stress. Yet retirement has become such a part of life's expectations that if financial security is ensured, workers prefer early retirement. Gender role beliefs are central to retirement adjustment. Men undergo a profound shift in identity and ideas about masculinity. The provider-role script and success norms associated with masculinity sharpen an already strong American work ethic from which identity and self-esteem are gained.

The psychological investment in the world of paid employment for men predicts that they would have a more difficult time with retirement compared to women. Data suggest, however, that retirement satisfaction is based on the same factors for women and men. Like men, career women anticipate retiring at an earlier age, but they use the resulting free time differently. Women restructure their domestic lives that were constrained because of employment and spend more time with family and on home-related activities. Men take on more extradomestic roles and activities, but many of these activities are done with family members rather than friends or former coworkers. Egalitarian men do the same level of routine household work at retirement; egalitarian women invest more time in these tasks at retirement. Marital satisfaction for men and women increases as adjustments to a less time-driven life are made (Schmitt et al., 2007; Trudel et al., 2013). Gender is less of a predictor of life satisfaction at retirement than are income and health. Both male and female workers are less satisfied if poor health forced them to retire or if fewer economic resources forced them to remain on the job.

Midlife as Crisis

Do men have a midlife crisis? Health care professionals continue to debate the question in light of a configuration of physical and emotional symptoms that emerge for many men between the ages of 45 and 55. Variously referred to as the male climeractic, male menopause, or midlife crisis, men may present symptoms of night fears, sweats and chills, and depression. The psychological and social turmoil associated with these symptoms are linked to hormonal changes, such as a sharp drop in testosterone level for a few men and a slow but gradual change with considerable hormonal variation, including a rise in estrogen. Unlike women who experience noticeable changes heralding the cessation of menses, in normal aging for men, the changes are subtle. Older men retain their interest in sex, but sexual performance becomes less predictable. Gender scripts linking masculinity to sexual prowess remain. A fear of impotence may come true not because of hormones, but because of the fear itself (the massive sales of drugs that enhance the sexual performance of men may be linked to this fear). Men perceive themselves and are perceived by others as men first; their elder status comes second. Men do not drift into a version of sexless androgyny at old age (Thompson, 2006). Biological changes must be seen in light of the social and psychological factors embedded in masculinity norms.

Professionals are now viewing these symptoms as normal to the aging process, and although initially alarming, they are not debilitating. The appearance of symptoms prompts many men to engage in a review of their lives, make choices, and alter life paths. Others suggest that this stage is neither normal nor healthy and that it produces psychological turmoil for men who make unwise decisions that are maladaptive for themselves and their families. This latter view asserts that men at midlife become acutely aware of their own mortality and, in reviewing their accomplishments, focus on what they have not done rather than what they have done. Unmet goals founded on masculinity's success scripts create turmoil for the midlife man who is then said to be in crisis.

Women at Midlife For women, the depression that supposedly occurs when the last child is launched, or moves away from home, is referred to as the empty nest syndrome. Research shows, however, that the empty nest syndrome is largely a myth. Contrary to the stereotype, women tend to experience an upturn in psychological well-being when children are launched. Marital satisfaction also increases, but "too much" time with their partners can decrease overall life satisfaction. Like good provider men, women who are identified according to motherhood roles must negotiate their cultural and personal identities. They generally feel good about this life stage but must contend with cultural beliefs suggesting otherwise (Gorchoff et al., 2008; Sheriff and Weatherall, 2009). Women tend to look to the empty nest stage of life as offering opportunities to pursue activities they put on hold while raising their children. Personality development for women at midlife is related to increases in competence, independence, and an age-related rise in androgyny (Kasen et al., 2006:955). They generally seek expanded roles in a society increasingly receptive to women like themselves, who are venturing outside the traditional confines of the home.

Men at Midlife Men may have a more difficult time with the empty nest than women. Some evidence suggests that men's increased depression at midlife is linked to their regrets about career priorities that distanced themselves from their children. A positive life course path to recapture the lost parenting experience prompts many men to turn to grandchildren. Grandchildren provide a sense of biological continuity; emotional self-fulfillment; and a way for men to be free of the competition, arguments, and power struggles they experienced in their workplaces when raising their own children. The stereotype of a grandfather as a stern, aloof family patriarch counters the reality that grandparenting offers men rewarding and emotionally enriching experiences.

Men at midlife often begin to reintegrate the masculine and feminine traits that were separate for most of their lives. Traditional masculinity is tempered by a more well-rounded personality, which accounts for roles of husband, father, and breadwinner (Mann, 2007). Women approach midlife differently than men. Men seek greater interdependence at old age, whereas women seek greater autonomy. At this stage, men become more nurturing; women, more independent. Her capability of standing apart from him may help relieve him of the burden of responsibility he believes he has carried for the family. It is interesting that the woman who grows in assertiveness and independence provides the best source of support for a man in this phase of life. Each spouse may begin to loosen the bonds of restrictive gender roles as they make the transition from middle to old age.

Widowhood

Compared to widows, widowers are much more likely to remarry; thus, among the elderly, the large majority of widows reside alone. Although most older adults return to earlier levels of physical and emotional health within two years after the loss of their spouse, social isolation and loneliness are frequent outcomes of widowhood. The surviving spouse is at higher risk for physical illness and even death. If

a caregiver–spouse dies, the already debilitated surviving spouse is left in an even more dependent and vulnerable position. Suicide rates among the elderly have increased since the 1980s, and they remain the highest of all age groups. Men account for the large majority of all suicides, and white males in their eighties have the highest suicide rates of all races and both genders. Suicide attempts by younger people (those under age 35) are likely to fail; suicide attempts rarely fail for the elderly, and the failure rate is smallest for elderly males. The suicide rate of older men, especially widowers, is a consistent trend since Emile Durkheim's analysis of suicide over a century ago.

Widows The death of a spouse has a profound and devastating effect on the surviving partner, but becoming a widow is a qualitatively different experience than becoming a widower. Older women are more likely to form their identity around marriage, so losing a spouse literally means loss of a central life role. Widows are likely to experience a sudden decrease in standard of living, and for working-class women, widowhood can quickly result in poverty. Isolation increases and support networks decrease. These are worsened if the couple has moved away from her family for his career advancement. If a widow feels emotionally secure enough to venture into dating, prospects for male companionship and remarriage are limited.

On the other hand, many others with whom they can share experiences, memories, and activities guide widows. Due to their numbers alone, a variety of productive roles have been carved out for widows. Because married women know that widowhood is probable, they may begin to mentally rehearse it through anticipatory socialization. Their role choices may not be completely clear, but most widows cope with the crisis reasonably well, adapt as necessary, and productively map out the rest of their lives in ways that contribute to their well-being.

Widowers The role of widower is more vague than that of widow. At first glance, it would seem that adjustment is difficult because men lose their most important source of emotional support and probably their major, if not their only, confidant. Wives typically take responsibility for maintaining the couple's social calendar and network of friendships. Masculinity norms earlier in life prevented interpersonal skill building. Lacking the strategies for either preserving or reestablishing intimate relationships, widowers find themselves with reduced social contacts. Traditional norms of masculinity may intrude again, preventing them from talking out their grief with others. Retirement increases social isolation. Widowhood intensifies it. The net result is a loss of significant personal relationships. Older men also are less likely to be prepared for the everyday domestic responsibilities necessary for taking care of themselves. When ongoing relationships and customary responsibilities are shattered, anomie (normlessness) can follow. This pattern helps explain the high suicide rate of elderly males.

On the other hand, marriage prospects remain bright for widowers, with many embarrassed by all of the attention they receive from widows who want to "do" things for them. In addition to the number of women their own age or younger who are available to widowers as potential dating and mating partners, men are better off financially to actually support another spouse. Finally, men may have a stronger need to be remarried, so they quickly move through the dating stage to make

remarriage a reality. Overall, adjustment to widowhood may be different for men and women, but it remains unclear as to which gender fares better.

Gendered Violence

Over their lifetimes, men experience more physical violence than women. However, it is abundantly evident that the acceptance of traditional masculine gender roles in a patriarchal society is closely connected with escalating violence toward women. Virtually all masculinity norms (antifemininity, toughness, self-reliance, aggression, and sexual conquest) reinforce this fact. Some of these norms are functional in societies such as the United States that value individualism and economic achievement through competition. But in other contexts, these norms are highly maladaptive and dysfunctional, most vividly documented in overall patterns of male violence, specifically violence against women. When men are granted permission to subordinate women in patriarchal societies, sexual terrorism is a common result. Sexual terrorism includes sexual intimidation, threat of violence, and overt violence (Sheffield, 2007).

Rape

The threat of sexual terrorism and rape is so pervasive that firsthand experience is not needed to instill its fear in women. Representations of rape in the media serve to legitimize male aggression, reinforce gender stereotypes, and perpetuate rape myths (Table 9.2). Rape fear is heightened, and women's freedom of movement is restricted.

Recent press coverage has moved away from reports that exaggerated a woman's helplessness and her inability to fight back. In light of research that there are four rape attempts for every one completed, women are being taught self-defense tactics and ways to avoid being raped (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2009). The burden of responsibility, however, still falls on women to always protect themselves, to always be on the alert, and to always avoid places perceived to increase their vulnerability. Because the general social norm is that male prerogative takes precedence, the antirape strategy is to change the woman rather than change the situation that creates the problem. Fear of rape shapes women's lives and curtails their freedom.

Statistics The staggering statistic is that 25–30 percent of all females are victims of sexual assault involving rape or attempted rape. Women do commit rape, but it is quite rare and is thought to account for less than one-half of 1 percent of cases. When males are raped, the perpetrator is another male. Considering that definitions, perceptions, and legal standards vary considerably between states and between municipalities, between victims and perpetrators, and according to the context of occurrence, official figures on rape are probably underestimated. The reality is that false reports of rape are small (estimated between 2 and 8 percent) and much fewer than false reports of other crimes (Lonsway et al., 2008; Belknap, 2010; Lisak et al., 2010; Spohn et al., 2014). Sensationalist media coverage on rape involving famous

TABLE 9.2 Myths of Rape

Myth	Reality
1. Rape is a sexual act.	Rape is an act of violence to show dominance of the rapist and achieve submission by the victim.
2. Rapes are committed by strangers.	Rape more often occurs between acquaintances. Date rape is an example.
3. Most rapes are spontaneous, with the rapist taking advantage of the opportunity to rape.	Rape is likely to be preplanned. If spontaneity occurs, it may be part of another crime such as robbery.
4. Women wear provocative clothing or flirt with men.	This is the classic "blaming victim" myth. Since most rapes are preplanned, the rapist will strike regardless of appearance.
5. Women enjoy being raped.	The pain, violence, degradation, and psychological devastation experienced by the victim are overwhelming. She also can be killed.
6. Most rapists are psychopathic or sexually abnormal.	It is difficult to distinguish the rapist from other men in terms of personality or ideas about sexuality.
7. When she says "no" to sex, she really means "yes."	When she says "no," she really means "no."

men contributes to a woman's secondary victimization as she relives the rape. Today most municipalities incorporate counseling and more humane approaches in questioning victims of rape, and many judges no longer allow a victim's sexual history to be revealed in court. Unfortunately, the victim herself is still often treated like the criminal. The reporting of rapes has steadily increased, but fewer than one-third of all rapes are reported.

Profile of the Rapist Until recently, rape was viewed as a crime committed by a few demented men of lower intelligence who have uncontrollable sexual impulses. These few psychotic men cannot be responsible for these staggering rape statistics. The reality is that there is no consistent personality type that reliably distinguishes rapists from men who commit other crimes and from men who do not commit crimes. Men are not psychotic at the time of the rape. Given the difficulty of compiling accurate statistics on rape, the profile of the so-called typical rapist is a sketchy one. Rape is a crime perpetrated by a wide spectrum of men, but they do share key characteristics in patterns that are found globally (Neumann, 2010; McCloskey, 2013; Miller, 2014):

- He has a high need for dominance and a low need for nurturance.
- He deals with his perceived inadequacies by relying on traditional masculinity norms related to aggression and the sexual control of women. He may be defined as "hypermasculine" in his rigid acceptance of these norms.
- He is socially insecure and interpersonally isolated.
- He is likely to accept rape myths and justifies his behavior so that his victim is made to seem culpable (Table 9.2).
- Sexual violence is used as a means of revenge or punishment, sometimes to specific women but more often to women in general, who he holds responsible for his sexual problems.
- He presents rape in what he believes to be socially acceptable terms. His aggression is often followed by expressions of remorse.

When men from all walks of life are presented with information about the motives of a rapist, they express disdain and horror about the victimization and anger that all men are tainted because a few men rape. Other men remain mystified about the motives of a rapist, as reported by a file clerk who heard about a woman who was beaten, raped, and hospitalized:

> That's beyond me. I can't understand why somebody would do that. If I were going to rape a girl I wouldn't hurt her. I might restrain her, but I wouldn't hurt her. (Beneke, 2004:411)

It is not difficult to understand why this profile is a sketchy one. It can fit many men.

Rape on College Campus In the United States and Canada, between 25 and 35 percent of college women report a rape or attempted rape. The typical pattern reported by college women is that rape and pressured intercourse occur through the use of physical force, drugs, alcohol, and psychological intimidation (Hamilton, 2008).

Date or acquaintance rape is a fact of life on college campuses. About half of college men have engaged in some form of sexual aggression on a date; between one-fourth and one-half of college women report being sexually victimized. Despite these high numbers, when the victim and offender know one another and alcohol is involved, the incident is less likely to be reported to school officials or the police and even less likely to result in a criminal conviction. Date rape also is associated with alcohol and other drug use (for both the victim and the perpetrator), the belief that men are entitled to sex after initiating and paying for the date, fraternity parties, and length of time the couple has been dating (Maurer and Robinson, 2008; Basow and Minieri, 2011). The so-called date rape drugs—colorless, odorless pills slipped into a drink, causing a victim's sleepiness and vulnerability—are used to plan a rape and are widespread on college campuses. Male college students are more likely to accept the rape myths than female college students (Black and Gold, 2008; Girard and Senn, 2008; McMahon, 2010).

Pornography and Rape Because of its correlation to sexual aggression, pornography has come under a great deal of scientific and legal scrutiny. Pornography can be categorized according to two major factors—degree of depiction of sexual acts and depictions of aggression in these acts. In general, pornography use is linked to poor relationship quality and less sexual satisfaction and promotes riskier sexual

behavior. Hard-core pornography usually depicts genitalia openly and shows sex acts that are aggressive and violent. Women are uniformly the objects of the violence; it is rare to see men portrayed in this manner. Sexually suggestive but nonviolent soft-core pornography appears to have no direct effect on sex crimes or attitudes toward rape. However, aggressive sexual stimuli or hard-core pornography showing rape scenes heightens sexual arousal, increases acceptance of rape myths, desensitizes viewers to violent sexual acts, and leads them to see rape victims as less worthy (Szymanski and Stewart-Richardson, 2014; Wright, 2013). Women who were sexually abused and/or raped often report that their abuser used pornography, and 12 percent said that it was imitated during the abusive incident.

The issue of what constitutes pornography and whether it should be illegal is hotly debated. One side of the debate focuses on pornography as implicitly condoning the victimization of women, arguing that sexual violence against women is increasing and pornography fuels the desensitization to sexual violence and rape. The other side contends that pornography may reduce sex crimes by providing a nonharmful release of sexual tension. Proponents of this view do not deny the association of pornography with women's degradation, but assert that campaigns against it obscure more urgent needs of women and deny income for women who are pornographic models and actresses. There is concern in both camps that banning pornography amounts to censorship in a free society. All factions do agree, however, that child pornography should be censored, and there is some consensus on the necessity of legally distinguishing pornography according to its degree of violent imagery.

People may not agree on the definition of pornography, and a causal link between pornography and sexual violence is debatable. This lack of agreement, however, does not justify ignoring the social issues surrounding pornography's role in socialization into masculinity and in reinforcing gender stereotypes. The effects of pornography will continue to be scientifically scrutinized to bolster or refute the claims of one side or the other in the debate.

Masculinity and Rape Rape is a learned behavior that is consistent in critical ways with socialization into masculinity norms related to antifemininity, toughness, sexual prowess, and aggression (O'Toole, 2007). Coupled with patriarchal beliefs about domination, these norms blend insecure and destructive masculinity with violence and sexuality. Rape, therefore, can be viewed as an end result.

Feminists and conflict theorists contend that power and patriarchy combine to spur rape and increasing sexual violence. Media representations often legitimize male aggression and reinforce gender stereotypes, especially in college life. Movies such as the classic *Animal House* serve to legitimate and dismiss men's sexual "antics," even if the behavior is a criminal offense that clearly harms women. Patriarchal norms that culturally condone relationships putting men in dominant and aggressive roles and women in passive and submissive ones are widely accepted. More opposition to gender equality also predicts more acceptance of rape myths (Chapeau and Oswald, 2013). On a global scale, patriarchal norms regarding women as the sexual and economic property of men not only dismiss rape, but also often have few legal protections for its victims. Even if marital rape laws are in place, legal standards still largely treat rape not as a personal crime, but as a property offense. Sex is viewed as part of the marriage agreement, whether the wife wants it or not. Both

genders are socialized with these standards in mind. This view allows the victim to be blamed and in turn justifies the crime.

Domestic Violence and Battered Women

The continuing increase in domestic violence makes the family home one of the most lethal environments in the United States. Intimate partner violence against women makes up about one-fifth of all nonfatal violent crimes experienced by women. Although it cuts across all demographic groups, wife battering is more prevalent in families with low income and unemployment, isolation from kin and community, and alcohol use. These factors suggest why rape spiked during the recession, particularly in cities with high job loss (Human Rights Watch, 2008; Kohler and Cambria, 2009). When race is factored in, African American women are twice as likely as white women to experience more violence and more severe violence. Privacy of the family, the reluctance of the police to get involved in family disputes, lack of consistent legal standards, and accepted masculinity norms make it difficult to get accurate statistics on all forms of family violence and abuse. Statistics on child abuse are more accurate because hospitals are now on the front line in investigating possible cases. Wife battering is the most underreported of all crimes, and underreporting is linked with the persistent belief that it is part of normal marriage (Buzawa and Buzawa, 2003).

Domestic violence encompasses a wide array of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Marital rape and wife beating have been commonplace throughout history, but until the mid-twentieth century, a husband's right to a wife's body was considered as personal privilege and as amounting to legal right. Standards from English Common Law transported to the United States generally supported a man's right to beat his wife, even for such infringements as talking back to him. The infamous **rule of thumb** allowed a husband to beat his wife with a stick no bigger than his thumb.

All states now have laws against marital rape, but they vary considerably. A man may be prosecuted if there is obvious and sustained physical injury, the couple had separated or filed for divorce, or his wife is physically or mentally incapacitated. He may be exempt if she fails to report it to the police within a specified period of time, if the couple is not legally married, or if there is a hint that she consented to intercourse. The vast majority of women raped by their spouses or partners do not report it, especially if no weapon was used or no physical injury was sustained.

The following overview suggests the extent and lethality of gendered domestic violence (McCue, 2008; Judd, 2013; Davies, 2014).

- Over one-third of all women are victims of some type of sexual coercion with a husband or partner in their lifetime.
- Domestic abuse is the leading cause of injury to women in the United States.
- Both men and women assault each other in marriage, and mutual abuse is more common than either alone. However, a man's physical domination and strength is much more lethal for a woman. Mutual abuse does not translate to "equal opportunity" in its effects.
- One-third of all women who are murdered die at the hands of husbands or boyfriends.

- Half of all homeless women and children are fleeing domestic violence.
- Most family homicides are preceded by at least one call to the police for a domestic disturbance, often weeks before the murder.

Why Doesn't She Leave? When battering becomes public, many people express disbelief as to why women remain in abusive households. Referred to as **battered women's syndrome**, abused women often have a poor self-image, which contributes to their feelings of powerlessness and dependence. These women may believe they are responsible for the violence against them and attempt to alter their behavior to conform to their husbands' expectations. Expressions of remorse by the batterer lead to a short-lived honeymoon period followed by recurrence of the abuse, with the likelihood of it increasing in severity. A pattern of *learned helplessness* emerges for these women: The beatings are endured, they feel guilty about them, and they are unlikely to confide to others about the situation. Battered women with small children often remain in the relationship because they are financially trapped and economically dependent. They fear for the lives of themselves and their children if they go to a shelter but are forced to return home. A woman also is at risk for increased violence if she threatens to leave, files for divorce, or calls the police, although attacks will most likely continue when she stays. The behaviors batterers use to control women are akin to hostage-taking (Stark, 2009; Walker, 2009a). To add insult to injury (literally), battered women may be denied health insurance because their lifestyles are considered too dangerous.

When abused women retaliate and kill their attackers, the courts are reluctant to use self-defense or battered women's syndrome as justifications for acquittal. Many women do leave abusive husbands and partners, however, especially when they receive social support and legal help. Antistalking laws enacted to protect celebrities from deranged fans have been used successfully to protect battered women. More enlightened police responses to domestic violence calls, shelters for women and children, crisis hotlines, and self-defense classes also help (Jordan and Garlow, 2007). The murder of Nicole Brown Simpson elevated the issue of domestic violence to the public consciousness with clear evidence that she had been battered by her former husband, football star O. J. Simpson.

Sociological Perspectives According to the functionalist perspective, the social organization of family life, with its intimacy and intensity of relationships, lays the groundwork for family violence. The functionalist perspective, however, does not hold up to cross-cultural evidence in cultures where domestic violence and rape are rare (Sanday, 2007). Feminist and conflict theorists argue that wife battering has not gained as much attention as child abuse, for example, because it remains subtly condoned by a social system that is inconsistent in enforcing the law. From these perspectives, the element of power offers the best explanation for all forms of family violence, rape, and partner battering. Violence is most common in societies where men hold power over the women and children in their families and is least common in societies with high levels of gender equity. In all societies, egalitarian families have the lowest rates of domestic violence. The greater the power gap between partners, the greater the risk of violence

against women. The underlying issue in almost all cases of men battering women is his perception that his position of dominance is threatened (Johnson, 2007). Consistent with characteristics of rapists who trounce gender equity, women who stray from traditional feminine gender roles may be especially targeted for aggression by men (Reidy et al., 2009). These are the women who need to be "kept in their place." Men protect their masculinity and retaliate based on the perceived threat that their dominance is challenged.

The Men's Movement in the United States

Change cannot occur in a vacuum. As women take on new roles or expand old ones, changes inevitably occur for men, some of which they eagerly support and others they find unpalatable. The movement for male liberation originated on college campuses in the 1970s as a positive response to the feminist movement. Support for feminist causes and their involvement with feminist women as husbands, partners, and friends encouraged these men to reflect on how rigid conceptions about masculinity influenced their own self-image and their behavior toward other men. They were well aware, for example, that men who rejected sexual bravado and oppressive behavior toward women were targets for ridicule and exclusion by other men and that definitions of masculinity disallowing expressions of vulnerability, nurturing, and caring undermined their overall well-being. The following are identified as categories of a men's movement in the United States. Unlike the women's movement, there is virtually no overlap in these categories.

National Organization for Men Against Sexism

The men who began the first movement eventually formed the **National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS)** and have organized annual conferences on themes related to parenting, sexism, violence against women, sexuality, sexual orientation, and friendship. As a group to enhance men's lives under a banner of "pro-feminist, gay-affirmative, and anti-racist," this category of the men's movement works on male liberation by consciousness-raising on the negative effects of striving for power and the disabling effects of unyielding masculinity. In this sense, they target the lethality of the intersection of sexism, racism, homophobia, and heterosexism (NOMAS, 2013). A key concern is how they can change a system in which violence against women is institutionalized. To this end, they support counseling resources such as RAVEN (Rape and Violence End Now) and ALIVE (Alternatives to Living in Violent Environments) for men dealing with issues of masculinity and violence and for women seeking to escape violent relationships. NOMAS remains a viable presence on college campuses throughout the United States, attracting to their ranks students in a variety of disciplines and men who are clergy, academics, and K-12 educators and who are in the helping professions. Overall, however, NOMAS has not attracted working-class men and men of color from outside the student population. Neither has it attracted other professional men, particularly those representing the corporate, legal, or administrative elite.

Mythopoetic Men

The lack of public awareness of the first men's movement is revealed in how media publicized later men's movements. Media attention focused on poet Robert Bly's (1990) belief that men are caught in a toxic masculinity that demands efficiency, competition, and an emotional distance that separates them from one another. Rooted in a competitive work environment that keeps fathers absent from their families, Bly contends, boys turn to women to meet emotional needs. Using myths, art, and poetry as vehicles to access inner emotions, men must unearth and celebrate their lost natural birthright of righteous anger and primordial masculinity, which can be regained only in communion with other men. Communication between men is encouraged, but the "soft male" who is out of touch with his masculinity and turns to women as authority figures as substitutes for absent or distant fathers is denounced. Through healing rituals at weekend retreats, men become aware of their animal instincts and come to embrace their full masculinity.

Media were so swept away with Bly's ability to bring these men together that they referred to his following as *the* men's movement and erroneously reported it as the first social movement stemming from a general malaise of men (Adler, 1991:47). Currently it is usually referred to as the *mythopoetic* branch of the men's movement. The retreats are few and less attended, but its healing techniques are used by psychotherapists who believe that many men can be helped when they rediscover and repair the damage caused by father deprivation. Robert Bly continues to speak to large audiences. Unlike the profeminist NOMAS movement, which argues against men's privilege, the mythopoetic movement is promasculinist and seeks to heal men's pain by distancing them from women. Although the movement asserts that it is pro-feminist, many men in the movement take the stance that men are victims, especially in divorce and custody battles, and that male privilege is a myth. Many principles are in direct opposition to basic feminist tenets. However, mythopoetic men may reject rather than simply repackage patriarchy (Barton, 2006; Rothschild, 2009). The men attracted to the mythopoetic ranks tend to be powerful, straight, middle class, and white. They seek to change their lives by making success less a priority than emotional values and spiritual well-being (Magnuson, 2007, 2008). Economically successful men fill the mythopoeic ranks. Working-class men and men of color are virtually nonexistent. Today mythopoeic principles are enacted within a loose array of men's groups across the country that embrace or modify Bly's principles. These groups tend to work more locally and do not have the larger national following or media attention of the original group.

African American Men

Another branch of the men's movement focuses on the African American male experience. Research shows that African American males tend to construct definitions of masculinity in direct opposition to Euro-American male models (Harris et al., 1994). Feeling blocked in achieving masculine goals offered by mainstream society, these men initially may adopt the dominant hegemonic views of masculinity. Their values change, however, as they get older and recognize that the dominant model is deficient in light of the race and class cultural configurations of African American men

(Hunter and Davis, 1994). The 1995 Million Man March (MMM) in Washington, D.C., organized by controversial Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, was an effort to bring together African American men in support of one another and to offer positive role models to young people and their communities. Depending on the source, the effort got mixed reviews (Gabbidon, 2001). The media spotlighted positive role models, but the luster was tarnished by its antiwoman thrust and heavy infusion of patriarchy (West, 1999). Although all of the national and international women's conferences welcomed men, the Million Man March did not invite women to join. And Farrakhan later applauded Iran for setting a shining example to the world on behalf of democratic principles. Iran's unquestionably brutal record regarding both women and democracy intensified any existing schism between men and women.

Despite these criticisms, MMM is still considered a watershed by many in its effort to bring African American men together in a unique celebration of strength and resilience (Chandler, 2012). In 2005, another march on Washington, D.C., organized by the "Millions More Movement" marked the MMM. The 2005 march did not garner near the publicity or attention as the 1995 gathering and the Millions More Movement has not been sustained. MMM was certainly a historic moment, but to date it has not translated an ongoing, organized movement of African American men (Smith, 2010).

Promise Keepers

The Promise Keepers (PK), the newest branch of the men's movement, is the largest, drawing men to stadium events and to small group meetings for over two decades (Promise Keepers, 2009). Founded by Bill McCartney, former head football coach of the University of Colorado, PK is an evangelical Christian organization dedicated to reestablishing male responsibility in the family and overcoming racial divisions. Media coverage of PK has been so positive that some research suggests that it is less like news and more like advertising (Claussen, 2000). Similar to both the mythopoetic and African American branches, PK sees the fatherless home as the source of America's problems. It is different, however, in that its foundation appears to resonate with many more men. To become a Promise Keeper, a man must pledge his commitment to seven "promises," including honoring Jesus Christ, practicing spiritual and sexual purity, and building strong marriages and families. PK also is founded on the goal of reconnecting men to their families and taking back family leadership that "sissified men" abdicated, leaving women to fill the vacuum of leadership. As one PK leader suggests, men should not ask for their role back, but are urged to take it back (Healey, 2000:221). Although PK distanced itself from political affiliations of its members, its goals for asserting Christianity into home and society closely parallel the agenda of the political right wing and the New Christian Right (Quicke and Robinson, 2000). This political avoidance but religious thrust has attracted many middle- and upper-class Protestant men to become involved with the movement (Lockhart, 2000).

PK had rapid growth and rapid decline. It continues to hold arena events, but its numbers have dwindled considerably amid accusations related to finances and an inability to sustain support from a broad array of male religious leaders. Also, PK could not completely distance itself from McCartney's admission that he had

been unfaithful to his wife. Like other men's movements, inclusiveness, particularly among Christians, remains a critical flaw. PK's racial unification goal under a banner of spirituality has not been met. Women are needed as volunteers and supporters but are not invited as equal partners to share in its mission (Bartkowski, 2003).

Toward the Future

All categories of the men's movement believe that women will be the ultimate beneficiaries of their agendas. New categories may emerge but with more specific agendas, such as gay rights, father's rights, and Catholic-based men's spirituality. Generally participants in the various groups know little about the others. When they do know about them, they tend to be lukewarm or wary about another group's motives. There is no sense of unity that brings all men together under an accepted banner (Fox, 2004). All movement categories except NOMAS share a promasculinist stance that supports traditional, nonoverlapping gender roles and largely exclude women from their ranks except as volunteers. In general, media have given high approval ratings to PK but have virtually ignored criticisms that the ultimate effect will be to subjugate women. PK leaders say that women need not be threatened because in the kingdom, "there is no male or female." Feminists point out, however, that patriarchy and not partnership is the outcome. PK would agree.

Feminist men and women support men coming together in exclusive male groups for healing and sharing, but the promasculinist themes in all but NOMAS propose that women are responsible for the problems of men. Blaming serves to undermine dialogue, reinforce sexism, and distance men and women from each other.

Do these gatherings of men suggest that a mass-based men's movement—whether profeminist or promasculinist—has occurred? A half century of evidence suggests that it has not. Although these are referred to as "branches" of a larger movement, there is virtually no overlap in membership, ideology, or goals. NOMAS has not received the level of publicity compared to the other three groups, but after 40 years, it is still convening conferences and drawing together men who are supportive of partnering roles with women and who challenge masculinity norms. On college campuses across the country, young men are dialoging with one another, sowing the seeds for a new generation of potential supporters. Latino men are gathering in small groups and discussing how the concept of machismo has harmed them and their relationships with the women in their lives. African American men are drawn together to talk about ways to counter lethal stereotypes portraying them as absent fathers and ineffectual husbands. The other three groups (mythopoeic, PK, and MMM) have not been as successful as NOMAS over the long run. The women's movement has touched the lives of millions of women in the United States and globally; the same cannot be said for the men's movement.

Summary

1. Patriarchy and male domination dominate history. Historically, idealized masculinity is validated by war. The loss of employment during the Depression assaulted masculinity, but subsequent wars revitalized idealized older images. Sports is the contemporary way men use to validate masculinity.

2. Hegemonic masculinity offers versions of masculinity norms that vary by time and content. These norms include antifeminist, success, toughness, aggression, sexual prowess, and tenderness.
3. Homophobia, the fear and intolerance of homosexuals, is fueled by the antifeminine norm. Minority gay men are at a higher risk of oppression and homophobia. Tolerance of gay men and lesbians is increasing; however, women are more tolerant than men.
4. The gay rights movement has helped men positively affirm their gay identity. One faction believes they share a common oppression with women; another faction believes it is better to capitalize on their advantage of being male, even if women are undermined.
5. Images of fatherhood are contradictory. The antifeminine norm and socialization for economic roles separate men from their children. Fathers want roles that increase nurturing and involvement with their children. A father's inclusion in the childbirth experience and acknowledgment of his fears are examples.
6. Gender is less of a predictor of retirement satisfaction than are income and health. Most older men are concerned about sexual performance as they age, but few experience a midlife crisis. Whereas the empty nest syndrome is a myth for women, men whose careers distanced them from their children can have difficulty at this life stage. Grandfathering is particularly satisfying for men.
7. Roles for widows and widowers differ greatly, and data are unclear as to which gender fares better in these roles. Elderly widowers are more likely to remarry and have the highest risk for suicide of all age groups.
8. Traditional masculine gender roles are connected to increased violence against women. Rape is perpetrated by a wide spectrum of men. Rapists tend to have high need for dominance, are isolated from others, use rape as revenge, and present rape in socially acceptable terms. Half of college men use some form of sexual aggression on a date; up to half of college women report having been sexually victimized.
9. Pornography as an influence in rape continues to be debated. There is agreement about its link to women's degradation and oppression. Hard-core pornography increases acceptance of rape myths and desensitizes viewers to violent sexual acts. Debates revolving around definitions of pornography, censorship, and the loss of income for women portrayed in pornography are unresolved.
10. Until the last half century, marital rape and wife beating were considered a husband's right. Marital rape laws exist but vary greatly in interpretation. Few women report marital rape.
11. Domestic abuse is the leading cause of injury to U.S. women, and battered women's syndrome, learned helplessness, fear of retaliation, and economic dependence keep women in abusive relationships.
12. The men's movement in the United States is spearheaded by several groups, including the National Organization for Men against Sexism (NOMAS), the mythopoetic branch, African American men (Million Man March), and Promise Keepers. NOMAS is profeminist; all of the others are promasculinist. NOMAS appears to be the most enduring.

Key Terms

Battered women's syndrome
Hegemonic masculinity
Heterosexism
Homophobia
Life course
National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS)
Rule of thumb

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Identify the contemporary norms associated with hegemonic masculinity and document the consequences of these norms for men and their families and their relationships with women. What is the impact of gender socialization on reinforcing or challenging these norms?
2. Considering issues related to rape inside and outside marriage, domestic abuse, and pornography, what suggestions would you offer to policy makers seeking to reduce men's violence toward women? In your suggestions, account for legal issues related to men's rights and censorship and for the factors that may prevent women from escaping abusive relationships.
3. Compare the various "men's movements" in terms of their goals with specific reference to gender ideology, attitudes about masculinity, and gender roles in religion. Document the success of these movements according to their goals and prospects for longevity and sustained challenges to men's roles.

CHAPTER 10

Gender, Work, and the Workplace

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. List the economic contributions of women for their work at home; during the Industrial Revolution; and during wartime, especially World War II.
2. Discuss the benefits of and liabilities for employed women related to health and mental health, caregiving of children and elders, and unpaid work.
3. Explain how women's career achievement is compromised by gender roles beliefs related to children and family responsibilities.
4. List and define the legislation that has been a benefit to employed women and their families.
5. Describe the consequences of gender-typing in occupations for men and women.
6. Explain the gender wage gap in the United States according to the human capital model, social constructionism, and conflict theory.
7. Describe microenterprise as it originally was a benefit to poor women in developing countries and identify recent changes that are undermining this benefit.

All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. (17th century proverb)
All work and no pay makes Jill a dull girl. (21st century adaptation)

—*Linda Lindsey*

Women's labor in and outside their homes—both paid and unpaid—has historically been "hidden labor." This "hidden system of gendered values has shaped economic policies" (Eisler, 2007:36). The adage that "a woman's place is in the home," therefore, has never applied. Although it may express a nostalgic preference, it was never the norm and is not the current norm in the United States or globally. Women's unrelenting global march into the labor force for over a century is associated with momentous social changes, especially in the home and workplace. Employed women are measured socially according to how their paid labor outside the home impacts their unpaid labor in the home. Their employers, however, measure them in the reverse—how their home-based labor impacts the manner in which they carry out their jobs. Sociologists are interested

in the type of work men and women perform and why it is differentially valued. As we will see, the standards that women are expected to live up to in the home and the workplace routinely collide, and the choices they make relative to these standards are linked to all levels of economic disparity between men and women.

Historical Overview

Throughout history, women have made major economic contributions to their societies and families through their labor. Archaeological evidence from prehistory through to written evidence of history clearly discounts the "nonworking" woman or "female frailty" myths that supposedly kept women from engaging in demanding work. Even today women grow and process over half of the world's food, and in the developing world, women's subsistence agricultural activities are essential to feeding their families (Chapter 6). To explain the world of work for women, sociologists focus on four major types of production in which women have traditionally engaged: producing goods or services for consumption within the household, producing goods or services at home for sale or exchange elsewhere (cottage industry), caregiving and volunteer work, and working for pay.

The Home as Workplace

Women's work roles traditionally have been closely tied to the home. For well over a century, the United States had a family-based agricultural economy that required the services of all family members for a farm household to survive. Older children took care of their younger siblings so that men and women could work together in the fields. In addition to cash crops, most family farms had gardens cultivated by women producing the family's food and allowing surpluses to be packaged for sale or exchange. Women produced cloth from raw material and made soap, shoes, candles, and most other consumable items required for their households. In wealthier homes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, female slave labor and paid female domestic servants produced the bulk of necessary items for their employers' households. In nonfarm households and family-owned businesses, colonial women worked as paid and unpaid laborers and as innkeepers, shopkeepers, craftsworkers, nurses, midwives, printers, teachers, and child care providers. In more remote areas, women also acted as dentists, physicians, and pharmacists. Married women were more likely to engage in home-related work activities, whereas widows and single women were more likely to work outside the home as paid employees. Regardless of marital status, immigrant girls and women often worked for pay and were recruited specifically for physically demanding jobs in agriculture. Like other women, however, a day of paid labor overlapped with the unpaid—but economically productive—labor at home (Chapter 5).

The Industrial Revolution The Industrial Revolution certainly revolutionized the work worlds of men and women. First men and then women flocked from farms to factories as wage laborers in the burgeoning industrializing economy that desperately needed their services. With the advent of the water-powered textile

factory in 1789, the Industrial Revolution made remarkable strides. Women and female children continued to be the producers of cloth, but now in the factory rather than at home. As exemplified by the famous Lowell Mills in Massachusetts, female employment in textile mills also reflected the lack of available male labor, which was still needed on the farm. The Lowell "mill girls" were well aware that they were needed in the textile mills. They sometimes resorted to organized protests when the conditions under which they labored became intolerable (Dublin, 2009). Many of the other products women traditionally produced at home gradually switched to being manufactured in factories. The transition of America and Western Europe from agrarian societies to urban industrial societies took about 150 years. When the family was transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption, a dramatic shift occurred in attitudes and norms surrounding the work roles of women.

Victorian Myths By the end of the nineteenth century, Victorian norms ascended to define middle-class women as physically and emotionally incapable of working in factories. The consequences of the myth of "feminine frailty" in the workplace that emerged during this era have not been eradicated. Among its negative effects, the myth created a class-based wedge between homemakers and women who either by choice or by necessity worked outside the home. Different from the young women who had a relatively sequestered existence during the Lowell era, later women factory workers were drawn from the ranks of recent immigrants, young girls from rural areas and mining towns who helped support their families, and widows with no other means of support. Their high illiteracy rates and farm backgrounds planted the seeds for stereotypes linking poor women as capable only for the physical labor required in factories. When paid work was available, these women did have one competitive advantage: They were white. In times of work surplus but worker shortage, women of color were employable in factories at lower wages and less desirable jobs than white women. Except as domestic workers and restaurant help, paid employment for women of color remained limited. Men of color who migrated off farms into the rapidly growing urban areas were employable as unskilled laborers in construction, as dockhands, and in other jobs requiring arduous physical labor. White women still had the advantage in factory work, especially textile production, over men of color. Service jobs demanded by an industrializing economy were open for white women with some education. The latter were deemed less frail than the robust factory women, but both groups garnered public disapproval for roles that put them in the public sphere outside the home.

In the western migration, woman were valued for their nondomestic work and were expected to engage in it. For those who were tied to the home with child care responsibilities, "homework," which consisted mostly of piecework that women did at home for pay, was an option, especially among poor immigrants. Homework was dependent on the whims of bosses and swings of a seasonal market and encouraged the exploitation of its dominantly female workers. The ideology of the Victorian era was that a woman's place was at home and, as exploitative as it was, homework allowed the ideology to be bolstered. However, most of these other groups, through necessity, were working outside the home. During the late nineteenth century, the middle-class homemaker was the enviable standard to which women aspired. Poor women who worked outside the home were often demonized as unfit mothers who

were neglecting their families (Broder, 2002). The statuses of full-time homemaker and employed woman have shifted considerably over time, but as we have seen, the homemaker status continues to serve as the standard by which women are judged.

War and Jobs In the nineteenth century, women established control in several occupations, including nursing and elementary school teaching. Although women began to enter the teaching profession by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Civil War transformed teaching from a male to female profession. Women were able to retain their teaching jobs after the war not only because of the shortage of men, but also because they could be paid less than the men they replaced. Rather than celebrating the care ethic that women brought to the profession—one that contrasted sharply with the physical discipline and harshness of male teachers of the time—teaching swiftly became viewed as an extension of motherhood. Women's biological qualities offered an advantage that required no special skill base. Historians of education trace the female takeover of teaching to the loss of pay and prestige that continue to plague the profession today (Edwards, 2002). Like teaching, clerical work was originally a male occupation. The invention of the typewriter in 1873 brought with it an increase in the number of clerical jobs and a large increase in female employment in those jobs. By the late 1920s, over half of all clerical workers were female, and even with upgraded skills demanded by word processing and a technologically driven workplace, today over 95 percent of secretarial and administrative assistant jobs are held by women. Like teaching, as women increasingly took over the male clerical positions, there was a marked decrease in the prestige and wages of these positions. Women remain concentrated in poorly paid **pink-collar jobs**, such as clerical and retail sales, associated with high competition, part-time work, lack of benefits, and few opportunities for advancement. Because such jobs continue to severely limit upward mobility both within and between jobs, women are said to be trapped in the "pink collar ghetto." Over half of employed women are located there today.

The shortage of men in the labor force during the two World Wars again set the stage for the next wave of job opportunities open to women. During each war, women replaced men in both factories and offices. World War I reshuffled existing female workers into new areas rather than increasing overall participation rates, and after the war, women generally retreated back to their homes. As we saw in Chapter 5, the situation was different after World War II. Women were expected to return to hearth and home, but large numbers did not. They did lose the more lucrative industrial jobs, but a new trend developed—married women began entering the labor force in greater numbers—a trend that heralded major repercussions for all areas of American society.

Balancing Multiple Work and Family Roles

Social change and the specialization of functions that it brings inevitably create additional role responsibilities for both men and women. Demographic shifts account for many of these new or altered roles, such as increased numbers of dual-earner families, later and fewer marriages, fewer children, increased life expectancy, and massive migration shifting employees across a nation and across the globe. For example, men who marry later are bringing a greater range of domestic skills into

their marriages than the previous generation of men. Increased life expectancy has created an active and healthy aged population that is staying in the workplace longer and, especially among the poor, is taking on more child care responsibilities in service to their own children. The rapidly increasing population of the oldest old, those aged 80 years and older, however, is at heightened risk for dependence. Job shifts that require a change of location for the family add to new role patterns in contemporary families. Whereas multiple roles are increasing for both genders, family responsibilities remain fundamentally women's tasks, regardless of whether she is a paid employee. However, because the large majority of women *are* wage earners, compared to men, enacting the multiple roles is substantially different.

Employment and Health

Paid employment is a major determinant of good physical and mental health for men and women. In the United States and other societies where people are socialized into a strong work ethic, satisfying work enhances health, life satisfaction, and well-being. The impact of work is evident in Sigmund Freud's answer to the question of what "normal" people should do well. For Freud, it is "to love and to work." Good psychological functioning emphasizes both one's work and one's family. The idea is to create an environment where work and family are not opposed to each other.

Achieving this ideal is difficult, especially for women, whether in a dual-earner marriage or as a single parent. On the one hand, a rewarding job in general and a rewarding career in particular have beneficial effects for women's well-being. Work is not the brutal psychological jungle popularized in media accounts. A rewarding career actually shields a woman from pressures encountered at home. Referred to as the *role enhancement hypothesis*, and contrary to what we might expect, multiple roles that include marriage, children, and satisfying work are associated with better health, enhanced self-esteem, and lower rates of depression. Women who are caregivers, who work, and who volunteer use multiple productive roles as sources of support that allow them to remain socially integrated. Balance at home and work also is important. Satisfying jobs and careers are optimized when marriages are egalitarian and domestic responsibilities are shared by spouses (Rozario et al., 2004; Barnett and Gareis, 2006; Chrouser and Ryff, 2006). Despite multiple roles, employed women are the healthiest and report feeling better about themselves than do full-time homemakers. This holds true for a mother's continuous employment even after the birth of her first child. An employed woman's income represents a huge mental health asset both on and off the job (Elgar and Chester, 2007; Pearson, 2008; Frech and Damaske, 2012). Research suggests positive outcomes for women with multiple roles.

On the other hand, the mental health advantages of multiple roles are fewer for women compared to men, in part because work and family hold different gendered meanings. Women expect that their family roles will spill over to their jobs, but the life stage for this expectation is important. Wives and new mothers have more role balance but experience more job stress compared to husbands and new fathers. Part-time workers, who are more likely to be women, have worse physical and emotional health (Marks et al., 2001; Kleiner and Pavalko, 2010; Johnson et al., 2011). The *role overload hypothesis* suggests that women experience emotional distress when

employment and the second-shift work of family and child care roles put women into two full-time jobs. Employed women with children—whether married or not—report more health problems than women without children. The homemaker role by itself or the worker and single-parent roles in combination are the most stressful. Although income does not explain all of the variation, it is an important factor in the poorer mental health associated with these roles. Single-parent women and single-earning men are less likely to have incomes that exceed household expenses (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2007; Glynn et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2011). Role overload is also linked to unique stressors that women face in the workplace, including gender discrimination, sexual harassment, and stereotyping (Shrier, 2002).

Eldercare

Evaluation of multiple work and family roles also must account for caregiving to other than one's own children. The second shift of a woman's unpaid work is rapidly turning into a third shift for many homemakers and employed women who must care for impaired elderly who are part of their lives. Women are more likely than men to be eldercare providers and to spend more time—and more daily time—in eldercare (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). Combined with the hours spent on housework, it is eldercare, rather than not child care, that is associated with more stress for women (MacDonald et al., 2005). A spouse is the first to provide care for his or her ailing partner. Men usually become physically dependent and need extended care earlier in life than women, so an elderly wife is more likely to be her husband's caregiver. The next level of responsibility falls on adult children. For the poor elderly, the next level is the network of extended family and kin. The final level is nonkin volunteers or paid caretakers who come to the home. When financial resources are depleted, the elderly are moved to the extended care facilities (nursing homes) often paid for with Medicaid funds. In these facilities, too, caretakers are virtually all female.

Although type of care and patterns of caregiving in families vary greatly, women are the primary caregivers to elderly parents, whether they are daughters or daughters-in-law. Referred to as the **sandwich generation**, they are caught between caring for the older and younger generations at the same time. Many of these women are in their forties and fifties, are in the workforce, and still have children at home. Paid leave for eldercare is rare, and chances of wage loss are substantial, even with sympathetic employers and flexible work schedules (Bookman and Kimbrel, 2011; Earle and Heymann, 2012). Love, commitment, and responsibility describe caregivers. Other words to describe caregiving are guilt, burden, depression, and strain. Assistance to the elderly correlates with higher levels of caregiver strain and work interference than assistance to younger adults or children. The stress of the eldercare role for women is associated with compromises in both physical health and psychological well-being and is worsened for poor women caring for young children and parents with greater impairment at the same time. Employed women report higher levels of job stress as their parents or grandparents become more debilitated and when one elderly parent can no longer take care of the other. Time away from spouse and children can negatively affect marriage (Neal and Hammer, 2007; Larou, 2009). Although caregiving provides opportunities for adult children

and elderly parents to grow closer, the positive psychological outcomes for both are often overshadowed by the demands of too little time to serve the needs of everyone—including the caretaker herself.

Unpaid Work

Women do the globe's unpaid second- and third-shift work of household tasks and caregiving. Economists have in effect ignored this productive work because it *is* unpaid. All work makes an economic contribution, but the unpaid work activities related to the home have been marginalized in economic rendering of production. According to Riane Eisler (2007:16),

> A much more sensible, and realistic, standard for what is given economic value is what supports and advances human survival and human development. By this standard, a *caring orientation* . . . concern for the welfare and development of ourselves, others, and our natural environment is highly valued. So also is the work of caregiving and the creation of caring environments, whether in homes, business, communities, or governments.

In addition to the goods and services provided by the unpaid work of women discussed earlier, economic contributions include managing household resources, creating and maintaining the future labor force (children), and serving as an auxiliary labor force. In the United States, the estimated yearly cost for services that women provide for free—cooking, cleaning, shopping, child care, chauffeuring, repairing, counseling and therapeutic services, and sickness care—would cost well over $50,000. At the global level, if the unpaid work of women were added to the world's economy, it would expand by one-third. On the positive side, the economic reality of women's unpaid productive work is gaining public and governmental attention (Chapter 6).

Money and Mental Health The better psychological health of an employed woman compared to a full-time homemaker is clearly associated with income. Dual-earning couples share spending decisions more equally than singe-earner couples (Lindsey, 1996c; Treas and de Ruijiter, 2008). When the husband is the sole wage earner, those wages are distributed in a variety of ways. Some wives receive their husband's paychecks and determine how the money will be apportioned; other wives receive "allowances" from their husbands that go toward household expenses. Regardless of how couples determine the way the money will be spent, she has not "earned" it in the same way he has.

This perception contributes to the burden of dependency experienced by many housewives. A husband's economic leverage in the household is conducive to his wife's dependency. To a large extent, his paycheck becomes the controlling factor in her life. Many women who do not work outside the home find themselves in conflict-ridden, emotionally debilitating marriages but see no alternative but to remain where they are. Financial and psychological dependencies go hand in hand. Family dynamics change when a wife brings home a paycheck or she outearns her husband. The shift to more egalitarian gender roles also may be traced to the fact that wives' share of family income is about 40 percent and over one-third of married

women now have incomes larger than that of their spouses (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013:82). Initially, husbands may be threatened by their wives' earnings, but they are gratified when breadwinning (instrumental) roles and financial household burdens are shared.

Summary It is complicated to sort out all of these variables to determine the specific sources of role strain. In combination with paid work, why are some caregiving roles more stressful than others? We can conclude, though, that the *number* of roles may be less stressful than the way women *perceive* the roles. Multiple family and work roles are most beneficial for women emotionally, physically, and financially when they perceive support from their partners or spouses at home and from employers and colleagues at work (Greenglass, 2002; Glynn et al., 2009; Tang, 2012). Research on multiple roles generally points to the benefits associated with the role enhancement hypothesis rather than the liabilities associated with the role overload hypothesis.

Gendered Institutions in Choice of Work

Societies (cultures) are organized via *social institutions* to ensure that social needs are met in predictable ways (Chapter 3). It is difficult to separate the influence of various institutions on work-related gender roles because the interaction effects are both complicated and powerful. As we saw in Chapter 8, there is a great deal of research on the influence of women's employment on their families. The focus here will be on the work–family connection in the other direction: the influence of women's family roles on their employment and workplace roles. A key issue in this connection is **work–family spillover**, the largely gendered attitudes and behaviors that carry over from roles in both of these institutions. Economic effects reverberate throughout every social institution. Despite being highly interdependent, sociologists agree that the economy is the key catalyst for shaping changes that all other social institutions experience.

The Influence of Family on Workplace

The transition from an agricultural to an industrialized economy profoundly altered the work roles of men and women and enlarged any existing gender gap between home and workplace. The outset of the transition for women led them from unpaid work on the farm to unpaid work in the family. Men were firmly established in their earner roles when women began to move into the labor force in large numbers. These new female entrants quickly collided with cultural beliefs that viewed women disdainfully, suspiciously, or hostilely when they ventured out of their homes into paid employment. The instrumental–expressive schism that followed women into the workplace over a half century ago has not been eradicated.

Socialization The family is the key force in gender socialization and primes children for later social roles, including the choices they make regarding work. The family can be further subdivided into two categories that differentially affect these

choices. The first category, the **family of orientation**, is the family in which one grows up. In this first family, a child gains a sense of self and a set of relative benefits based on the *social capital* the family offers to a child, such as material resources, housing, and education. Social capital is translated into opportunity structures for children (Chapter 7). Because parents may be unable or unwilling to provide the same opportunity structures for all their children, social capital for boys is leveraged differently than social capital for girls. As discussed in Chapter 3, children receive gendered messages from parents related to, among others, clothing, toys, chores, dating, autonomy, and education. Children match these messages to attitudes about later job options. When fathers talk to their sons about the joys of caring for others and mothers talk to their daughters about the wonders of discovery and then actually see their dad as a preschool teacher or nurse and their mom as an engineer or a scientist, the seeds are planted for their children to choose these job options.

The trend toward egalitarian marriages is challenging the gender messages children receive in the family of orientation that limit their horizons about the work choices they will make. Despite widespread messages about egalitarian gender roles, however, other agents of socialization counter them. The reality is that messages for girls continue to be focused on home and family taking precedence over paid work, whereas for boys, the message is that paid work takes precedence over family. Because the large majority of young women now say that they desire a combination of family and career roles, the message they hear is how to juggle, balance, and deal with these roles. Young men also expect to carry out both sets of roles, but they do not receive the "juggling" message that young women receive. Their message is not how they will balance family and work, but how they will pay for family through work.

The second category, the **family of procreation**, is the family that is established when one marries or establishes a long-term partnership. Because each partner brings a unique set of socialization experiences to this family and each has already lived through a generation of social change, this second family is more directly influenced by broader sociocultural factors regarding gender. As parents, both men and women will face a new set of family contingencies that impact roles in and out of the home. The family of procreation focuses on *continuing socialization* because new parents must learn the skills in their struggle with the demands of raising children. There is little preparation for these roles, so the process appears to be one of trial and error. However, it is heavily influenced by the gender models of the family of orientation. Parents must reconcile personal desires for fulfillment and economic obligations to maintain the home, decisions that impact their children's quality of life. Although these factors affect parents' work-related issues, men do not have to face the struggle to "be employed or not be employed" as women do. Most partners opt for dual earning before children arrive, and most women continue some level of paid work after children arrive. These decisions affect not only what happens to home-based roles, but also what happens to work roles.

The Child Care Crisis About two-thirds of all married women with children under the age of 6 are in the labor force. Although the dual-earner family is the American norm, there is broad research agreement that women with children are

significantly more likely to be employed if they have a college degree and if they have husbands who support their wives' choice to return to work. These households are likely to be child centered and generally egalitarian on attitudes about gender (see Chapters 7 and 8). Even in egalitarian marriages, however, wives spend significantly more time on child care and household tasks than husbands. Wives take the lead in organizing child care arrangements for preschoolers and after-school activities for older children. When a child is sick, when there is an unexpected early dismissal from school, or when a day care crisis arises, women are much more likely than men to accommodate their job schedule to resolve the problem. Care work—especially child care—is the determining factor when and if a woman returns to paid work after the birth of her child.

Increased demands for child care come at a time when grandparents (probable caretakers) are returning to the labor force; state budgets offering subsidized child care vouchers have been slashed; and funding for preschool and after-school programs that parents rely on have been eliminated or, if retained, are unaffordable. As more women with young children join the labor force out of desire and need, the child care crisis must be addressed. This problem looms larger for single parents or women receiving public assistance who are required to work or be in work-training programs to preserve even temporary benefits. It is an issue that affects all working women and their families, regardless of the ability to pay for adequate care. Child care issues have a major spillover effect on the career achievement of women.

Married with Children: The Demography of Career Achievement Career achievement also is impacted by a host of other family-related variables, including marital status, age at marriage, age at childbirth, and professional status when married. Women who marry after they complete their education and begin to ascend a career ladder bring more resources to their marriages and reduce the likelihood that their husbands will expect them to give up their careers. Smaller family size and age of children also correlate with paid employment. The percentage of employed mothers decreases rapidly for families with five children or more and with at least two children under age 6. Compared to single women, married women have higher rates of interrupted job mobility—often to accommodate a career move for their husbands. Men report less satisfaction for their own work when they perform roles in support of their partners' careers. In addition, men's satisfaction at work is enhanced with relationship satisfaction; women satisfaction at work is enhanced with more egalitarian housework arrangements (Stevens et al., 2007). Interruption rates increase significantly for married women who stall their careers or forgo them altogether to raise children. White women experience the greatest wage penalty in this pattern (Parrott, 2014). Married women are likely to return to paid employment, but in less satisfying work situations and lower-paying jobs rather than more satisfying and higher-paying careers.

Encouraging a daughter's education has high payoffs in the workplace. The more education a woman attains, the greater the likelihood she will engage in paid employment. Conversely, the lower the woman's educational attainment, the more likely she is a full-time homemaker. This pattern challenges the myth that those who have the choice would prefer exclusive domestic roles. By virtue of her education, she is least likely to be financially dependent and most likely to work outside the

home. The combination of low education and a full-time homemaker role can have devastating financial consequences in the event of divorce or death of a spouse. Research on women who in the 1950s followed the "June Cleaver" stay-at-home model of marriage and motherhood with financial dependence on their husbands or sporadic work in low-paid jobs finds a significant number of them living in poverty or near poverty in their retirement years (Olson, 2003).

Career versus Job Although all employed women have *jobs*, they do not necessarily have meaningful *careers*. Jobs interfere with family in a different way than careers. A career orientation is associated with men and women in the professions who have a high degree of commitment, personal sacrifice, and a planned developmental sequence (career path). In addition to the family factors noted earlier, career orientation for married women is compromised when a wife's career is viewed as less important than her husband's career. For example, she will relocate to benefit his career, but his relocation for hers is unlikely. When he outearns her, his career takes on more importance and will be nurtured to gain higher income returns.

The success stories of women who "have it all"—great marriages, wonderful children, rewarding careers—are replete. Women are in a second wave of progress, moving up the corporate ladder or advancing through their own business enterprises. They have found ways to reconcile problems favorably between career and family, such as buying services for household tasks and high-quality child care, telecommuting from home, or staying on career tracks through flexible work time options. These women, however, are the exception to the rule. The rule is that women may combine work (jobs) and marriage successfully, but they are severely compromised in their quest for upward career mobility by marital and family obligations and traditional beliefs about his breadwinning role compared to hers. Young couples advocate the ideal that career satisfaction is important for both men and women, but they believe one partner should always be home with children (Pavalko and Henderson, 2006; Koski, 2007). That partner, of course, is a wife. Women's careers are put on hold, change directions, or abruptly end.

Employer Views Employers are well aware of these trends. Highly educated women have greater leverage in the workplace because they are viewed as being more committed to their jobs. It is illegal for employers to overtly use marital status or age of children in hiring, but such decisions are routinely made covertly. Even married women with children who are in professional careers are often considered a liability because employers believe they will favor family over workplace when the inevitable juggling act occurs. For women, marriage may send a signal that they have a different set of priorities. As sexist as it is, an employer often interprets marriage and children as making a woman less reliable, dedicated, and permanent. Postponing children increases lifetime earnings for women. A single break in employment has immediate adverse effects, which translates to lower wages and job status. Women in management, for example, are often tracked into two distinct groups: those with a career and family and those with only a career. The former may be "mommy track" women who are not expected to adhere to the same standards as corporate women choosing faster-track career options. Businesses justify this track by arguing that their investment in women managers is lost when careers

are interrupted by family concerns. When they return to the corporate world, the dues they pay go beyond catching up on seniority or retooling their skill base. They are treated virtually as beginners.

Married men, on the other hand, are considered corporate assets if they are married with children. The fatherhood premium in wages is enhanced for men in the "idealized" family—he is a biological father, he is in coresidence with his child, he is married to the child's mother, and his role of financial provider is salient. The fatherhood premium is reduced but not eliminated if any of these factors is not present. It is interesting that married men do not get a wage premium when their wives work full-time (Killewald, 2013). In gender-equitable Netherlands, shared parenting responsibilities by mothers and fathers is encouraged, available, and acceptable. Mothers are applauded when they combine care and work by reducing work hours. Fathers, however, are punished—viewed more negatively—for reduced work hours (Vinkenburg et al., 2012). Whether a motherhood penalty or fatherhood premium, stubborn gender ideology persists, resulting in normative discrimination in the workplace (Benard and Correll, 2010). Employers view a man as more stable and committed to his job and job location if he has children in school and he and his family are involved in community activities. From an employer point of view, another important criterion in judging the potential for the success of his male employee is that that he has "wifely support" for demanding work roles. The vast majority of the top corporate executives in the United States are married men who have

> stay-at-home wives ever ready to journey with them and be at their sides in public. (For) corporate executives . . . she planned the dinner parties, kept house in fitting style and . . . kept pace with his rising social requirements. The duties of running a corporation are so varied and relentless that no rational man tries them solo if he can split them with a wife. (Walsh, 2001:3)

In reading of these trends, it may appear that an employer is justified in preferring to hire married men with children over married women with or without children. Often overlooked factors, however, are that there are no significant gender differences in job commitment, loyalty to firm, leadership effectiveness, and most important, number of jobs over time held by professional men and women (Dey and Hill, 2007; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). Any reading of the demographics of career achievement needs to account for the gender stereotypes that lurk behind differential hiring practices and promotion for men and women.

Economic Trends and the Family

Economic trends filtering down to the family reinforce the employment choices of men and women. Women are welcomed into the labor force during times of need, such as war; during periods of economic growth, such as the Industrial Revolution; and in transitions to new economic forms, such as the shift from advanced machine technology in a manufacturing economy to the information technology demanded in a knowledge-based service economy. During these times, women function as a reserve labor pool to be called on or discarded as needs change. Women, therefore, could not rely on stable employment. Today's postindustrial era, however, requires workers with an education and skill base that women are now more likely

to possess. In this sense, women are catching up with men in opportunities for more stable employment.

Postindustrial societies are also unprecedented in their consumption orientation and target services and products to market niches based on household characteristics. The United States is a consumer society, and women do the majority of consumption in carrying out family roles related to daily household spending. Employed women have less time but more money available for consumption; the American economic system has responded to this reality. The retailing sector, in particular, caters to employed women by lengthening times stores are open, by locating near homes and new housing developments, by using mail catalogs, and increasingly, through the web marketplace. Although the family exerts counterpressure on women in these consumer roles, they emerge in a position of strength. The resources offered by stable employment, combined with the traditional role of overseeing the daily household spending, make employed women a formidable economic force. Conflict theorists suggest that these combined roles offer advantages that translate into more power in their families and the workplace.

The Legal System

Propelled by the equality goals of the women's movement and minority rights movement, an array of legal and political decisions have had a major impact on gender patterns of employment and women's work roles. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 14. This section overviews key legislative actions related to two of the most important gendered economic challenges: the work–family spillover and the wage gap.

Both directions of the work–family spillover are addressed in the **Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)**, passed in 1993. This act allows eligible employees to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave per year for the birth and care of a newborn or an adopted or foster child and to care for spouse, child, or parent with a serious health condition. In 2009, FMLA was expanded to 26 weeks of leave in a single 12-month period to care for a service member recovering from a serious injury or illness incurred while on active duty. FMLA is intended to be gender neutral, but it is apparent that it was written with women as caregivers in mind. How successful is FMLA and other workplace benefits that address workplace spillover, especially the crisis in child care?

On the positive side, women are more likely to take advantage of workplace flexibility and family leave policies than are men, and these policies are associated with higher rates of retention for women. Both white women and men and women of color are likely to take family leave compared to white men. Men of all races take shorter leaves than women. In dual-earner couples, a woman's unpaid leave does not have as severe economic consequences for the household. Perceived family–work balance also is linked to leave policies that benefit both men and women (Armenia and Gerstel, 2006; Noonan et al., 2007). On the other hand, FMLA does not address the child care crisis in any meaningful way. Women continue to exit jobs when quality, affordable child care is unavailable. Single parents and poor women use unpaid leave as the final option when their children are in crisis (Gault and Lovell, 2006; Gordon et al., 2008). Australia and the United States are the only two developed nations without paid family leave. The influx of women in paid employment

and, increasingly, in the military appear to indicate that "separation of spheres" beliefs can no longer be sustained. FMLA, however, may have preserved this separation by its very limited substance and scope (Berggren, 2008).

On the wage gap issue, the *Equal Pay Act* (EPA), passed in 1963, is the first federal legislation that addressed the issue of equal pay for men and women. It allows for differences in pay based only on a nondiscriminatory seniority system, a merit-based system, or a "piecework" basis. Although originally designed with minority men in mind, the most important legal prohibition against gender discrimination in employment is **Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act**. The language is not gender neutral, but the following key provisions affecting women make discrimination and occupational segregation illegal.

1. To fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex or national origin; or
2. To limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way, which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

In 1972, Executive Orders extended the provisions of the Civil Rights Act legislation to all federal contracts. *Title IX* of the 1972 Educational Amendments further extended them to all educational programs and activities receiving federal funding. The EPA and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act have allowed the "equal work for equal pay" doctrine to resound throughout the American economy, and it is difficult to circumvent them formally. However, both laws are vulnerable not only to partisan politics (Chapter 14), but also to the gendering of occupations and the informal systems in the workplace. In a sex discrimination case brought to the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, a woman physicist who was denied a promotion from a male administrator stated:

> He said he would prefer a male in that position, because of the people they would be dealing with—other males. . . . By the look on his face he realized what he said, but he didn't retract it. (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011)

All workplaces have ever-evolving discretionary, unwritten policies, particularly with respect to promotion and firing that are based on gender stereotyping. Despite the law, sex discrimination resulting from such informal but powerful practices remains rampant and difficult to prove legally.

Recognizing the realities of a continuing gender and race wage gap, the legal approach was altered from simply barring discrimination to giving "preferential" treatment through **affirmative action** to women and minorities underrepresented in certain job categories. Affirmative action has had more positive effects for women entering professions (although not for women already there) and management positions. However, with the decline in skilled trade jobs and the limited number of women in these and other blue-collar categories, most employed women have not benefited from the job integration policy. The positive effect of affirmative action has not reached the bulk of women who work in lower-level jobs and has not

redressed continuing wage inequalities that still exist a half century after these legislative efforts were launched (Badgett and Lim, 2001; Wolf-Devine, 2002). And as we will see in Chapter 14, because affirmative action is intimately but erroneously linked in the public eye with quotas and reverse discrimination, it is on the political chopping block and may not survive in a viable form.

Comparable Worth This is another strategy that carves a rocky path through legislative and judicial processes, and like affirmative action, the evidence is mixed in terms of its success (Hattiangadi, 2000). **Comparable worth** aims to upgrade the wage scales for jobs that employ large numbers of women. Because comparable worth arguments were successfully used in Washington and California when it was documented that women received far less pay than men did in comparable jobs, such as police and fire dispatching, most states have taken some legislative action to deal with broadly based pay inequity.

The judicial thrust generally has been the same as the legislative by emphasizing that employers cannot discriminate on the basis of gender if a woman meets the necessary qualifications. Working with the *Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)*, the judiciary oversees the thousands of gender discrimination cases that have arisen since the 1960s. A landmark case demonstrates the importance of these actions. The 1971 unanimous Supreme Court decision in *Reed v. Reed* ruled that an Idaho law giving males preference over females in selecting administrators of an estate was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This was the first time the Court ruled that an arbitrary discrimination law against women was unconstitutional.

Political and legal mandates have helped remove barriers that unfairly limit or circumscribe women's potential employment choices. They cannot focus on the individual decision-making process that is viewed as the personal province of a woman and her family. Fueled by the Millennium Recession (MR), however, the political atmosphere has changed considerably.

Gender, Unemployment, and the Great Recession The employment advocacy of the 1970s gave way to the entrenchment of the 1980s, moderate backlash in the 1990s, and severe backlash in the first decades of the millennium. In tracking unemployment over time in the United States, the Bureau of Labor Statistics gathers data on unemployed job seekers. As the recession moved into its second year in 2009, men's unemployment rose at a faster rate (2.8 percent) than the rate for women (1.6 percent); over two-thirds of the rise in unemployment was among men. Only once since World War II—in 1983—has men's unemployment been higher than that for women (Boushey, 2009). Women were able to hold on to lower-paying jobs such as nurses' aides, cleaners, and servers. Men lost higher-paying jobs such as contractors, builders, architects, and engineers. Those women who were *not* employed, such as homemakers, rather than those who were *unemployed*, gained jobs because their husbands were out of work. Will these women remain in the labor force if their husbands regain their jobs?

As the economy began to recover, men's job advantages gradually returned. Although men gained back only two-thirds of the jobs they lost, women gained back 95 percent. Women's share of labor force participation is down from pre-recession levels. Most of the job gain by women is best explained by the fact that women

hold 80 percent of health care jobs—the vast majority in the private sector—and these jobs did not decline, but actually rose during the recession and continue to rise today. Despite this increase, private sector jobs favoring men have increased. Public sector jobs favoring women have not rebounded and are unlikely to do so any time soon (Figure 10.1). The majority of new jobs have gone to men. As the manufacturing, information, and financial services stabilized, men were much more likely than women to find jobs. Men's reemployment rate is higher, and fewer men left the labor force. Although men and women are nearing parity in current unemployment (6.4 percent men to 5.9 percent women), men's unemployment rate dropped faster than women's. Unemployment data suggest, too, that those women who are *not* employed, such as homemakers, rather than those who are *unemployed*, are gaining jobs because their husbands are out of work (Hartman et al., 2013; Norris, 2013; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). Gender differences in employment during recession and in recovery also need to account for the type of jobs women are getting compared to the types of jobs men have lost. Given factors such as the wage gap and the pink-collar job options, it is clear that newly employed women will not make up the income deficit in their households. The Obama administration's first stimulus for job creation during the recession targeted jobs traditionally held by men, such as road and bridge building. Jobs that traditionally employ women had less priority. Depending on which factors were accounted for, the stimulus received mixed economic review overall. Yes, a job is a job. But will it pay enough to keep families solvent as the effects of the recession continue? For both men and women, recovery is illusive. Today unemployment rates for both men and women are about one-and-a-half times higher than at the start of the recession (National Women's Law Center, 2013). A renewed commitment to gender fairness and social justice is needed to ensure that any legislative action does more good than harm during fragile economic recovery. It is important to carefully monitor gender trends in unemployment.

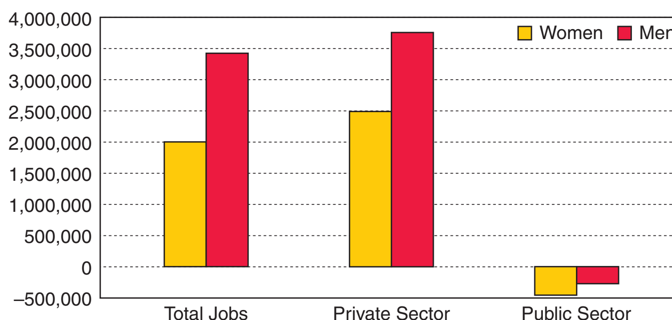

FIGURE 10.1

Gender Differences in Job Change in the Recovery, June 2009–July 2013

Source: National Women's Law Center. "Women Sharing in Slow Job Growth, but Full Recovery Is a Long Way Off." August 2, 2013. http://www.nwlc.org/resource/women-sharing-slow-job-growth-full-recovery-long-way#content-area.

> Too many layoffs are based on gender-biased evaluations. . . . In this dire turndown, we can't allow the economy to be used as an excuse for gender bias and roll back progress we've made. (Neil, 2009)

Women in the Labor Force

The dramatic, consistent increase in labor force participation of all categories of women is the most important economic trend of the last century. Consider the huge significance of the following statistics:

- Almost 60 percent of all women 16 years and over are in the labor force, and the participation rate of married women with children has tripled since 1960.
- Seventy percent of all mothers are employed, and over half have children under 1 year old.
- Female single parents (single, divorced, separated, or widowed) participate in even greater proportions—over 75 percent in 2014, a two-thirds increase just since 1965.
- The percent of middle-age (45–64), college-educated women in their peak earning years has gradually increased since 1970 and shows a record of stable employment but lower earnings than men with comparable education.
- As women's paid work has increased, men's labor force participation shows consistent declines, from a high of about 87 percent in 1947 to 72 percent in 2014, and is projected to decrease to 70.6 percent in 2018. Even as the baby boomers begin to retire, the rate of increase of women in the labor force will outpace the rate of men.

Women represent almost half of *all employed people* in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). If these trends continue, the proportion of women in the labor force may exceed that of men (Table 10.1).

Gender-Typing in Occupational Distribution

As would be expected, women are not equally distributed throughout the occupational structure. Although women make up almost half of top-level managerial and professional occupations and require requisite educational credentials even at the entry level, the jobs they hold are occupationally segregated. For example, the professional category includes accountants, architects, and engineers, who are largely male, and teachers, nurses, and social workers, who are largely female. All of these occupations require high levels of education, but the female occupations are far lower in degree of pay, prestige, authority, and other job-related reward criteria.

Female-dominated occupations, whether professional or not, also are associated with high degrees of psychologically exhausting work. **Emotional labor** describes work that requires providing emotional support to the people the occupation serves. Nursing aides caring for the elderly; day care workers, elementary and middle school teachers, and social workers expend huge amounts of emotional labor in their daily roles. The gendered expectation is that women are more suited to

TABLE 10.1 Labor Force Participation by Gender, Race, and Marital Status, Selected Years and Projection

	Year						
	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**2005**	**2007**	**2010**	**2018**
Gender							
Total Employed Women	51.5	57.5	59.9	59.3	59.3	58.6	58.7
Total Employed Men	77.4	76.4	74.8	73.3	73.2	71.2	70.6
Female Employment by Marital Status							
Single	64.4	66.7	68.9	66.0	65.3	63.3	x
Married with spouse	49.8	58.4	61.1	60.7	61.0	61.0	x
Employment by Race and Gender							
White Female	51.2	57.4	59.5	58.9	60.4	58.5	58.2
White Male	78.2	77.1	75.5	74.1	74.0	72.0	71.1
African American Female	53.1	58.3	63.1	61.6	61.1	59.9	61.2
African American Male	70.3	71.0	69.2	67.3	66.8	65.0	65.7
Latino Female	47.4	53.1	57.5	55.3	56.5	56.5	56.4
Latino Male	81.4	81.4	81.5	80.1	80.5	77.8	78.2
Asian Female	x	x	59.2	58.2	x	57.0	57.4
Asian Male	x	x	76.1	74.8	x	73.2	73.7

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Labor Force, Employment, and Earnings. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2009 and 2012.* Adapted from Tables 568 and 576 (2009) and Tables 587 and 598 (2012). www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/labor_force_employment_earnings.html.

these jobs than men because this labor outside the home is a natural extension of caretaking roles in the home. Occupational segregation by gender bolsters **gender-typing**—when the majority of the occupations are those of one gender, it becomes a normative expectation, and in turn, the job is associated with less pay and prestige. Referred to as the "devaluation thesis," gender-typing translates to a wage penalty for people working in occupations that are dominated by females (England et al., 2000). Gender-typing extends to the way a job is perceived. Nursing, social work, and teaching are "engendered" as feminine professions linked with caring and nurturing. Nursing, in particular, is increasing its professional status through successful challenges to the jurisdictional boundaries determined by physicians. Until recently, nursing, as a female-dominated profession has been in virtual servitude to the male-dominated profession of medicine. Nurses also are finding allies in female physicians who are adopting more care-oriented rather than compliance-oriented patient strategies that parallel nursing strategies. Upgrading the profession as a

whole has challenged both the gender-based and the occupationally-based hierarchy of medicine and health care.

Men on the Escalator These professions provide examples of what happens when men enter predominately female occupations. In tracing the trajectories of males in female-dominated occupations, although men face some disadvantages, they have more advantages compared to women in these jobs. In such jobs, males are likely to hold higher positions. More men have been lured into nursing by a growing health care sector that pays well. At all nursing levels, male nurses make more money than female nurses, often exceeding $20,000 at the highest levels of nursing. Full-time female nurses working year round make approximately 10 percent less than their male counterparts (Casselman, 2013).

Male nurses differentiate themselves from the perceived devalued female work they do by dominating "that which is female." Males who cross over into nursing, social work, elementary school teaching, and librarianship face some prejudice from those outside the professions but have clear advantages inside them. Both men and women employed in nontraditional occupations (as defined by gender) face discrimination, but the forms and consequences are different for males in female professions than the reverse. Both genders perceive that men are given fair, even preferential, treatment in hiring and promotion; are accepted by supervisors and colleagues; and are integrated into the subculture of the workplace. The subtle mechanisms that enhance a man's position in these professions are referred to as the *glass escalator effect* (Williams, 2003a).

Men take their gender privileges with them to female occupations and experience acceptance from their colleagues as well as upward mobility. However, men experience the glass escalator differently depending on factors such as the man's race and the type of women's profession he enters. In nursing, for example, recent research suggests that African American men must contend with more unfriendly interaction from colleagues and patients regarding their "suitability" in a profession that is viewed not only as a female job, but also as a *white* female job. As an African American male nurse reports,

> . . . being a Black male is a weird position for me. . . . a white male patient (will say), "where's the pretty nurse? Where's the blonde nurse? (I say) . . . You don't have one. I'm the nurse. (Wingfield, 2009:18)

Older white women may flat out refuse treatment from a black male. On the other hand, white male nurses must routinely explain that they are nurses to patients who assume they are doctors. And male nurses of all races must contend with homophobia constructing them as gay, in turn exposing them to stigma from patients and coworkers (Harding, 2007).

More research is needed to determine how race, heterosexism, and gender intersect to buffer the glass escalator for men. We can conclude, however, that even when the occupation is designated female, regardless of race, most women are subordinate to the men who hold the most powerful supervisory and high-paying positions. This is referred to as *hierarchical segregation* and is a strategy that further prevents women from earning equal pay and exercising equal authority with men.

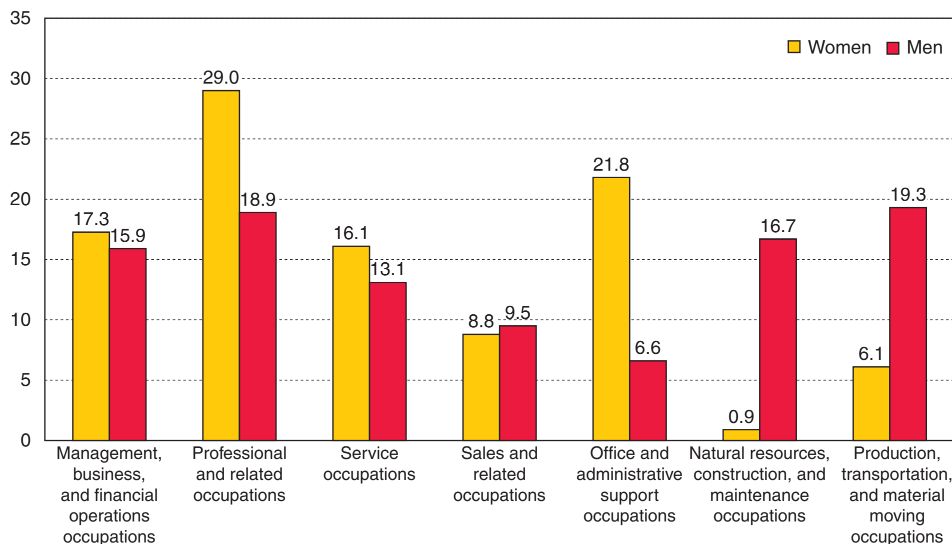

FIGURE 10.2

Women and Men in Selected Occupational Categories

Source: BLS Reports. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2012." October 2013. Chart 4. www.bls.gov/cps/cpswom2012.pdf.

Women in the Professions Women have significantly increased their numbers in the professions . There is now a higher percentage of women in management and professional occupations than there are men (Figure 10.2). Women are rapidly moving into elite professions such as law, medicine, and university teaching. About one-third of practicing physicians and lawyers are women, and they will represent over half of these professions by the next decade. Although these gains are impressive, gender-typing is pervasive. The majority of women professionals are in two categories, nursing and teaching, and command less pay than men in the other occupations making up the professions, such as engineering and computer science. In the "elite" professions, women are clustered in the overcrowded, less prestigious specialties that are considered more suitable for women in male-dominated professions (Bagilhole, 2002).

Medicine For all physicians and surgeons, women's earnings are about 68 percent that of men's, making it one of the largest gender pay gaps in male-dominated professions. Men make up large proportions of surgeons, cardiologists, and emergency medicine (EM) physicians; women make up large proportions of pediatricians, psychiatrists, and public health physicians. Women in EM do not report difficulty balancing work and family time, but they do perceive less control over their work situation, see few available leadership positions, and perceive less organizational support. Job satisfaction decreases, and compared with men, they are less likely to stay in EM (Pachulicz et al., 2008). Males choosing female-dominated medical specialties are now likely to have completed medical school in countries

other than the United States. Thus, physicians in less prestigious specialty areas are likely to be women and ethnic minority men.

Law Women attorneys are more likely to specialize in trusts, estates, family law, and tax law and are more likely to be employed by the government or are in solo practice. Men are more likely to specialize in more lucrative trial, corporate, and international law and to be employed in larger, prestigious law firms. Women attain partnerships at slower rates than men. Women represent about 20 percent of partners in major law firms. After a gradual increase over the last decade, the number of women partners declined, however slightly, during the recession. Women of color are virtually invisible as law partners, representing 2 percent of all women partners; less than 11 percent are associates. These numbers also represent a slight decline from a 2009 plateau. Of all groups, women of color are most likely to experience exclusion, racial and gender stereotyping, and perceived discrimination relative to promotion. Compared to white women, they are more likely to leave their firms (American Bar Association, 2013; National Association of Women Lawyers, 2014).

Engineering Women engineers make up about 10 percent of the total, and they are more likely to specialize in chemical and environmental engineering and work in manufacturing and service firms. Men are more likely to specialize in higher-paid aerospace and electrical engineering and work in consulting and service firms. The salaries of women in all science and engineering fields are lower than their male counterparts with similar levels of experience. Even as women are gaining math and science educational parity with men, the gender gap in engineering, especially in the more highly paid prestigious specialties, is increasing.

The increase of women throughout professional and managerial jobs is impressive, but to move from the periphery to the center of their professions, they must gain access to the networks offering visibility, leadership mentoring, and the highest career mobility (Warren, 2009). The net result of these stubborn trends for professional women is less pay, less prestige, and less authority.

White-Collar Women The many overlapping categories of white-collar occupations employing women do include those in the elite professions. Although many are college degree holders, compared to men, women represent the large majority of the nonmanagerial jobs clustered in less technical areas, especially in pink-collar jobs. Office jobs in particular exhibit strong patterns of gender-typing and are stratified according to gender. Lower-level clerical staff is managed by women who in turn are managed by both men and women. Men manage the higher-ranked white-collar jobs in offices, and at the highest ranks, men manage the male executives directly under them.

Some change in these patterns is evident. White-collar women at all levels are reaping benefits in companies that promote from within and train workers in a variety of tasks that "cross over" to the other gender. Management streams are rapidly diversifying. Pink-collar women may be the last to benefit as these changes filter down, but research suggests that gendered management hierarchies are eroding (Ocon, 2006; Gatrell and Swan, 2008).

The lines between white-collar, pink-collar, and blue-collar jobs and between professional and nonprofessional jobs are blurry. Even when jobs are separated by pay and level of education, categories overlap a great deal. The most common occupations for women include jobs in all categories (Table 10.2).

Blue-Collar Women Women are most underrepresented in blue-collar, transportation, and nonfarm labor areas. Barriers have been legally lifted for women to pursue the skilled, elite blue-collar trades of plumbers, electricians, machinists, carpenters, and craftspeople. However, they have not done so to any great degree. For those women who do enter the skilled trades, they remain in the female-dominant ones, such as dressmakers and electronic equipment assemblers. The resistance to women in the blue-collar trades remains strong. Even among lower-level semiskilled operative jobs, which can be learned quickly, women are underrepresented in those that are unionized. They have made their greatest strides in public sector operative jobs such as letter carrier and bus driver, where their numbers have more than doubled since 1980. Nevertheless, they are virtually invisible in the higher-paying skilled trades. Over 90 percent of precision production, craft, and repair occupations are held by men. The majority of women in blue-collar jobs perform those that require few skills, have poor working conditions, have high fluctuations in employment, and command low pay.

Blue-Collar Men Minority men also are likely to be in the lower-paid blue-collar ranks, but they are paid more than women. The skilled elite trades are reserved for white men, fewer men of color, fewer white women, and even fewer women of color.

TABLE 10.2 Ten Leading Occupations of Employed Women

Occupation	Percent Women
Secretaries/administrative assistants	96.1
Child-care workers	94.7
Receptionist/information clerks	92.7
Teacher assistants	92.4
Registered nurses	91.1
Bookkeeping/accounting clerks	90.9
Maids/housekeeping cleaners	89.0
Nursing/psychiatric/home health aides	88.2
Elementary and middle school teachers	81.8
Cashiers	73.7

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. Adapted from "20 Leading Occupations of Employed Women, 2010 Annual Averages." www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/20lead2010.htm.

Occupational segregation persists, however, regardless of race. Auto mechanics earn almost double the annual salary of bank tellers. Perhaps more startling is the average salary comparisons between midcareer blue-collar men in the skilled trades and graduate-level white-collar women professionals. Heating and air conditioning mechanics' earnings are 13 percent higher than that of reference librarians; bricklayers' earnings are 8 percent higher than that of social workers (Pay Scale, 2009). The skilled elite blue-collar jobs are reserved for men.

Despite the gaps between pink-collar women and blue-collar men, the large majority of blue-collar workers hold the lowest paid unskilled or semiskilled jobs. The gendered reality, however, is that blue-collar jobs for women are paid less than those for men (Table 10.3).

TABLE 10.3 Ten Lowest-Paying Occupations and Earnings for Men and Women

Women's Occupations	Median Weekly Earnings ($)
Counter cafeteria/coffee shop attendants/food concessions	309
Dining room attendants/bar helpers	343
Agricultural workers	349
Laundry/dry-cleaning workers	361
Cashiers	366
Food preparation workers	367
Maids/housekeeping cleaners	376
Servers (waitresses)	381
Cooks	381
Graders/sorters agricultural products	381
Men's Occupations	**Median Weekly Earnings ($)**
Dishwashers	327
Combined food prep/servers, including fast food	346
Food preparation workers	390
Dining room attendants/bar helpers	396
Cashiers	400
Cooks	401
Service stations attendants	406
Hands packers/packagers	413
Personal/home health care aides	414
Agricultural workers	415

Source: Institute for Women's Policy Research. *Fact Sheet: The Gender Wage Gap by Occupation*. IWPR. #C350a. Adapted from Tables 2 and 3. April 2011. www.iwpr.org.

Jobs Ratios and Gender Beliefs Gender-typing of occupations is a fundamental part of the U.S. economic system, although it violates one of capitalism's basic premises—obtaining the best person for the job—especially as it acts to limit or channel women's choice of jobs. Gender-typing links occupational roles with gender roles and tends to designate female occupations, such as nursing and social work, as those involving nurturing, helping, and high levels of empathy. Psychology and counseling are fast becoming female-dominated fields. Conversely, occupations associated with detachment, leadership, and outspokenness, such as medicine and politics, are designated as masculine. When women do move into these fields, they tend to adopt the behavioral traits that retain the masculine qualities.

Although gender-typing is generally universal throughout the occupations, some jobs have changed their gender distribution, such as pharmacy and realty, and are now female dominated. And we have already seen that teaching and secretarial work were transformed from male to female. These patterns are important in countering the argument that gender-typing is based on the "naturalness" of one gender or another being suited for a given occupation. The exposure of flaws in the stereotype that "women take care" and "men take charge" in the workplace will benefit women and their employers (Catalyst, 2005, 2014).

The Wage Gap

As measured by median annual earnings of full-time employees, women earn less than men, a global pattern that holds across all racial and ethnic groups, across all levels of education, and, as we saw earlier, throughout occupations. The wage gap has profound consequences. If both men and women were paid equally, more than half of low-income households in the United States would be lifted above the poverty line.

The gender wage gap has been a persistent economic fact in the United States since records have been available (Figure 10.3). This pattern also holds globally in both the developed and developing world. The pattern accounts for occupational

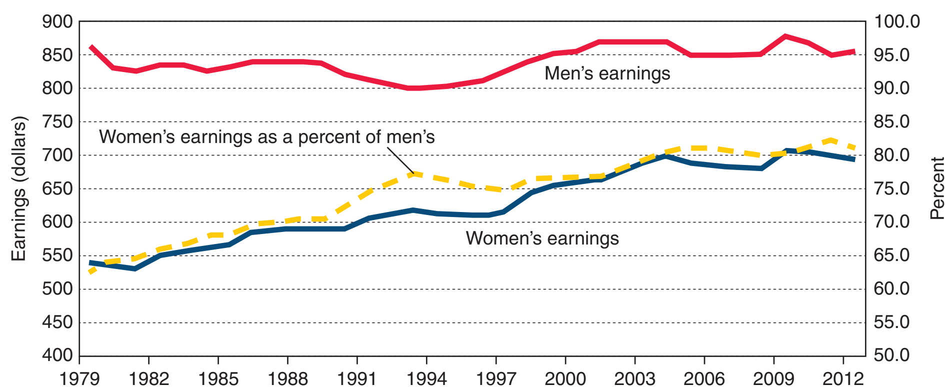

FIGURE 10.3

The Gender Wage Gap, 1972–2012

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earnings." January 2014. www.dol.gov/equalpay/regions/2014/national.pdf.

segregation, initial salary, and family obligations. The gender earnings gap in affluent nations such as the United States and Great Britain endures even when powerful demographic variables are added to the picture, including age, type of job, seniority, and region. It holds for women who have continuous full-time employment, have no children, and express no desire for children (Aisenbrey and Brückner, 2008; Manning and Swaffield, 2008). The strong emphasis that Americans place on talent and achievement to pay off in the workplace cannot explain why at all educational levels males still outearn females and why the gap widens at the higher educational levels. The gap is largest at the very *highest* education levels. The wage gap for a full-time woman worker costs her over $700,000 in her lifetime; women with advanced degrees employed in high-paying occupations can expect an astounding $2 million less than comparable men (Murphy, 2006; Compton, 2007; Black et al., 2008). The wage gap starts early in life, widens with age, and follows her into retirement. Median pension wealth, for example, is over three-fourths greater for men than women, a situation contributing to poverty of women at old age (Tamborini, 2007; Besen-Cassino, 2008; Hartmann, 2009).

With historical exceptions such as the Depression and World War II, the wage gap gradually narrowed during the twentieth century. We saw that economic recession hits women harder than men. Between 1967 and 1974, for example, the gap widened from 62 percent to less than 61 percent. In 1980, a woman employed full-time earned about 65 cents for every dollar a man employed full-time earned; that figure remained stagnant at 75 cents in the 1990s and increased slightly to 77.5 cents in the 2000s. It is about 77 cents in today's post-recession economic climate. The narrowing of the wage gap in two decades by less than one cent per year is certainly debatable as a sign of progress.

Triple Jeopardy: Gender, Race, and Social Class A powerful intersectional approach explains why occupational distribution of minority women reflects changes in the labor force as well as gender inequality. After World War II, large numbers of African American women moved into government white-collar and clerical jobs and the lowest-level private sector jobs, such as data entry and filing clerks. Wage levels of minority women are less than those of men of the same group. African American, Asian American, and white women earn two-thirds to four-fifths of what comparable race men earn, with the greatest disparity occurring between white men and white women (Table 10.4). Rooted in a tradition valuing economic opportunities for women, African American middle-class women moved into the professions earlier than white women. Like white women, they are steered into traditionally female occupations, but they have an added race liability. Concentrated in the public sector, such as teaching and social work, there is not only less discrimination, but also less pay (Higginbotham, 2002). Although white women also are segregated in female-dominated professions, they are represented throughout the private sector where pay is higher. Overall, white women have not experienced as sharp a decline in earnings as have African American women in the last three decades.

Sexual Orientation: A Paradox? Pervasive heterosexism in the United States would predict another layer of economic jeopardy for gay men and lesbians

TABLE 10.4 Intersecting Jeopardy: Weekly Earnings of Women and Men by Selected Characteristics

		Women ($)	Men ($)	Women's earnings as a percent of men's
Race and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity	White	710	879	80.8
	Black or African American	599	665	90.1
	Asian	770	1,055	73.0
	Hispanic or Latino ethnicity	521	592	88.0
Educational Attainment	Less than a high school diploma	386	508	76.0
	High school graduates, no college	561	735	76.3
	Some college or associate's degree	659	857	76.9
	Bachelor's degree and higher	1,001	1,371	73.0
Age	16 to 24 years	416	468	88.9
	25 to 34 years	666	738	90.2
	35 to 44 years	747	957	78.1
	45 to 54 years	746	994	75.1
	55 to 64 years	766	1,005	76.2
	66 years and older	667	860	77.6
Marital Status	Never married	594	620	95.8
	Married, spouse present	751	981	76.6
	Divorced	720	858	83.9
	Separated	570	696	81.9
	Widowed	645	847	76.2

Note: Weekly median earnings of full-time workers, 2012.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earnings." January 2014, www.dol.gov/equalpay/regions/2014/national.pdf.

compared to heterosexual men and women. This is not borne out by research; a number of research studies confirm that there is an earnings penalty for gay men relative to heterosexual men but an earnings premium for lesbian women relative to heterosexual women (Schmitt, 2008). Lesbians are certainly "vulnerable to discrimination on the job," but they are viewed differently and more positively than heterosexual women in terms of career commitment. They are overrepresented in the highly skilled, better paid jobs typical of gendered occupational categories (Peplau

and Fingerhut, 2004). Data are not abundant, but lesbian workers are found in favorable numbers at higher management corporate positions and higher prestige professional specialties dominated by men. Lesbian workers appear to be more successful in reconciling conflict between paid work and motherhood that nets a favorable balance. Lesbian families exhibit role flexibility, and even in their child-centered homes, biological parent is not given a higher rank over primary caregiver or wage earner (Stuart, 2007; Hadley and Stuart, 2007). Certainly lesbian parents struggle with the work–family spillover, but from an employer standpoint, these struggles are not viewed as detriments to the job.

The Human Capital Model Capitalism is played out in the United States according to strongly held economic convictions related to the **human capital model**. With the United States as its lead, the model also is embraced by the rich, industrialized nations across the globe. According to this view, the gender gap in wages is due to personal, individual choices in matters of education, childbirth, and child-rearing decisions and in occupation. If women choose to interrupt schooling or careers for marriage and family reasons, experience and productivity are compromised and wages are lower. In support of this model, because women now demonstrate less discontinuous work patterns than in the past, their wages have increased and the wage gap is decreased (Penner, 2008; Napari, 2009). In addition, the human capital model is consistent with the law of supply and demand. Women can be paid less because they choose occupations and work schedules offering part-time options and requiring less prior experience. These flexible approaches make fewer demands on women's family responsibilities and hours spent in home production (Kunze, 2008; Albanesi and Olivetti, 2009). In this supply side argument, these jobs are very competitive with an abundance of workers who can be paid less. If there is artificial intervention to make jobs equitable in terms of wages, such as setting quotas for certain jobs for men and women, the law of supply and demand will be compromised.

The human capital model is consistent with functionalism in two important ways. First, men and women may attach different meanings to work. Men may gain more self-esteem from their work and may view breadwinning as more central to their identity. Employers in turn justify pay differences by these qualities (Billitteri, 2008; Fortin, 2008; Judge and Livingston, 2008). They contend that gender *per se* is irrelevant: It is not an employer's responsibility to change attitudes about gender roles or how they may play out differently for men and women workers. Second, and more central to functionalism, the human capital argument suggests that gender equity in wages must be able to unfold gradually and in line with a capitalistic system believed to function best if left unfettered and unregulated. Interference with this process will put economic equilibrium at risk and, therefore, do more harm than good.

Social Constructionism and Conflict Theory These two sociological theories offer good explanations for the wage gap and focus on two factors: the power relationships between men and women in all work settings and definitions of masculinity and femininity that are carried into the workplace. Their combined view suggests that men exercise power in the workplace to maintain their wage advantage. A good example is a protégé system, in which an already powerful member serves as a sponsor for entry and upward movement of a novice. An

effective "old boy system" keeps power in the hands of a few men. This system also operates on norms that support cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity that often bar women from meaningful participation in informal work groups. Women will not be accepted if they are "too masculine" but are taken less seriously if they are "too feminine." Perceptions about gender translate to pay inequity for women in all occupations (Cohen, 2007; Khoreva, 2011). Until women's networks include people of high rank, the corporate advancement of women will be stalled.

Summary Although there are merits to each of these explanations, evidence and consensus point out that the gender gap is clearly linked to the following factors:

1. The work women do—regardless of content, skill, or functional necessity—is less valued overall than the work men do.
2. The higher the number of women in the occupation, the lower the wages; the converse is true for male-dominated occupations. One-third of the wage gap is correlated with gender segregation.
3. Occupation, seniority and work experience, industry, race, and education combined explains less than half of the wage gap.
4. Regardless of the law, gender discrimination in the workplace endures.

Remember, too, that even given those factors that do account for a portion of the wage gap, these explanations should not substitute as *justifications* for it.

The stereotypes about the suitability of a job for men or women are pervasive. Why are women in symphony orchestras and on the podium rapidly beginning to reach parity with men? For years, the traditional excuse was that women lacked the stamina to play certain instruments or to conduct an orchestra. Today preliminary auditions are "blind," screening the musician from the evaluator. Gender and race are, of course, less obvious; any merit and talent cannot be easily dismissed (Miller, 2014). Research concludes that men are hired more often and paid more than women for what they do largely because they are men (Hartmann, 2008; Langdon and Klomegah, 2013; AAUW, 2014). Women's patterns of employment are different from men's, but for equal work, there is not equal pay.

Corporate Women

As women have increased their rate of labor force participation, they also are bringing in the education and expertise that make them excellent prospects for management-level positions. Education and expertise brought by women to their careers have translated into two important but paradoxical trends. Women are steadily increasing their share of management positions in corporations, and they are starting their own businesses at record levels. Understanding how gender plays out at the corporate level helps explain these seemingly opposing trends.

Corporate Barriers Women have made great strides in corporate advancements to middle management positions but have stalled in their ascendance to

upper management. To increase female representation in upper management in the 1980s, many businesses originally adopted a strategy in the addition of one woman to their corporate board of directors. However, because the vast majority of business promotion ladders were gender segregated, there were few women to draw from, a pattern that continues into the millennium. In viewing research on these trends, the Feminist Research Center (2000) states that "the rate of increase has been so slow that parity with men on corporate boards will not be achieved until the year 2116."

The Glass Ceiling For women at all ranks, but particularly women managers, barriers to upward mobility exist, including role conflict, gender stereotypes, lack of mentors, insufficient feedback and training, and isolation. Under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, sexual harassment in the workplace is illegal, but women throughout corporate America report that it continues to be pervasive. Issues of double standards in defining competence and isolation from powerful networks remain thorns in the side for corporate women. For example, high-echelon professional women in many occupations are likely to be judged differently from men in terms of their work performance, even when all characteristics except gender are the same (Johnson, 2008; O'Connell et al., 2008). Others report that they are denied entrance into the informal networks they need to understand the intricacies of the power structure that are the keys to corporate survival (Schipani et al., 2009). Encouraged to specialize in a small area of the corporate enterprise, women find themselves in networks that lack diversity, authority, and control. With job functions also specialized via gender, a corporate version of purdah emerges (Lindsey, 1992).

Women globally continue to report gender discrimination as the most frequent barrier to their advancement. In the elite ranks of the most powerful companies, regardless of the law and the fact that women bring with them human capital comparable to men, traditional gender bias emerges that effectively thwarts a woman's move up the corporate ladder (Metz and Tharenou, 2001; Johnson, 2008; Singh et al., 2008). Many of these patterns converge in a pattern referred to as the **glass ceiling**, describing women's failure to rise to senior level positions because of invisible and artificial barriers constructed by male management. Although lateral movement is possible, women are not able to advance hierarchically. It may be unintentional, but executives hire and promote according to a stereotypical masculine model categorizing men as more capable, commanding, aggressive, and objective leaders than women. Women's other family roles, especially as mother, are viewed as detrimental to leadership qualities. Workplaces are designed for a male worker who is unfettered by family and devoted to his job. The ideal corporate recruit also represents the "image" of those who hired him. Although this model virtually excluded men of color in senior management, this has fast declined in the last decade. The "white male model" is eroding, but the "male model" remains firm. The patriarchal world of senior management is upheld (Pichler et al., 2008; Trimbleon, 2012). Whether the gender discrimination inherent in the glass ceiling is intentional, the effect is the same: Women are excluded from the ranks of upper management.

Toward Corporate Success In cooperation with private enterprise, the federal government initiated a number of programs to counter the glass ceiling and provide incentives for businesses to encourage the upward track and thwart the mommy track agenda imposed on corporate women. Many programs, such as the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), focus on offering flexibility for women who are juggling career and family responsibilities. Although FMLA may be a foundation, many businesses offer a wider range of workplace benefits to retain and advance talented women (Compensation, 2008). These family-friendly policies also benefit men.

These initiatives are laudable, but there are criticisms. They are more beneficial for women moving from middle to upper management in companies that are already female friendly or that offer products and services geared to a female market. Cosmetics giant Avon, for example, has women in six of its ten board member slots. Women in the top rungs of major American corporations, however, remain scarce. Figures have fluctuated by a few percentage points up or down over the last two decades, but in the golden *Fortune 500,* only 23 CEOs are women. Women comprise 14 percent of executive offices and 16.9 percent of members of boards of directors (Catalyst, 2014). The experiences of high-level women, single or married, with or without children, who follow their career path as passionately, competitively, and diligently as comparable corporate men are unable to crack the glass ceiling (Eagly and Sczesny, 2009). Women not only represent half of the labor force, but also make up the majority of consumer purchasing decisions in their households. "The bottom line is if you want to serve the market, hire the market" (Perry, 2009). Unless "old style" gender bias is explicitly targeted, barriers to advancement will remain and qualified women will desert the ranks of corporations to go out on their own.

Women Business Owners

And indeed, they *are* going out on their own. Entrepreneurial women find that business formation is an alternative to management positions in large organizations. Research consistently demonstrates that the number one reason high-achieving corporate women desert firms is that they are denied access to the higher-level management positions and the decision-making power they believe they fully deserve. If they cannot achieve a larger role in running a company, they will start their own company. This trend is suggested in the following data (Center for Women's Business Research, 2008; NAWBO, 2009, 2014):

- Whether as partners with women or men or as sole proprietors, women-owned business firms represent almost one-third of all businesses in the United States, with one-fifth owned by women of color.
- Five times more women started small businesses in the 1990s compared with men, and in the last decade, the number of women-owned firms increased almost 20 percent.
- Sole proprietorships are increasing at double the rate of those owned by men; women own 40 percent of all sole proprietorships.
- Despite the recession, almost 9 out of 10 women business owners are optimistic about the economic outlook of their businesses and predict that more women will start their own. Despite the difficult economic challenges that all business

owners face today, women owners report no plans to reduce employment; close to one-fourth report they plan to add jobs.

Types of Businesses The businesses that women own may be grouped into two general categories. The first is a business enterprise developed around traditional areas of female work, such as services targeting women and retail trades. For example, women have businesses that do housecleaning, catering, closet organizing, and child care or they have small boutiques and stores offering specialty items and household products geared toward women. They are likely to employ less than ten people, most of whom are women working part-time. They are in peripheral economic niches that do not seriously compete with more powerful small companies owned by men. Women tend to be in competition more with other women in similar businesses than men. Women-owned businesses also tend to be concentrated in industries with low-volume sales that lack access to capital and government contracts and that are often in need of more management expertise. However, women view their small businesses as a way to be creative, gain autonomy and flexibility, and balance career with family responsibilities. They put in longer hours but enjoy their work. High commitments of time and energy are balanced by a great deal of personal satisfaction (Bond, 2003; Wilmerding, 2006).

A second category of women business owners includes those middle managers who encountered the glass ceiling and jumped into their own businesses before their "corporate clock" ran out. They astutely recognized the amount of career time needed to build a successful new business. They are the stockbrokers, banking executives, and financial managers who capitalize on the expertise, insights, and corporate experiences they gained from their previous employer. The message that this group of women sends is that companies will ultimately lose if they continue to limit the talent and ambition of their female employees. If women leave a company to start their own businesses or jump to another company, former employees will be competitors.

Companies also are acknowledging that profit, diversity, and inclusion go hand in hand. The human capital model may suggest that it is not the job of corporate boards to create cultural diversity. However, it *is* their job to create profit for shareholders, and diverse boards generate higher returns. Gender is a key component of diversity. As a result, companies are now more enthusiastic about seeking ways to shatter the glass ceiling and retain rather than thwart the upward mobility of their talented female executives (Zhang et al., 2009; Frost, 2014). In the organizational sense, the notion of "male corporate America" is redundant. Diversity is no longer a choice, but a necessity for companies to be successful.

Gendered Management Styles: The Partnership Alternative

Despite barriers to success, some research suggests that a woman's socialization pattern may offer an advantage to modern corporations. In sharp contrast to the traditional corporate hierarchy, women executives tend to develop leadership structures that fit with a workplace where innovation and creativity are necessary but where an authoritarian chain of command is obsolete (Helgesen, 1990:37). Women bring interpersonal skills gained outside the organization back into the organization. They

form friendships in the workplace that endure after leaving a job. In contrast, men give up significant parts of their private lives for corporate success in traditional business hierarchies, a situation detrimental to themselves, their families, and their employers (Faludi, 2000). For companies more receptive to alternative visions of corporate life, the distinctive management styles of women are encouraged. Women managers tend to adopt styles compatible with overall gender socialization patterns of females, such as encouraging participation, mentoring, sharing power and information, and interacting with all levels of employees.

To some extent, these patterns parallel culturally based *Japanese Style Managemen*t (JSM). This management model encourages a sense of employee community, an interest in employees' lives outside the office, consensus building, socioemotional bonding between employees and between management and labor, and a flattened management structure that is more egalitarian than hierarchical (Ohtsu, 2002). Principles of JSM are compatible with important American gender role socialization patterns for females (Lindsey, 1992, 1998; Chen, 2004). JSM also fits with partnership models emerging in innovative corporations with participative leadership styles emphasizing teamwork (Graham, 2003; Kantrowitz, 2005).

Critique Partnership models work best in smaller firms or in situations where close collaboration on projects is necessary, such as in companies carrying out scientific and technological work. Employee satisfaction is likely associated more with the type of task and the amount of teamwork required rather than with the gender of the employee. In addition, JSM models are losing ground in a global economy with a "sweeping conquest of American-style capitalist principles," where powerful corporate hierarchy is the rule and partnership the fast-eroding exception (Tokoro, 2005). Remaining firms in Japan that continue to embrace traditional JSM cannot be separated from the powerful prescribed rules of behavior according to which all Japanese live. Gender roles are even more tightly controlled within Japanese companies, and women executives in Japan are virtually nonexistent (Kimoto, 2005). Most important, the "celebration" of the female advantage in the workplace may lead to increased stereotyping and a reaffirmation of gender differences. The image of women as nurturers who smooth over problems may be as stereotypical as the image of men who create the problems.

On the positive side, the multicultural, diverse workplace is the emerging norm and businesses today recognize that "difference" does not mean better or worse or stronger or weaker. A partnership model is associated with a revision of the standard definition of success, for example, that acknowledges other employee roles, such as parent and caretaker, in the life of any employee.

Today's employees are more willing to trade compensation for quality of work life. When conflicts between work and family are resolved in favor of the job, it is usually—and initially—to the detriment of the worker and his or her family. But the detrimental effect carries over to the employer and to society (Cowan, 2007). Talented women often opt out of high-level positions not because of their lack of competitiveness or dedication, but because of the brutality associated with the corporate climb that is the antithesis of the partnership model. What is the potential effect of a new success model?

> Sanity, balance, and a new definition of success . . . just might be contagious. And instead of women being forced to act like men, men are being freed to act like women. Because women are more willing to leave (corporations), men are more willing to leave, too. . . . It is about a door opened . . . by women that could usher in a new environment for us all. (Belkin, 2003:86)

The door is open only a crack. A paradigm shift is needed for a partnership approach to be institutionalized as a new workplace norm. Companies adopting a partnership approach can benefit by recognizing that employee job satisfaction is critically linked to quality of life—both on and off the job.

Global Focus: Microenterprise and Women

Propelled by NGOs advocating for the world's poor, the informal sector of the global economy has been made more visible (Chapter 6). Because large-scale development projects have largely ignored the informal sector where most of the poorest of the poor work and reside, **microenterprise programs** to address their needs have arisen. These programs consist of core segments of income-earning manufacturing or agricultural activities located in or around the household. Microenterprise is linked to the buzzword in the development assistance community, **microcredit** or microenterprise lending, where groups of four or five borrowers receive small loans at commercial interest rates to start or expand small businesses and open their first savings accounts. Peer lending is a key feature of microcredit, so a group assumes responsibility for each other's loans: If one fails, they all fail.

Microcredit began almost 40 years ago when economics professor Muhammad Yunus founded the Grameen ("village") bank of Bangladesh and extended credit to people too poor to qualify for loans at other banks. The first microcredit lending came from his own pocket. He lent $26 to a group of 42 workers who bought materials for a day's work weaving chairs and making pots. At the end of the first day as independent business owners, they sold their wares, made a profit, and soon repaid the loan. The 62 cents per worker from the $26 loan began the microcredit movement. The Grameen program was astonishingly successful. Besides 97 percent of them repaying their loans at a 20 percent interest rate, their microenterprises became sustainable and allowed their families to survive. The large majority of the workers in these successful microenterprise programs were women.

Women and Microcredit

Microcredit works better for the very poor because the very poor are usually women. Muhammad Yunus noticed very early that women used profits from microenterprise activities to feed their children and build their businesses, whereas men spent profits on electronics and personal goods. Much research suggests that when women have disposable income, it is used in ways to sustain their family's long-term needs, such as nutrition, health care, and education. In addition, data on the first Grameen Bank borrowers showed women's loan repayment rates above 98 percent. Because social and economic benefits are much greater when money is loaned to women, the Grameen Bank decided to concentrate on them. For example, women

accounted for approximately 4 million Grameen borrowers in Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world. Rather than the burgeoning garment industry employing millions of young women in Bangladesh, Grameen was largely responsible for the decreasing poverty rate of women (Islam, 2007; Lucy et al., 2008).

The successes of Grameen Bangladesh have been replayed with microcredit schemes targeted at women in India, Egypt, Zambia, Bolivia, and other parts of the developing world (Navajas et al., 2000; Geloo, 2008; Moodie, 2008; Nader, 2008). It has been adapted in the United States in development efforts in agricultural areas of the South and in poor inner city neighborhoods in the Midwest and Northeast. Microcredit is particularly effective in the developing world because it is likely to have collectivistic cultures. In addition, microcredit capitalizes on gender socialization patterns that build cooperative networks among women from early in life.

Critique Lending money to women through microcredit is not without a downside. Some research indicates that when women are lent money, men may gain control of the funds, making loan repayment difficult. These women repay their loans, but often under intense pressure from their peers and bank, who may threaten public humiliation for failure to pay. Challenging cultural and religious norms about women's traditional roles also may increase household tension; in turn, domestic violence may escalate. Outside their homes, women's businesses have been targets of attacks (Blau et al., 2006; Kumari, 2008).

However, a more important factor has intruded that eclipses the earlier success of microcredit for women. The forces of globalization and neoliberal economic strategies (Chapter 6) have intruded on microcredit lending. The successful peer lending strategies, literacy, and entrepreneurial programs are eroding as for-profit financial institutions have entered the microcredit arena. Competing with international firms, for example, women lose markets for traditional crafts with cheap, low-quality imports and their micro businesses have higher failure rates. Unlike the nonprofit village bank model from which microcredit was spawned, a neoliberal-based banking industry often discounts the economic activities of the informal sector that comprise the majority of the work women perform (Lindsey, 2014:9). There is a loss of voice for women from NGOs that traditionally have been their front-line advocates. Some women-oriented NGOs are deploying a World Bank, neoliberal discourse, becoming co-opted by donors serving corporate and political interests (Calas and Bourne, 2009; Haase, 2012).

Microcredit lending offers poor women a step to empowerment, and women and their families, including men, benefit as a result. Globalization as practiced today has undermined that step. It remains to be seen whether microcredit can be reignited to the benefit of women.

For his efforts to create social and economic development for the world's poor using bottom-up approaches, Muhammad Yunus was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.

Summary

1. The increase of women in the labor force is linked to major changes in home and workplace. Employers are interested in how a woman's home life affects her workplace life.

2. Women always have held economically productive work roles connected to their homes. The Industrial Revolution opened paid work to women, but by the Victorian era, middle-class women had retreated to their homes. War encourages women to enter the labor force and has altered the gender composition of some fields, such as clerical work and teaching.
3. Employment is a major determinant of good health for both men and women. Multiple roles for women—the role accumulation view—including job, marriage, and children, have major health and emotional benefits. The role overload view argues that psychological problems occur when women are put into two full-time jobs. Poor, single-parent women are at most risk from role overload. Women in the sandwich generation who care for others are under added stress. Benefits of multiple roles outweigh liabilities.
4. Women make enormous contributions to the economy and their families by their unpaid labor. When a woman has a paycheck of her own, family dynamics change.
5. Both socialization into the family of orientation and into the family of procreation influence workplace roles. Girls hear messages about juggling family and employment that boys do not hear. Even in egalitarian marriages, wives spend more time on child care and household tasks than husbands do.
6. Career achievement for women is severely compromised by these tasks. Employers see women with children as a liability and often informally cast them into a mommy track in the workplace. Married men with children are seen as an asset. Gender stereotypes remain key factors in hiring and promotion.
7. The Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, affirmative action, and comparable worth have helped gender equity in the workplace and have reduced blatant workplace discrimination. Backlash against some of these provisions is occurring. Sex discrimination due to gender stereotyping in the workplace endures.
8. In the recession, women lost fewer jobs than men; women held on to lower-paying jobs more than men. Men were unable to hold onto higher-paying jobs. Men's advantages gradually returned during recovery. Men's unemployment decreased faster than women's. Women's job gains are explained by increases in the health care sector.
9. Women make up half of the professions but are distributed in those with less pay, power, and prestige, such as nursing and teaching for women and engineers and architects for men. Occupational segregation and gender-typing go hand in hand. Men in female-dominated fields have more advantages than women in male-dominated fields. Women are segregated in the lower-prestige specialties of elite fields such as medicine and law.
10. Women in white-collar jobs are clustered in clerical work or retail sales with male managers. Blue-collar women are largely absent from the skilled elite, such as electrician, carpenter, and plumber. Most blue-collar women are in low-level semiskilled jobs.
11. Men of all races outearn women regardless of age, occupation, seniority, and region. Gender, race, and class intersect to lower the wages of women of color. The human capital model, consistent with functionalism, explains the gender wage gap due to individual choices in education and family decisions. Social

constructionism and conflict theory explain it according to the power relations between men and women and cultural norms about masculine and feminine jobs.

12. Corporate women's advancement to top management stops when women hit the glass ceiling—the invisible barrier constructed by male management. Women who are thwarted in corporations may start their own businesses. Women-owned businesses are in two categories: traditional areas of female work in peripheral economic niches that compete with other women and businesses in which high-level managers compete with former employers.
13. Women's socialization may offer an advantage to modern corporations in that their management styles are compatible with partnership and consensus approaches. These approaches are linked to the success of Japanese firms. Celebrating the female advantage, however, may increase gender stereotyping.
14. Microcredit peer lending programs for very poor women in the developing world to start their own businesses are highly successful. If cultural obstacles are removed, these programs can offer women a major step in empowerment.

Key Terms

Affirmative action
Comparable worth
Emotional labor
Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)
Family of orientation
Family of procreation
Gender-typing
Glass ceiling
Human capital model
Microcredit
Microenterprise programs
Pink-collar jobs
Sandwich generation
Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act
Work–family spillover

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How do gender-typing in jobs and the gender wage gap violate assumptions about the economic system in the United States and the values associated with it? Evaluate policy approaches presented in this chapter on level of success in addressing these issues. Based on this evaluation, provide policy strategies that would be successful in minimizing gender-typing and the wage gap.
2. As an employer interested in maximizing the potential of your female employees, what benefit packages would you offer and what management tactics would you use? Demonstrate how these devices also will serve as advantages to your male employees.
3. Document the influences of women's unpaid work on their families, their jobs, and their societies according to functionalism and conflict theory. Then determine whether and/or how public policy should address the unpaid work issue. Which framework provides the better foundation for policy? Justify your selection.

CHAPTER 11

Education and Gender Role Change

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Briefly review historical trends related to social class on education in Europe and the United States and how these trends stalled education for girls.
2. Compare and contrast boy's and girl's schooling from kindergarten through high school based on the influence of gender.
3. Describe the gender consequences of higher education related to major, career paths, and graduate school.
4. Provide reasons for the narrowing but persistent gender gap in math.
5. Resolve the debate about whether boys or girls are shortchanged in education.
6. Identify reasons for the success of Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment Act.
7. List benefits for closing the education gender gap in the developing world and explain why the closing of the gap is stalled.

Math is hard said Barbie.

Mattel pulled "Teen Talk Barbie" from the shelves in 1992 over public outrage about how the doll's utterance, "math class is tough," reinforced gender stereotypes regarding girls and math. Regardless of Barbie, however, a hallmark of the twentieth century has been the rapid, perhaps extraordinary, educational achievement of girls and women, a pattern that continues today. This achievement is so spectacular that some argue any gender gap in education now favors girls over boys. Less than a decade after the demise of Teen Talk Barbie, Mattel unveiled Barbie P.C. (a pink computer for girls) and Hot Wheels P.C. for boys. For the same price, Barbie's computer was loaded with half of the software of the Hot Wheels computer. Barbie's computer did not get programs related to human anatomy, three-dimensional visualization, and logical thinking games. The boys lost out on fashion and shopping. As one columnist plaintively asks, "Can we please retire the claim that boy brains are hard-wired for math and girl brains are not?" (Headlam, 2000; Begley, 2008). This chapter examines varieties of educational gender gaps with an eye to debunking gender myths in education, particularly about the way boys and girls learn.

Compared to other social institutions, education is probably the most equitable. Like other nations in the developed world, the United States is oriented to *credentialism*—an individual's qualifications for a job or another position are based on formal education or training. A college degree is the minimum credential for the most prestigious and financially rewarding positions. Parents are concerned about quality of teaching, curriculum, information technology, and the range of resources and opportunities schools can provide. The issue of equity for parents often focuses on the amount of public funds reserved for their school district. Regardless of funding, concerned parents would be dismayed to discover that their sons and daughters experience the educational process quite differently—even when seated in the same classroom. Education is a sorting process designed to benefit students and society, but gendered schooling brings benefits for some students and liabilities for others. In the most equitable of America's social institutions, the gender of the child becomes a key determinant in his or her educational journey.

A Brief Lesson in History

Western history demonstrates that education in general and literacy in particular, was reserved for the elite. Until the eighteenth century, the vast majority of people—both men and women—were excluded from any formal learning. During the classical Greek and Roman era (dating from about the first century C.E.), the sons of the wealthy and selected young men in other social classes were taught reading, writing, and mathematics necessary for the economic, political, and military functioning of their homes and society. Certain upper-class women were educated in the arts, learned poetry, and were trained in music to entertain household guests. This tradition continued into the Middle Ages and served to reinforce the image of women as sources of diversion from a tedious world.

Christianity enveloped Europe during the Middle Ages and established a stronghold in all social institutions. Because literacy was necessary for nuns, convent schools were established. The few other wealthy women who attended these schools became part of a system in which learning was designed to produce socially proper behavior and ensure sexual purity. Functionalists suggest that even the mediocre education of this era supported social values that a woman's duty was to her husband or, if entering the convent, to the church. With church social and political domination, the family reinforced the religious values of a woman's piety, purity, and devotion to hearth and home. By the seventeenth century, however, even these few educational opportunities for women in convents deteriorated, fueled by the fear that communities of educated, semi-independent women might prove dangerous to absolute church authority. Whereas many convents worked to preserve their intellectual traditions, nuns were rendered powerless in church decisions affecting them. Thus, despite the rise of universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the profound impact of the Renaissance, education was aimed at the sons of nobility and the emerging bourgeoisie, who would engage in business, become scholars and clerics, or enter the professions of law and medicine.

The Enlightenment

Rumblings of education for both genders and all classes came with the Enlightenment. During this period, Jean-Jacques Rousseau published *Emile* (1762), a book destined to become one of the most influential works in the history of education. In describing a man, Emile, and a woman, Sophie, who would be Emile's wife, Rousseau suggested that men and women are inherently different in abilities. A man must be schooled or trained according to his natural talents and encouraged to cultivate his mind and spirit without restraint or coercion. A woman, however, is passive and weak and should be humbly submissive, accepting a man's judgment in all matters. Rousseau would not deny literacy to women, but he believed a woman's schooling should be practically oriented; otherwise, intellectual pursuits could wreak havoc on her naturally fragile temperament. Education for women must correspond to the roles they freely choose, those of wife and mother. Women have power over men because they have power over men's hearts. Men have power over women because they provide for women's economic upkeep. Women gain more from their dependence on men and less from education (Green, 1995:79). Rousseau justified gender inequality because he believed that the patriarchal family was a necessary precondition for modern society, founded on a woman's acceptance of her subservience to a man.

Progressive Education

Considered radical at the time, Rousseau's discourses on the education of boys from all social classes laid the foundation for the twentieth-century Progressive Education movement. His views on women were not as controversial because they reflected widespread convictions about a woman's nature. Because Progressive Education championed the idea of civic egalitarianism, the so-called leveling effects of the Enlightenment were directed at glaring differences in social class. Rousseau's defense of civic egalitarianism, however, is weaker because he failed to account for the interdependent relationship between gender and class that perpetuates women's subordination and served to undermine efforts at social class equality. For sociological theory, an interesting contradiction results. Sounding like Marx and conflict theorists, Rousseau advocated social change that would increase class equality. But the final outcome was decidedly functionalist, in support of a patriarchal family considered to be the moral structure on which social order rests. Education for women, therefore, was not only impractical and unwise, but also detrimental to social stability.

Other voices heard during the eighteenth century did call for gender equality in education. In France, the Marquis de Condorcet declared that government should provide education for all people and that it had a duty to instruct both boys and girls in common. Equality and justice demanded it. Madame de Lambert advised women to study Latin, philosophy, and science to bolster their resources because other roads to success were closed to them. She bitterly lamented that women have but "coquetry and the miserable function of pleasing" as their wealth (Greard, 1893). The true spirit of the Enlightenment emerged in the late nineteenth century in Europe and the United States when policies advocating free and compulsory

education for all children were adopted. A half century later these principles were strengthened in the United States during the civil rights movement when the issue of equality of opportunity was seriously debated.

Americans wholeheartedly embrace the belief that education is the key vehicle for social mobility and economic success. Equality in education is assumed during the school years. Yet when the female kindergarten teacher removes Dick's mittens and helps Jane take off her coat, by virtue of gender alone, their educational journey will contain fundamental differences.

The Process of Education

When children enter the classroom, already established gender role patterns follow them (Chapter 3). These patterns are reinforced and reproduced throughout all educational levels and in all types of educational institutions. These gendered patterns are grounded in both the formal curriculum—such as textbooks, course requirements, grading scales, and standardized tests—and the powerful **hidden curriculum**, consisting of all of the informal and unwritten norms that serve to control students, including expectations about gender.

Kindergarten and Early Childhood Education

Preschool is now normative, introducing children to their first educational expectations. Research clearly documents that gender segregation occurs swiftly in preschool and that it is reinforced by teacher expectations, gendered play and game activities, types of toys, and desires of the children themselves (Fromberg, 2005; Koch and Irby, 2005). The transition to more formal learning begins with kindergarten and follows from these preset patterns. Kindergarten classrooms are usually extensions of familiar household surroundings. Classes allow for the gradual structuring of the child's day so that ample time is set aside for play activities. Both boys and girls enjoy the time reserved for playing with the variety of toys and games available, many of which they have at home or have seen on television.

Jane When play period begins, girls rush off to the mini kitchen reserved for them. Here Jane can pretend to cook, set the table, and clean with miniature household devices that are designed for her small hands. This miniature house comes complete with dolls on which she can hone domestic skills. Because the doll corner is not designed for vibrant, rough-and-tumble play, Jane may be less restricted if she is wearing a dress or sandals. Girls are princesses, brides, models, and mothers in this part of the kindergarten world, fantasies easily acted out in the way the classroom is structured (Kuznets, 1999; Blakemore, 2005). But Jane also wears jeans and sneakers. This clothing does not prevent her from running with the other children and climbing on equipment in the playground. Girls may envy the boys as they display more power and freedom in their play behavior, but that envy is tempered by the teacher's obvious disapproval of the boys' boisterous classroom behavior. Jane gains more approval from classmates and teachers for her quiet demeanor and studiousness.

Although Jane may occasionally exchange the domestic roles of the doll corner for kickball and action-oriented fantasy games during recess, the pull to the doll corner as a representation of home and babies is powerful and reigns supreme throughout kindergarten. Jane rarely plays with the boys and prefers playing house or, when outdoors, jumping rope with a few friends.

Kindergarten continues a process of self-selected gender segregation that increases throughout the school years. As we saw in Chapter 3, gender of same-age peers is the best predictor of choice of playmates, including race. Gender-segregated play groups during early childhood education have powerful socialization outcomes. Children are acquiring distinctive interaction skills that can hamper cross-gender relationships later in life.

Dick Meanwhile, Dick enters kindergarten more unprepared for the experience than Jane. His higher level of physical activity is incompatible with the sedate atmosphere of school. He is soon aware that his teacher approves of the quieter children—and the quieter children are usually the girls. Rather than gaining the teacher's attention by copying the girls and being labeled a sissy by the boys, he plays games that are physically vibrant and selects toys that reinforce these activities (Thorne, 1993, 2002). When Dick is expected to engage in quieter activities such as art, he chooses to draw gender-stereotyped pictures—such as those depicting outdoor scenes associated with fighting, building, and demolishing. Dick discovers that the teacher pays attention to the children who are more disruptive—and the more disruptive children are usually the boys. He also may feel that it is better to be reprimanded than ignored.

Physical space in the early childhood classroom is highly gendered. When boys venture into the doll corner, they use the area and the toys differently than the girls. Boys use domestic-type toys to stage games based on fighting and destruction—turning plastic utensils into swords and plates into shields, for example. When boys play with Barbie, they often "sexualize" her or even turn her into a weapon (MacNaughton, 2007:266). Teachers who otherwise encourage imaginative play will not allow disruption and conflict in the classroom, and boys are banished from the area (Jordan and Cowan, 2004).

Dick and his friends favor trucks, action figures, and building blocks as toys. These toys are more mechanical, complicated, computerized, and motorized than Jane's toys. Numerical board games and building blocks that boys prefer offer ways to hone spatial-visual and manipulative skills. Dick will have an early edge over Jane in experiences to better understand math and physical science (Polnick and Funk, 2005; Casey et al., 2008). Girls, too, enjoy building things. A girl may wander over to join the louder and seemingly more interesting activities of the boys. She is likely to be discouraged from long-term participation, however, by their rough-and-tumble play and the very spiritedness of the activities to which she was originally attracted. In and outside the classroom, these activities reward boys for being independent, active, and assertive and punish them for engaging in behavior defined by their peers as sissy. Beliefs about masculinity are enforced even in early childhood education (Blaise, 2005). School norms call for docility and quietness, realms in which girls feel more at ease. It is understandable that boys often find their first school experiences unsettling.

Elementary and Middle School

For girls, elementary school and middle school are sites of achievement. They receive higher grades than boys, and they exceed boys in most areas of verbal ability, reading, and mathematics. Teachers also put a premium on being good and being tidy, which may account for fewer negative comments given to girls. High achievement coupled with low criticism would appear to be an ideal learning environment. Yet the message also communicated to girls early in their education is that they are less important than boys.

Jane and the Gendered Curriculum Compared to boys, girls are called on less, have less overall interaction with teachers, and get less criticism but also receive less instructional time. When teachers criticize boys for inadequate academic work, they suggest that it is lack of effort rather than intelligence that is the cause (Burnett, 2002; Weinstein et al., 2007). Research demonstrates that elementary school teaches boys that problems are challenges to overcome; it often teaches girls that failure is beyond their control. As symbolic interactionists suggest, a self-fulfilling prophecy may be set into motion if girls internalize the notion that they have less intellectual ability, in turn discouraging them from tackling more difficult courses. Compliance in girls serves to weaken intellectual risk-taking.

Although curricular material is more egalitarian today, stereotyped gender portrayals are prevalent. Decades of research on such material demonstrates that girls are depicted much less frequently than boys and, when depicted, are in stereotyped roles promoting traditional femininities in marginalized, insignificant positions. Even as main characters, girls are less powerful than boys and girls are in roles promoting traditional femininities and stereotypes. Children's books may show girls as brave and adventuresome, but when girls attempt to do exciting things, they have to be rescued by boys. Girls who are princesses often marry the boys who rescue them (Evans and Davies, 2000; Taber and Woloshyn, 2011; Leland et al., 2013). Rarely do stories show gender-egalitarian roles devoid of stereotypes.

Gender stereotyping in education has received national attention. It would be expected, therefore, that current instructional materials reflect more realistic and expanded roles for both genders. The research evidence is mixed. Children continue to read books with characters in traditional gender roles. Women and girls are portrayed as dependent, cooperative, submissive, and nurturing, whereas men and boys are portrayed as independent, creative, aggressive, competitive, and assertive. Research on textbooks that teach reading, social studies, and even mathematics demonstrate that less importance is attached to girls—especially girls of color—by the number of female characters represented and the stereotyped roles they play. On the other hand, numbers and types of female characters have increased, and less stereotyped portrayals are evident. Girls are now more likely to be shown in the world of paid work. They are more frequently depicted in sports, although in traditional female sports such as gymnastics and ice skating rather than basketball or soccer. Although gender parity has not been reached, strides toward less stereotyped female portrayals are evident in textbooks at all school levels (Woyshner, 2006).

Dick and the Gendered Curriculum Boys are experiencing elementary and middle school quite differently. They do not easily adjust to a classroom environment that emphasizes silence and inactivity, with teachers reprimanding them more. Boisterous, competitive boys are more likely to receive lower grades compared to quiet, cooperative girls. When boys learn that more effort and less disruptive classroom behavior will increase teacher approval, their self-esteem is protected. Teachers talk to them more about the subject matter, listen more to their complaints and questions, and praise them most for their intellectual competence. Although teachers maintain that they do not treat girls and boys differently, boys shout out answers to questions, whether right or wrong, and get attention. Girls raise their hands and get ignored (Sadker and Sadker, 1994, 2002; Guzzetti et al., 2002).

Textbooks and readers in elementary school are replete with male main characters doing interesting and exciting things, both in occupational and recreational activities. Boys see males of all ages in front of computer screens filled with numbers, diagrams, and formulas. As early as second grade, boys identify with math more strongly than girls do (Dario et al., 2011). They see active and resourceful adult males who are jobholders and boys of their own age who build, create, and discover as well as protect and rescue girls (Hunter and Chick, 2005; Porche, 2007). Men are scientists, firefighters, and police officers. They are involved in a variety of sports activities. Males are also cast into father roles, but these roles are given less coverage and less importance than breadwinner/career depictions. Joint father–children activities are rarely portrayed, including those involving father–son. Newer textbooks do show boys engaging in nontraditional roles, such as babysitting and household work, but the gendered curriculum bias for boys binds Dick to expectations for high achievement in career roles. The fact that he also will be a husband and father is disregarded.

In all these roles, Dick is taught to be strong and tough. Emotional displays such as outward signs of fear, hardship, and sorrow are disapproved. Anger is the only emotion that is somewhat tolerated as long as it does not revert to bullying or fighting. Although Dick may find aspects of elementary school frustrating and confusing, curricular materials confirm his anticipated masculine role and serve to strengthen his identity as eventual wage earner.

Overall, research on the impact of gender-typed curricular materials concludes that gender role attitudes of elementary and middle school students are compromised. Instructional materials that perpetuate gender role stereotyping in turn reinforce gender-typed beliefs, with children in the younger grades being most susceptible.

High School

Whereas in elementary school girls are confident and assertive, they experience a sharp drop in self-esteem in middle school, entering high school with a poorer self-image (Langlois, 2006). As measured by standardized tests and grades, achievement for girls in reading and writing tends to plateau and their middle school advantage in math begins to decline. Boys' reading scores plateau or show slight declines. On the other hand, boys experience consistent gains in self-confidence, and they

believe that they are good at many things, but especially in math and physical science, where they are beginning to excel. As early as second grade, boys identify with math more strongly than girls.

The Paradox of Gender and Mathematics Research on the link between gender and math is abundant, complex, and often confusing. The data summarized below suggest this confusion.

A high school gender gap in math has disappeared:

- High school girls have caught up with boys in overall math performance. They take as many advanced math courses today as boys do. Average scores on most standardized tests are virtually the same, and girls do as well as boys on equally complex questions. Boys and girls appear to tap into different skill sets to solve the math questions, but the different paths lead to the same results (Dar-Nimrod and Heine, 2007; McCormick, 2007; Hyde et al., 2008).
- Girls do as well as or better than boys in advanced classes, in classes when girls equal or outnumber boys, and in classes taught by women. Girls do better when "math-identified" adult female role models are available. Both boys and girls are greatly influenced by peers who have good grades. These friends are gauges to determine whether to take math classes at all and which ones to take. This peer connection is stronger for girls. When all these social and structural factors are controlled for, gender differences in math performance vanish (Lesko and Corpus, 2006; Crosnoe et al., 2008; Gundersen et al., 2011).

A high school gender gap in math has not disappeared:

- When verbal processes are used in math questions, girls outperform boys. When spatial–visual processes are used, boys outperform girls. Boys do better on multiple-choice items and girls do better on extended response items, although these differences are slight (Beller and Gafni, 2000; Lichtenberger and Kaufman, 2007).
- Boys are more proficient at math when tests require more complex problem solving, such as the SAT taken by high school seniors. The SAT is the key standardized test that continues to show a significant gender gap in math. In overall math competency, boys enter college with better grades and the prerequisites needed for science- and math-based majors such as actuarial science and engineering (Gallagher et al., 2000).

The persistent pattern showing a slight male edge in math proficiency continues to be seized to conclude that there are biologically based sex differences in analytic ability, interest, *and* motivation to pursue math and science. The biology argument for gender differences in math and physical science uses everything from chromosomes, hormones, brain organization, evolutionary mandates, and genetic codes to explain the male edge (Berenbaum and Resnick, 2007; Geary, 2007; Haier, 2007). Some researchers focus on gender differences in the rate of development that may more or less favor one gender or the other from early childhood to young adulthood (Lubinski and Benbow, 2007). Biology may not be dismissed as *a* factor in exploring any gender gap in math proficiency, but it clearly is not *the* factor. Refined measurement techniques are yielding results showing many more gender similarities than gender differences.

Explaining the Paradox The better argument is that sociocultural factors propel boys but deter girls in mathematics and science. Except for biology, girls are less likely to take courses in high school that allow entrance into high-paying science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) occupations after college (National Science Foundation, 2007; Ceci and Williams, 2007; Cheryan, 2012). Perhaps the strongest evidence against natural differences favoring boys in math is that cross-cultural research shows girls in many nations matching or exceeding math performance of boys not only within their own nations, but also in the United States and Canada (Hyde, 2007; Tsui, 2007). In more gender equitable nations, girls and boys perform equally well in math. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) assesses 15-year-olds on knowledge and skills for example, in math, science, and reading) needed for full participation in modern societies. In only 38 out of 65 countries, boys performed better than girls in math, and in 5 countries, girls outperformed boys (OECD, 2012). Any existing math gender gap is certainly mediated by culture. Despite continued weakening of the "innate differences" argument, the belief that math ability is grounded in unalterable biological factors remains powerful. Highly motivated girls in advanced physics and math classes, for example, encounter both teachers and classmates who believe girls are not as bright as boys. As mentioned by one girl,

> . . . I guess I feel a little bit as a girl, kind of not taken as seriously sometimes . . . like my opinion doesn't count as much . . . Like in math and science . . . which is supposed to be harder (but), more people just kind of didn't listen to you. (Rodriguez, 2006:73)

Girls who accept the stereotype that they are not naturally (biologically) suited for math often track these beliefs to negative outcomes that include heightened math anxiety, poorer performance on timed tests, and avoidance of any courses based on "numbers." Parents and teachers inadvertently shape girls' beliefs about math. If girls believe that their abilities are influenced by the environment and can be changed, math performance improves; if they believe that "girls can't do math," their performance scores decrease. As early as second grade, boys identify with math more strongly than girls and have a more positive self-concept about it (Jordan and Lovett, 2007; Dario et al., 2011; Smeding, 2012). Social constructionism asserts that untold damage is done when girls believe math ability is a genetic gift and they can never be successful regardless of their amount of effort.

High-profile media accounts reinforce these beliefs. Lawrence Summers, economist and President of Harvard, unleashed an uproar for suggesting that women do not have the same "natural ability" as men for math. These innate sex differences explain the underrepresentation of women in math and science faculty and careers. Although acknowledging that discrimination also may be a factor, he suggested that behavioral genetics shows that "things people previously attributed to socialization weren't due to socialization at all" (Bombardieri, 2005; Pollitt, 2005). He was ultimately unseated for these remarks. Investigators need to carefully monitor how their results are interpreted, especially when stories about connections between genes and math ability are grossly simplified in the media (*Science Daily*, 2007). Any lingering gender gap in math competence is better explained by gender factors due to culture rather than sex factors due to biology.

Social Class and Race Research confirms that in both high school and college, race and social class are better predictors for academic performance, including math and science, than is gender. White middle-class children of both genders outperform children of other races as well as children from lower- and working-class backgrounds (Sacks, 2007). In academic achievement overall, Britain has been successful in significantly narrowing the gender educational gap, but seemingly insurmountable social class inequalities persist. Like the United States, Britain has lagged in strong educational policy that can address these class issues meaningfully (Themelis, 2012). African American and Latino high school boys, who are disproportionately from poor families, are particularly vulnerable. Although gender differences in achievement are declining in all racial and ethnic groups, minority males are more likely to be at the academic bottom and to drop out of high school compared to girls of all races and white boys (Clarkwest, 2007). Adding to social class vulnerability, African American boys tend to be rated academically and socially as less competent (Parks and Kennedy, 2007). Symbolic interaction and social constructionism assert that such labels can severely compromise a student's motivation for academic success as they navigate their high school classrooms.

Gender Diversity: Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement Academic success, especially in math and science, is strongly related to level of self-esteem among high school girls. When a high school girl enjoys tackling difficult courses, she also feels good about herself and her schoolwork, sees herself as important, and feels better about her relationships. Perceived ethic and racial discrimination adds to the self-esteem picture. The drop in self-esteem that girls experience by the time they enter high school is more pronounced for Latino girls, who start out with the highest level of self-esteem for girls of all races and end with the highest school dropout rates (Adams et al., 2006; Featherstone, 2010; Zeiders et al., 2013).

African American girls receive the same messages other girls receive in high school—that girls are less important than boys. But African American girls tend to retain their sense of self-esteem despite negative messages from teachers and difficulties with academic achievement. Self-esteem is bolstered by positive education messages from family, especially mothers, and perceived school-based social support. In turn, these promote positive achievement outcomes (Cunningham and Swanson, 2010). They listen to their own voices rather than accept devaluing judgments from others (Gilligan et al., 1995).

Girls of color clearly understand the reality of racism and know that education will not translate into the economic rewards relative to whites with the same credentials. However, Jeanne Weiler's research on "at-risk" female students attending an alternative high school in New York suggests that young girls of color value academic achievement as the best route to improve their economic future. A Puerto Rican girl implies the achievement paradox:

> I'll either get a job or go to college. Well, this is really what I want to do after I get out of high school. I'm going to go into the army and I'll get the G.I. bill for college. . . . (Weiler, 2000:76)

This research also shows that girls of color are more likely to come from families where women are the sole or dominant wage earners and attach more importance

to further schooling than do white girls; the latter bet more on marriage for economic security. Weiler speculates that although the high school offers compelling messages about a diploma or degree as the most important route to a good job, white girls internalize the louder gender message that marriage is the better economic guarantee. Weiler's research offers insight into the connections between race and class in patterns of female achievement in high school.

Gendered Tracking and Vocational Education Historically committed to the less powerful of society, vocational education (VE) serves the noncollege bound. Although college attendance for racial and ethnic minorities and students from working-class backgrounds has skyrocketed, these are the groups largely enrolled in VE. Vocational education is sharply gender segregated, and contrary to perception, more girls than boys are enrolled. Girls from working-class families represent a large share of its students. Many of these girls do not see college as a realistic or desirable option, and marriage looms as the alternative. Obtaining a marketable skill for employment immediately out of high school is needed until they marry and for supplementary household income later.

Girls are tracked into clusters of courses related to clerical skills, health assistance, beauty (cosmetology and manicuring), and retail sales. Boys are tracked into courses clustered in mechanical (electrical and plumbing) and automotive trades and information technology. VE options for boys have higher economic returns after high school. Girls are the overwhelming majority in vocational programs that are based on household skills. Despite the desire to earn a paycheck, such programs for girls mirror the cultural assumption—but not the economic reality—that working outside the home is optional for women. The myth of female dependence on males for income is not a benign one. When young women graduate from high school with severely restricted career options, it translates into poor economic outcomes that are worsened by divorce and single parenthood (Chapter 8). Overall, high school VE for girls is geared to the noncollege bound who marry and, when they do work outside the home, wind up in low-paying, dead-end jobs.

Recent federal legislation is helping to open VE for training in higher-paying fields, offered as explicit options to both genders (Magnuson, 2005). Improving gender equity in vocational education empowers all students. But a remaining problem is that gender equity is hampered by high school gender codes that keep boys and girls from venturing too far off traditional paths.

Gender in the Hidden Curriculum The confusion of earlier school years for boys begins to evaporate as they are rewarded more for their independence. Dick's grades have improved, and he is able to demonstrate his talents in courses (shop and automobile mechanics) and sports (wrestling and football) specifically geared to boys.

Enrollment by girls in courses traditionally designed for boys is exploding, but boys are less inclined to take courses associated with traditional feminine activities. When course titles do not reflect the so-called feminine content, such as "Bachelor Living" and "Home Mechanics," boys enroll more freely. Changing the title of a course to entice male enrollment may be pandering and serves to devalue courses that females take, but these courses provide boys with needed practical domestic skills, such as cooking, child care, home maintenance, and household organization.

Other school mechanisms help perpetuate the gendered high school system. For example, both genders take the same academic courses, such as history, but as in elementary and middle school, these courses demonstrate that "boys do" and "girls don't." In history books, when women are mentioned, it is usually in the context of a traditional role—Betsy Ross for sewing and Florence Nightingale for nursing—or of becoming notable because of marriage to famous men—from Jackie Kennedy to Ivana Trump. The few women who are portrayed conform to a stereotypical image of what women are supposed to be. The content of history courses in college is beginning to reflect current ideas about diversity in general and women in particular, but this trend is lagging in high schools. Controversial men are portrayed. Controversial women are omitted.

The achievement and career interest tests taken by high school students also continue a consistent androcentric bias, from the content to the pronouns used. College and career counseling in high school frequently continues this bias. Gender bias by counselors is a problem that can affect students' attitudes to career selection, choice of major subjects, or even willingness to pursue a college education (Sciarra et al., 2007). Women are gaining in leadership roles in education, but staffing patterns overall demonstrate to students and community alike that males continue to hold most positions of authority. The male high school principal reports to the male school superintendent who regularly meets with a predominantly male school board. Even among lower-level school staff, a gender hierarchy exists. In both pay and prestige, for example, female cafeteria workers are ranked lower than male janitors. Women are gaining higher-level administrative positions in education, but not fast enough to change these patterns.

Acknowledging the insidious nature of these latent but powerful gendered codes, successful intervention strategies are widespread. Programs supported by the Gender Equity Education Act of 1995 fund initiatives designed to raise the gender consciousness of educators and help them understand how cultural beliefs influence their work with students. Programs are in place to encourage girls in math and science and boys in reading and home economics. It is in high school athletics, however, where much progress is reported, but where many obstacles to gender equity remain.

Athletics and Masculinity Achievement on the playing fields of high schools across the United States is strongly linked to community and school pride. How does this achievement affect those who strive for coveted team sports? Girls who succeed in high school athletics feel good about themselves and are viewed favorably by their peers. Attractiveness and popularity with boys, however, remain the best gauges to judge prestige for girls. Athletic success provides the same function for boys. From early childhood, boys hear powerful messages that athletic accomplishment is a key barometer to judging a man's success. This is an accurate assessment. Because of the billion-dollar sports–media connection, these messages are in fact stronger than at any other time in history. Boys see the money and personal glory associated with sports. They also see the athletes themselves who are even more admired for the injuries, fights, and general mayhem that occur on and off the football field, basketball court, or ice rink.

Sports demonstrate the importance of competition and allows participants to gain confidence, concentration, and courage, all traits associated with successful

American males (Chapter 9). These functions of sports, however, are tempered with a potential downside: Relationships with coaches and teammates socialize boys to defer to a powerful male status hierarchy that supports the acceptance of pain and the denigration of women. Football in particular perpetuates patriarchy and male privilege through bonding relationships with figures such as coaches who are more dominant than the athletes (Sabo and Panepinto, 2001). Boys who gauge themselves by sports and cannot measure up to their peers or achieve their personal best in the grueling hierarchy of high school athletics often feel inadequate and unpopular. Athletic failure is associated with a loss of self-confidence and poor educational outcomes for boys. These values will not accept academic achievement as a substitute for athletic rewards. A masculine gender identity is formed and polished by sports. This identity may be tarnished if a boy succeeds in coeducational sports, especially if a girl can outperform a boy in the same athletic competition. Such a belief not only discourages coed teams, but also provides ammunition that implicitly deprecates those activities where girls can succeed at an equal or better level than boys.

The importance attached to high school athletics is measured by the financial and organizational support given to male compared to female sports. At all levels of education, boys' teams have better equipment and facilities, more space for practice and competition, and higher-paid coaches than comparable girls' teams (Chapter 14). Both boys' and girls' teams are likely to be administered by men. Scouts representing major college and professional teams routinely scrutinize successful high school teams. It is understandable that athletics is viewed as a road to success for high school males. This is a gilded road for those boys who intend to pursue college on an athletic scholarship.

Higher Education

If high school has done its job well, all qualified students will pursue a college education. For whites, African Americans, and Latinos, gender gaps favoring males in high school and college graduation rates largely disappeared by the 1990s; today the gender gap in both favors females (Table 11.1). A college degree is largely equivalent to what a high school diploma was merely 20 years ago. Ideally, college should be the key educational institution that evaluates students largely on academic achievement and the potential for success. But the lessons of high school are not easily forgotten.

The Gendered College Classroom Men find that academic life exemplifies a male mode of performance. The values of competition, individualism, and aggressive classroom debates are stronger than in high school. College men quickly learn the value of catching the attention of faculty who will be instrumental for later graduate work. Men's self-esteem continues to improve and soon outpaces that of their women classmates.

Women entering college experience a small, but measurable drop in self-esteem. In addition to anxiety about major and career, college women express concern about career–family conflict as they plan their future (Chapter 7). Self-esteem also is threatened by their belief that the campus climate is a "chillier" one for them (Sandler, 2004). Women discover early that they receive less faculty encouragement

TABLE 11.1 High School and College Graduation Rates by Gender and Race, Selected Years

	Total			White		African American		Latino	
Year	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Percentage of 25 to 29 Year Olds Who Completed High School									
1971	77.7	79.0	76.5	83.0	80.5	56.7	60.5	51.4	45.8
1981	86.3	86.5	86.1	89.7	89.9	78.8	76.6	59.1	60.4
1991	85.4	84.9	85.8	89.2	90.4	83.6	80.1	56.4	57.1
2001	87.7	86.9	88.6	93.0	93.6	87.5	86.7	59.4	67.2
2007	87.0	84.9	89.1	92.7	94.2	87.4	87.9	60.5	70.7
2013	89.9	88.3	91.5	93.3	94.9	87.8	92.5	73.1	78.8
Percentage of 25 to 29 Year Olds with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher									
1971	17.1	20.4	13.8	22.4	15.4	6.9	6.6	8	2.6
1981	21.3	23.1	19.6	25.5	21.7	12.1	11.1	8.6	6.5
1991	23.2	23	23.4	26.5	26.9	11.5	10.5	8.1	10.4
2001	28.6	26.2	31.1	29.7	36.3	17.9	17.8	9.1	13.3
2007	29.6	26.3	33	31.9	39.2	19.9	20	8.6	15.4
2013	33.6	30.2	37.0	37.1	43.8	17.4	23.2	13.1	18.6

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, *Current Population Survey*, March Supplement, 1971–2007 (Adapted from Tables 25-1 and 25-3); *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2013. Adapted from Table 104.20. nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_104.20.asp.

for their work and will be listened to less and interrupted more than their male classmates. Almost half of women report instances of gender discrimination in their treatment in and outside the classroom by instructors, administrators, and classmates. This chilly climate can negatively affect a woman's personal and intellectual development.

Major and Career Paths Women are rapidly entering male-dominated majors; men entering female-dominated majors is not nearly as evident. Women's enrollments in graduate and professional school have soared and are projected to climb even further (Figure 11.1). Women earn over half of doctorates in fields other than science and engineering. Biology is the exception: More than half of all biology degrees—B.S., M.A., and Ph.D.—are awarded to women. Gains in professional degrees have been steady; women now have a majority in medicine and other health science professional programs (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). Considering that opportunities for women to pursue higher education are relatively recent, these numbers are impressive.

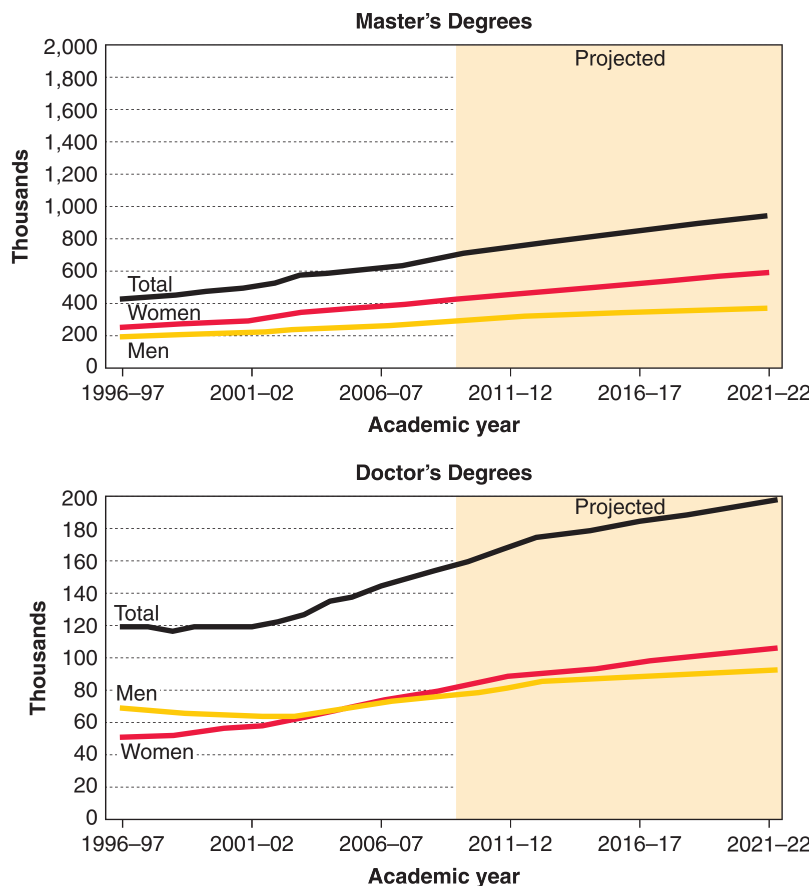

FIGURE 11.1

Master's and Doctor's Degrees Conferred by Gender, Academic Years 1997–1997 to 2009–2010 and Projected to 2021–2022

Source: National Center for Education Statistics *Projections of Education Statistics to 2021* (p. 27). nces.ed.gov/pubs2013/2013008.pdf.

Despite these advances, college women find it easier to choose the well-traveled gender road of majoring in the arts and humanities, in teaching, and in nursing. During the last decade, the desegregation of majors stalled not only because of women's slowdown in making less traditional choices, but also because men were disinclined to enter fields with "too many" women (England and Li, 2006:657). Half of women who enter college with interest in STEM fields switch to other majors. Since 2000, there has been a dramatic 79 percent decline in first-year undergraduate women majoring in computer science. The math–gender link described earlier comes into play. Insufficient precollege preparation, gender stereotypes about women's suitability for math and science, few female role models and mentors, and lack of peers in the field are key factors in explaining these choices (Carrell et al., 2010; NCWIT, 2012). Most majors continue to demonstrate

significant levels of gender segregation (Figure 11.2). Compared to women, men are distributed in a wider variety of majors and dominate the most competitive areas of architecture and STEM majors. The majority of noneducation doctorates and master's degrees in science are awarded to men. These majors lead to jobs in expanding, more lucrative fields such as engineering, biomedical technology, and computer science. The gender gap in starting salary for new college graduates can be explained by the gender differences in college major (McDonald and Thornton, 2007). Men dominate the most influential fields where graduate work is required and are at the top of the prestige hierarchy within them. In medicine, men are surgeons and women are pediatricians. Men practice international law, and women practice family law. Female nurses are in clinical roles, and male nurses are in administrative roles.

Women are concentrated in nursing, literature, home economics, social work, psychology, education, and library science. Although these majors offer jobs that are vital to society, female-dominated fields garner less pay and more competition for the fewer job slots available (Chapter 10). For the behavioral sciences, almost 80 percent of B.A.s in psychology are awarded to women, a number that is expected to increase. Sociology and history are among the few undergraduate majors and graduate fields with relative gender parity. The gender effects of the college experience largely account for these patterns. The culmination of college or graduate school—whether as holder of a B.A., an M.D., or a Ph.D.—also is the end of an educational journey of attitudes and behaviors regarding gender.

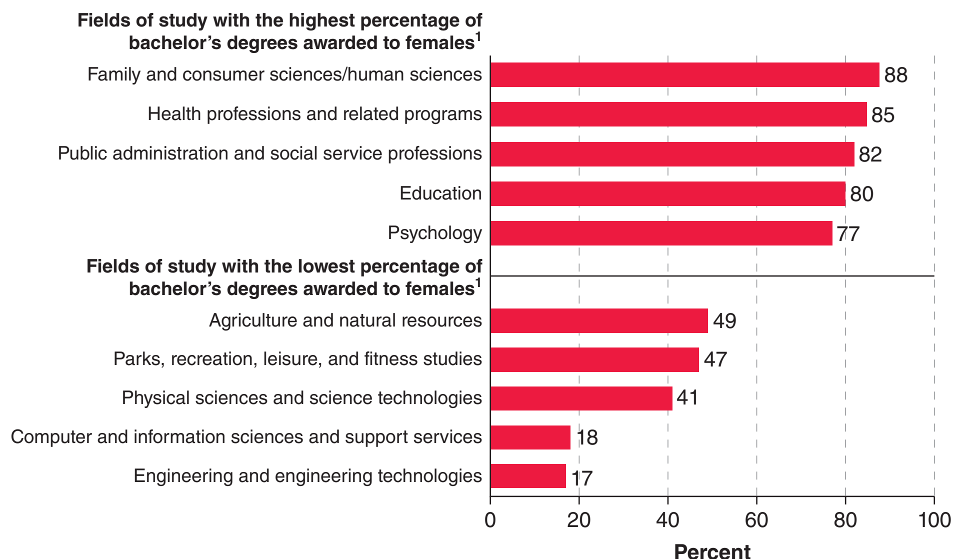

FIGURE 11.2

Gender Segregation in Undergraduate Major

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics. *The Condition of Education, 2012.* Postsecondary Education (p. 95). nces.ed.gov/pubs2012/2012045_4.pdf.

Graduate School Psychological roadblocks emerging at the undergraduate level are intensified in graduate and professional education as competition for grades and grants increase. Besides dealing with increasing career–motherhood pressures, women must cope with pervasive patterns of subtle gender bias existing in many graduate departments. Academic careers blossom, for example, through a protégé system that matches a talented graduate student with a recognized, established faculty member. Through the informal networks reverberating among departments, women quickly determine that, compared to their male colleagues, they are not as suitable as protégés. Although not overtly discriminatory, these pervasive patterns keep both faculty and graduate student men in control of the powerful subculture of graduate school. Faculty prefer protégés of their own gender, and both students and faculty prefer mentors of their own gender. The fewer number of available female faculty and the gender segregation of the discipline, however, do not allow for these preferences. Such patterns are even more detrimental to female students of color (Cleveland, 2004). Based on both their gender and race, they often feel isolated from informal networks and faculty contact. Restricted opportunities for networking in college and graduate school have a major impact on later careers.

Mentoring is a key to help women facing gender discrimination, especially when discrimination occurs covertly. Even given the lopsided faculty ratio favoring men, plentiful research suggests many ways that mentoring is used to address female graduate students' and female faculty concerns about gender discrimination (Johnson, 2003; Wasburn, 2007). Important recent research extends these mentoring success stories by focusing on the gender characteristics of the departments themselves. Departments with female chairs and with faculty engaged in research on gender- and feminist-related topics are more likely to have mentoring policies in place (Dua, 2008). "Gender-friendly" departments with mentoring programs also are likely to be "diversity-friendly departments." Mentoring can instill both gender consciousness and awareness of faculty and student diversity on campuses throughout the United States.

Academic Women Female faculty are important for women students as role models and mentors. Women's progress in academia is not inevitable. Fueled by recession and legal setbacks related to gender and diversity on campus, past progress appears to be eroding. Where does the academic path lead for women Ph.Ds.? Most are in two- and four-year state colleges, usually satellite campuses, with heavy teaching loads and committee responsibilities. Community colleges do offer hospitable environments for both female students and faculty; over half of the faculty in community colleges are women (Townshend, 2007). However, like their counterparts in other colleges and universities, they are clustered in less powerful, overcrowded disciplines and hold most adjunct and part-time faculty positions in these fields. If full-time, they are instructors and assistant professors. The pattern repeats itself throughout academia—the higher the rank, the fewer the women.

Tenure Tenure explains the low number of senior level female or full professors. Degree-granting institutions with a tenure system continue to erode. Today less than half of all colleges have a tenure system. Men hold approximately 15 percent more

tenure slots than women. The numbers increase for men and decrease for women in nonprofit, elite universities with doctoral programs. For highly qualified women faculty in STEM disciplines, the tenure gap widens. Although women in these fields are equally competitive with men in research training, are successful grant recipients, and meet similar productivity qualifications, they represent roughly 15 percent of full professors in research universities. Only in two-year colleges do women have a tenure advantage, also at about 15 percent. Although female faculty often outnumber male faculty in two-year colleges, tenure systems there are vanishing. As recently as 1993, over one-fourth of community colleges offered tenure; today it is 8 percent (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013).

Women devote more of their time to teaching and engage in more unpaid professional service than their male colleagues. Women's family roles—marriage and children—decrease their likelihood of advancing; for men, these same roles increase it. Faculty men who are married and have dependents work fewer hours on noncareer activities such as housework and caregiving than their female counterparts (Ginther and Kahn, 2006; Misra et al., 2012). Students are more likely than faculty to have priority in university-based child care facilities:

> I was going to put him in the daycare center but faculty was last on the list.
>
> We do really well because my husband is an undergraduate. . . . we get none of these things because I'm a faculty member. [Any] faculty benefits . . . are mostly geared towards older men. . . . [benefits] pay for tuition but not childcare. Faculty can be on the waiting list for years. (Armenti, 2004:74)

Research also shows the powerful impact of gender stereotypes for evaluating faculty performance. Faculty women are evaluated differently from faculty men by students and colleagues in how they carry out faculty and administrative role. Women faculty members are expected to be nice as well as competent; maintain a pleasant classroom atmosphere; be more responsive to students with personal needs; be overly accessible to students outside class, especially answering emails; and engage students using a variety of learning styles. Women are judged more harshly when they deviate from the gender-imposed model of a caring professor. Both men and women faculty adopt stereotyped gender role images that influence peer evaluation and, like graduate students, the informal networks in which female faculty are first assessed (Laube et al., 2007; Merchant et al., 2007; Spelke and Grace, 2007). Besides the clear inequity of such patterns, it is a sad comment on college education that good teaching, where women excel, often is not the basis for the reward of tenure.

Women faculty can find themselves pulled away from career goals by the same challenges that face other bright, ambitious women—the multiple demands of family and university. Given the extremely competitive academic marketplace, Jane must make the difficult decision to uproot her life to seek employment elsewhere or find part-time work at other local colleges. The latter course will be her likely choice, especially if she has children and an employed spouse. She will remain in academia but in a marginal position, often as an "academic gypsy" migrating between part-time or temporary jobs, with little hope of advancement, influence, or tenure.

Gender Issues in Education

It is clear that gender bias in education is associated with restricted options for both male and female students and faculty. Given limited resources at all educational levels, strategies to address stubbornly persistent gender biases are often contentious and, as we will see, may succumb to the very stereotypes that originally fueled the gender gap in educational equity.

Shortchanged Students: Girls or Boys in Educational Crisis?

Spearheaded by the legal foundation of Title IX (discussed later) and landmark research documenting that the educational needs of girls lagged behind boys, programs related to gender equity in education have been instituted. Follow-up research suggests that public schools have made impressive educational gains in policies targeting gender equity (AAUW, 2008).

What about the Boys? Rather than celebrating these achievements, however, a backlash to attention paid to the gender gap in education has been launched, suggesting that the shortchanged group is not girls, but boys. This backlash centers on the belief that an advantaging of girls in classrooms throughout the United States has led to a "boy crisis," with boys lagging behind girls on major indicators of achievement. These indicators include grades, standardized test scores in elementary and high school, and high school graduation rates. The rationale for the boy crisis in education focuses on the contention that under the guise of helping girls, boys are penalized in girl-friendly/boy-unfriendly classrooms. Favoritism for the sedate behavior of girls works against the physical vibrancy of boys. Boys fall prey to feminist pedagogy that is confusing and harmful to a boy's emerging masculinity. Such pedagogy is associated with consensus-style learning favoring girls rather than competitive-style learning favoring boys. This contention is bolstered by essentialist beliefs that teachers not only overlook biological factors prompting typical masculine behavior, but also employ the cognitive and emotional attributes of girls as the classroom standard (Gurian, 2007; James, 2007).

These factors jeopardize academic success for boys at all levels of education. Boys take longer to complete high school and have higher dropout rates compared to girls. About three-fourths of all girls and two-thirds of all boys who start high school graduate four years later. Compared to boys, girls take more college prep courses in most subject areas and report higher career aspirations. In turn, within five years of being admitted to college, about 7–8 percent more women than men complete a bachelor's degree. As in high school, men are more likely to drop out of college. Teachers may unwittingly create a classroom environment that, as one researcher direly claims, is literally toxic for boys (Sax, 2007).

Another troubling pattern is that boys are more likely to be held back, suspended, or expelled from school. Boys exhibit more discipline problems, including belligerence to teachers and classmates. Boys as a group are more likely to be labeled "impaired" and are overrepresented in special education classes; African American

boys are significantly overrepresented in these patterns. Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) diagnoses—associated with short attention span, difficulty in concentration, and erratic behavior—are triple for boys (Williams, 2007; Weaver-Hightower, 2007).

The "boy crisis" label has gained a great deal of media attention and is largely offered to the public as a win-lose model. Inclusiveness, as a goal of gender equity, is couched in media accounts as a *cause* of boys falling behind girls. The achievement of girls, therefore, comes at the expense of boys. What is the research evidence for this contention?

Assessing the Boy Crisis With a boy crisis theme as catalyst, a great deal of new research on shortchanged students at all levels of education was launched. Research suggests that in elementary and high school, gender differences in learning styles and teacher concern for a more sedate classroom with less disruption do tend to favor the behavior of girls over that of boys. On the other hand, teacher favoritism for girls is countered by research consistently showing that girls spend more time studying, doing homework, and reading than boys, and that boys spend more time watching television, playing video games, partying, and exercising than girls. Pop culture and peers offer more distractions for boys than for girls (Fletcher, 2002; Lloyd, 2007). Empowering boys to succeed in school means tackling the gender stereotypes allowing them greater entitlement outside school.

Girls receive higher grades than boys throughout elementary and middle school in most subjects, but by high school, boys catch up and match or exceed girls in overall GPA. The data of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—referred to as the "Nation's Report Card" taken in grades 4, 8, and 12—on average, shows a gender gap favoring girls in reading and writing, a pattern holding for almost 40 years. A less publicized pattern is that NAEP data *before* 1980 indicated a gender gap in math favoring girls, but by 1990, the gender gap in math and science on NAEP and other standardized tests favoring boys emerged. Initiatives to address the math and science aptitude of girls have paid off spectacularly. As discussed earlier, although the gender gap continues to decrease, boys still maintain a clear (but narrow) advantage in both areas by high school.

College Entrance Exams Other data countering the assertion that education shortchanges males are scores on the critical standardized tests used for college admission and graduate and professional studies (AAUW, 2008; Orr, 2011).

- Boys retain a narrow but consistent advantage on the SAT and ACT even as the population of test takers becomes more diverse. White students were three-quarters of test takers in 1987; students of color are now almost half of test takers.
- On the ACT, girls have an edge in reading and English but boys have an edge on ACT composite. Girls began to lose their advantage in the verbal part of the SAT as early as the 1970s. They have not been able to regain the math advantage. This is despite the success girls demonstrate on standardized tests and advanced math courses in high school.
- On average, boys score higher on both the SAT and the ACT, particularly in math, science, and composite. This holds for boys of all races and family incomes.

- Boys retain their advantage in tests used for admission to graduate and professional schools, including medicine, law, and business (GRE, MCAT, LSAT, GMAT). Similar to college entrance exams, the population taking these tests has increased, with women now the majority of test takers.

To understand these patterns, it is important to remember that the larger pool of women test takers includes those of all ability levels compared to the smaller pool of men test takers with higher ability levels. Another key point is that although men outperform women on standardized tests, the larger pool of women *still* generates a larger qualified pool who will apply to college.

College Enrollment: Race, Social Class, and Age The gender gap favoring women is widening in higher education. It is the pivotal intersection of race, social class, and age that largely explains this gap. Among students ages 18–24, there is a larger female share from low-income white and Latinos compared to the same categories of males. With fewer lower-income males enrolling in college, the male share—especially among traditional-age, higher-income white males—decreases further. Adding race to the picture, we find the largest gender gap among African Americans, even as African American males increased their share of college enrollment over the last two decades. Latino and African American women are more likely to be enrolled in college than comparable men are, regardless of social class. Asian American men and women are at parity (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013).

Age is another key factor explaining the gender profile of current college students. Women are much more likely to be in the ranks of returning students; women over 25 outnumber men by a 2-to-1 margin, and among African Americans, women account for nearly 70 percent of older students. Nontraditional-age women are more likely than men to be enrolled in community colleges; traditional-age men are more likely to be enrolled in four-year colleges, especially in highly selective elite universities. The *number* of men enrolled in all colleges is steadily increasing, but not fast enough to narrow women's majority in in *total* enrollment. Propelled by a gradual but continuing influx of nontraditional-age women who attend community colleges part-time, the percentage of women in *all* colleges is approximately 70 percent (St. Rose and Hill, 2013).

What a Degree Buys? Another compelling argument against the belief that educational institutions systematically harm boys is that at all educational levels, men continue to significantly outearn women (Figure 11.3). For undergraduate degrees, compared with those of women, men's degrees garner work in more highly paid fields such as STEM areas. Women employed full-time on average earn 77 percent of what a man earns. Ten years out of college, the pay gap widens, especially for the highest-educated women (Chapter 10). This pattern holds true even after controlling for factors known to affect earnings, such as seniority, demographics, type of job, amount of education, and personal choice, including parenthood (Corbett and Hill, 2012). If education is the ticket to financial success, the success translates differently according to gender.

Critique Multiple sources of educational data do not show boys doing worse. Both boys and girls have improved on educational performance. Boys' test scores

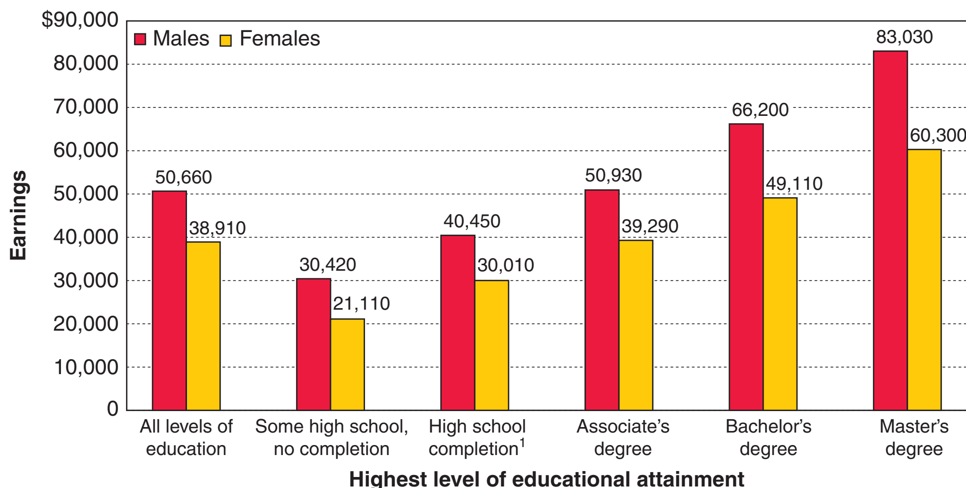

FIGURE 11.3

Annual Income by Educational Attainment and Gender, 2011

Note: Includes full-time, year-round workers age 25 and over.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2012 (Figure 25). nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d12/figures/fig_25.asp?referrer=figures.

have improved alongside that of girls, and the proportion of boys graduating from high school and earning B.A.s is at an all-time high. Despite media panic, the truth is that "the real story is not the bad news about boys doing worse, but good news about girls doing better." Girls have made outstanding progress in narrowing education gaps that previously favored boys. Nevertheless, other long-standing gaps favoring girls have widened, especially college enrollment, leading to the belief that boys are falling behind (Mead, 2006:1). Suggesting that boys as a group are jeopardized by these patterns more than girls as a group is not justified. Implying that boys *should* be doing better than girls also devalues the achievement of girls. There was quiet public acceptance when boys began outperforming girls in math and for the continuing math gap favoring boys. Only when reports highlighted the gap and focused on strategies to help girls did the "girls versus boys" scenario gain media attention.

Although it cannot be said that boys as a group are in educational crisis relative to girls, it *is* valid to say that some categories of boys are in crisis compared to other categories of boys and most girls. The "real" crisis is that children from poor families, who are disproportionately nonwhite, are less likely to graduate from high school and to attend college or graduate once they are admitted. When gender is accounted for in the educational achievement gap, race and class, especially in poverty-stricken urban areas, are the important culprits in explaining the gap (Barnett, 2007; Morris, 2012). Despite the clear, pivotal role in educational outcomes, however, social class and race are glossed over in favor of gender in explaining the patterns. The race–class link is very significant since, compared to women, young men in the highest-income groups of all races are more likely to be attending college.

The focus on existing gender gaps in selected areas of educational attainment is a simplistic way of viewing the issue. The data are complicated and show disappearing and reappearing gender and social class gaps in achievement, especially in math. Many studies do not account for race. Scientific research may eventually sort out the complexities between race, class, and gender in explaining these patterns, but as we will see, social policy fueled by a political agenda will decide which group, if any, is shortchanged overall.

Single-Gender Education

Until the nineteenth century, females were discouraged from attending high school and were virtually denied access to higher education in the United States. Given that coeducation was nonexistent, educational spaces for female students from middle-class families were created by founding women's colleges, many providing excellent programs that rivaled male-only institutions. Bringing together unlikely partners who support the "shortchanged girls or boys in crisis" theme, precollegiate single-gender education is making a comeback. It is offered as a strategy for dealing with a host of issues related to gender-based restrictions in schools, including gender gaps in achievement and sexual harassment. If boys and girls learn differently, mature at different paces, and are distracted by one another in classrooms, then perhaps they should be schooled separately.

Schools may offer single-gender courses for boys or girls so long as the *Equal Protection Clause* of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution is upheld. Districts must make available courses that are "comparable" for students of the other gender. This section will assess evidence suggesting that single-gender education—either in separate classrooms or in separate schools—is better or worse than coeducation.

Girls in Single-Gender Classrooms Liabilities for girls decline when they outnumber boys in high school and college classrooms or when female faculty represent a larger proportion of overall faculty, particularly in math and science. Although there is no gender difference between high school girls in single-gender and coed schools on likelihood of pursuing STEM careers, single-gender girls outperform coed girls in math (Cherney and Campbell, 2011). When girls become the sole group of learners, on measures of scholarship, academic aspirations, attitudes toward studies, leadership, and self-confidence, the research is quite favorable for single-gender education for girls of all races. Among high school students, African American and Latino girls score higher on measures of leadership and self-esteem (Campbell and Sanders, 2002; Riordan, 2002). Single-gender education for girls is linked to later academic and career success. Girls from single-gender high schools are more likely to attend better colleges, to outperform girls who attend coed colleges, and to go on to graduate or professional school (Clarke, 2007; Bigler and Signorella, 2011).

Females who make a transition the other way—from a single-gender educational environment to a coeducational one—indicate they experience a "clash of cultures" and report discomfort and dissatisfaction with the coed format (Sadovnik and Semel, 2002). Women express concern that friends could become competitors when men are a regular part of campus life. Earlier qualitative research by Janice Streitmatter (1999:87, 105) on middle and high school girls attending single-gender

schools or taking girls-only classes in coed schools points to the benefits of single-gender formats. For example, girls describe fewer distractions from learning. They are aware that in coed classes, boys receive most of the teacher's attention: "In a mixed class . . . you're like off in the background—you're quieter about what you know." In the single-gender format, girls ask and answer questions without the risk of "feeling stupid."

A powerful message to girls in single-gender classes is that they are intellectually strong and are not limited in their aspirations just because they are girls.

Boys in Single-Gender Classrooms With research attention on how boys fare in single-gender classrooms, a number of trends are now suggested. Boys do appear to be as successful as girls in achievement tests, and there is evidence that boys in single-gender classrooms have higher career aspirations and choose more humanities-related subjects than do boys in coeducational classrooms. When race is factored in, minority males appear to benefit more than white males (James, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2005).

In terms of classroom atmosphere, learning outcomes appear to be enhanced for boys in classrooms encouraging competition, technical skill building, and mechanical expertise. Plentiful "boy-friendly" books on topics such as war, spaceships, and pirates and biographies of famous athletes encourage reading. Male teachers in single-gender classrooms for boys tend to allow for more physical movement. Regardless of the gender of the teacher, however, there are limits to boy "vibrancy" in the classroom. Research on teachers evaluating single-gender classes for boys finds that both behavior and academic performance deteriorated in this format (Gray and Wilson, 2006). The irony of the belief that "boys can't sit still" is that single-gender classrooms for boys in turn impose stricter discipline and more rigid, formal classroom procedures similar to schools of the past.

Single-gender education for boys is likely to be based on even stronger androcentric pedagogy than in either girls' schools or coeducational institutions. Elementary school on the surface appears to favor girls' passivity rather than boys' activity, but it, too, is largely based on a male-centered approach to learning, a pattern that is heightened in high school. Although consensus style activities are normative, coed high school classrooms are structured around hierarchy, domination, and win-lose grading and pedagogy. Masculinity norms are strongly reinforced and rarely questioned in boys' schools by the formal and hidden curriculum. Girls in single-gender schools hold less rigid gender stereotypes; boys hold more (Karpiak et al., 2007).

Critique In evaluating the impact of precollegiate, single-gender instruction—either in separate classrooms or in separate schools—most studies report generally "positive" effects on achievement tests in all subjects for both males and females and for both elementary and high school students. The benefits of single-gender education appear to be the greatest for students determined as "at risk" for a variety of academic, social, and emotional reasons. This should not be construed to mean, however, that coeducation is *worse* than single-gender education in achievement, but only that it is not significantly better (Cooper, 2006; Weil, 2008).

However, both boys and girls in coeducation settings place high importance on having the other gender in their classes and, as expected, report a more appealing social

climate. In terms of school culture, both boys and girls attending single-gender schools place higher values on "grades and leadership and less on attractiveness and money" (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Schools are the settings offering the best atmosphere for primary contact necessary to reduce both racism and sexism in young people.

Opponents of single-gender schools argue that single-gender education represents "benevolent sexism." It can be used for emancipation or oppression, but either way, an outcome is not guaranteed (Datnow and Hubbard, 2005). Appearing to be a panacea for problems in schools, single-gender schooling discourages understanding between the genders, may reproduce damaging gender stereotypes, and diminishes respect for women. In both high school and college, single-gender education may serve to reinforce negative effects of an already pervasive gender-segregated society. It may herald retreats from gender inclusiveness to gender resegregation and to the days of "separate but unequal" classrooms (Davis, 2006; Patterson and Pahlke, 2011; Salomone, 2013). Single-gender schools for boys can discourage egalitarian beliefs about gender roles and may increase the propensity for sexual harassment when males and females do come together in other settings. Throughout socialization, within-gender solidarity is enhanced through gender segregation, but between-gender understanding is diminished (Chapter 3). A powerful message to boys in single-gender settings is that they are better than girls.

Perhaps the most compelling challenge is that, as we have seen, the rate of student success is class based more than gender based. Single-gender schools are likely to be private schools attended by more affluent students, and they have better facilities, higher-paid teachers, and smaller student–teacher ratios. Private single-gender schools also can expel disruptive students who then retreat to public coeducational schools that must accept them.

It is unlikely that single-gender education will be able to compete with coeducation for all but a small subset of students. Even with the upsurge of single-gender classrooms, mostly with boys in mind and the solid evidence that high school girls are the greatest beneficiaries of single-gender instruction, the coeducation norm will not be significantly altered. The premium of coeducation in college is growing. It is also responsible for the difficulty women's colleges face in attracting students.

Coeducation certainly can provide a major channel for reducing gender segregation, and with attention to gender-equitable instruction, gender stereotyping is also likely to be reduced. If there is a problem of male dominance in the coed classroom that is detrimental to girls, an argument can be made that it is also detrimental to boys. Rather than retreating into gender-segregated schools, the classroom atmosphere can be altered to reflect a more gender-sensitive school culture beneficial to both females and males. Schools are microcosms of the real world, so they need to model that world. Regardless of which side of the debate one is on, modifying classrooms to capitalize on successful single-gender learning strategies also may reduce sexual harassment and sexualized bullying.

Sexual Harassment in Schools

Sexual harassment legally includes physical or verbal conduct that is sexual in nature, is unwanted, and creates a hostile environment that interferes with

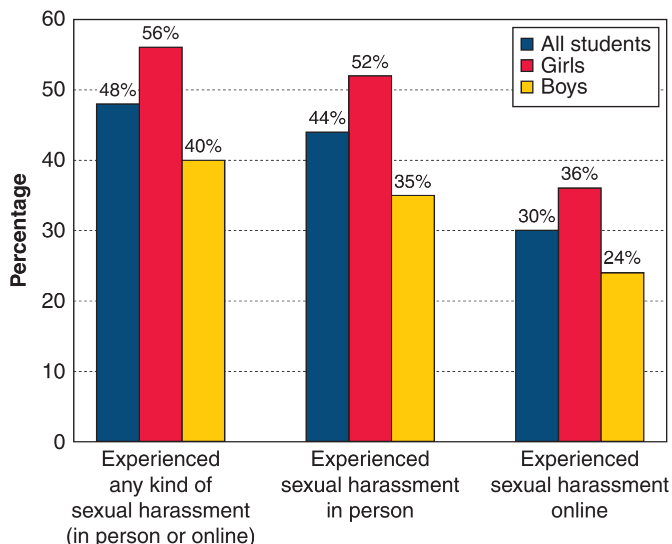

FIGURE 11.4

Students Experiencing Sexual Harassment by Gender and Type of Sexual Harassment

Note: K-12, school year 2010–2011.

Source: *Crossing the Line: Sexual Harassment at School* (p. 11). Catherine Hill and Holly Kearl, American Association of University Women. Washington, DC. 2011.

school or work activities. Sexual harassment ranges from so-called "joking" about a girl's body, pinching, physical contact and groping, demeaning images, negative remarks, and sexist comments to unwanted advances, demands for sexual favors, and sexual aggression or victimization. Perhaps under a pretend veil of facelessness or concealment, online sexual harassment has skyrocketed (Chapter 4). When race is factored in, higher rates of sexual harassment are reported for girls and women of color (AAUW, 2006, 2008; Hill and Kearl, 2011; Tonnesen, 2013).

Despite the fact that sexual harassment is illegal, it is so widespread at all levels in schools—from elementary through graduate school—that it is considered a part of everyday life for students. Girls are more likely to experience it, but it is fast increasing among boys (Figure 11.4). When harassment and bullying make a subtle shift from being common to being normative, it is even more difficult to eradicate.

Most harassers have been harassed themselves. About half of teachers and school staff have been harassed by each other. Even with the emotional turmoil and loss of esteem when they experience it themselves, they often turn it on others. Approximately one-fourth of all students at all levels who admit to sexual harassment repeat it, either occasionally or frequently.

Bullying The most virulent forms of bullying usually occur in middle school. For these students, bullying commonly consists of sexualized comments and actions

acting as weapons of humiliation. In cross-gender bullying, boys may call girls "sluts," "pussies," or "bitches"; girls may be humiliated through staring, touching, and ridiculing the size of their breasts. Girls report avoiding crowded school hallways known as places where boys intentionally brush up against girls, pinching and fondling them as they pass by. Although much less common, girls do harass boys, usually through taunting that implicitly derides assumptions about masculinity (wuss, geek, loser).

Same-gender bullying behavior is common and growing. Boys not only are more likely to be the perpetrators of bullying, but also are more likely to be the victims of it (Stein, 2007b). Boys especially fear being mocked with derisive name-calling associated with homosexuality (fag, queer, pervert). Any perceived deviation from stereotypical male images and norms can turn into such derision. Sexualized bullying between boys is likely to be ignored, but when teachers fail to act on it, consequences can be deadly, especially for gay and lesbian students. In research reporting on sexual harassment, for example, an openly gay student attempted suicide after classmates assaulted him by kicking him in the face while screaming "faggot" (Sandler and Stonehill, 2005).

Although girl-to-girl bullying is less frequent, it is escalating in ways that mimic male-to-male bullying. Like boys, girls use sexually degrading names for other girls (whore, cunt) and harass each other about their appearance, mostly to do with their clothing and their bodies. Like boys, the psychological warfare perpetrated on girls who do not fit popularity norms about femininity are most vulnerable to bullying (Simmons, 2003; Gardner et al., 2008). Under a pretend veil of facelessness or concealment, online sexual harassment, bullying, and sexual solicitation have skyrocketed (Chapter 4). Fear of being discovered and called a "snitch," and subject to ridicule or isolation by classmates, and branded a "troublemaker" by teachers; both boys and girls are not likely to report bullying. Bullying decreases with age, but bullies and their allies often are difficult to topple in middle school. The perceived assault on a boy's gender identity begun in elementary school makes boys reluctant to report bullying at all, but especially if they are bullied by girls. Whether referred to as bullying or not, the reporting pattern repeats itself in college. College students do not report sexual harassment, and sexual violence such as date rape is underreported (Chapter 9). Reprisals for college women include being branded the "troublemaker" or being frozen out by faculty, staff, and classmates.

Military Schools In military schools, cadets are subject to various rites of passage, including hazing and training designed to cement a class and plant unquestioned obedience to military authority (Manegold, 2000). Hazing includes use of sexualized language and demeaning stereotypes related to gender roles. Such training represents the extreme forms of bullying, but in the case of military schools, it is legitimized and usually encouraged.

Bullying is not considered sexual harassment. Cadets of both genders are viewed the "same." Sameness means that men and women adhere to powerful masculinity norms that include derogatory beliefs about women. Female cadets must walk a fine line of supporting cadet bonding without denigrating other women. Male cadets can be accused of sexual harassment—and expelled—only if bullying becomes

sexualized so that the "hidden gender" of the female cadets is revealed and acted upon in denigrating words and deeds.

The sameness–difference issue has haunted us throughout this text. Symbolic interactionists maintain that once admitted to "uncontaminated" all-male military schools, new female cadets are tokens and must constantly negotiate gender differences and similarities—always "doing" gender. "When they stressed sameness, they were seen as different; when they stressed difference, they were treated the same." Both male and female cadets believe that equal means the same, and standards of training should reflect that sameness. But as Michael Kimmel (2000:505, 507) suggests, not acknowledging important differences that do exist—treating unlikes alike—also is a form of discrimination.

Disproving stereotypes of women as incapable of withstanding the rigorous training for later military roles is fairly easy. Both men and women cadets achieve higher levels of success related to leadership, preparation for team diversity, and physical endurance when trained together (Diamond, 2007). Close physical contact between women and men does not distract them from the performance of their military duties. Women have been admitted to West Point and all of the elite service academies for over 30 years, and the ability to wage war has not been compromised by their presence. The sexism in arguments that rely on notions of one gender being more or less inherently capable, especially in the face of massive evidence to the contrary, makes it difficult for any public figure to support such arguments today.

Sexual Harassment or Bullying? Educators are quite aware of the difference between benign teasing and bullying. But the distinction between sexual harassment and bullying is a blurry one. Bullying behavior among middle school and military school students is clearly harassment, but it usually is not defined as "sexual" harassment unless it involves cross-gender behavior, regardless of the derogatory language used about women.

Sexual harassment involving bullying behavior of boys to girls, although illegal, is largely ignored—accepted by the boys, tolerated by the girls, and ignored by the teachers. When adults and teachers hear comments but do not intervene, both boys and girls believe that the behavior is appropriate (AAUW, 2008; Stein and Menneimeier, 2011). Whereas racial comments are swiftly censured, sexually harassing ones are usually dismissed unless physical harm results.

Educators are calling for a wider definition of sexual harassment that encompasses all forms of bullying, whether it is cross-gender or not. Since bullying is associated with sexual derogatory language and behaviors demeaning to both genders, the legal power behind the label of "sexual harassment" makes it easier to censure—and hopefully reduce—both sexual harassment and bullying. Schools that tolerate sexual harassment and bullying are associated with negative outcomes for everyone (Gruber and Fineran, 2007; Ormerod et al., 2008).

Females and males do not differ in intelligence and capability. However, because educational institutions—like all social institutions—are gendered, the results of the gendering should not be ignored in school policies. Gender needs to be considered,

for example, in terms of who gets accepted to selective and competitive schools—whether as a female cadet or a male nursing student.

Gender Parity in College

The most important emerging gender issue in education has to do with the very successes girls have achieved at all educational levels. Women have made remarkable strides in educational achievement, but college admissions offices are dealing with the results of these strides in an unforeseen way.

College Admissions High school females are at parity with or are outperforming males on criteria indicative of success in college, such as GPA, standardized tests on reading and writing literacy, and paid work and volunteer experiences. Women are tackling and achieving in formerly male-dominated areas such as law, medicine, and biology. Women with superior academic credentials continue to ascend in athletics, and colleges are more actively recruiting female athletes. The pool of scholar-athletes is increasing for women but shrinking for men. Women are described as more intensely motivated in the admissions process, work harder than men on their applications, and apply to more schools (Lewin, 2006). From the end of World War II to the 1970s, most universities had larger acceptable gender imbalances favoring men. Today most universities have increasingly unacceptable gender imbalances favoring women. This pattern is repeated in the United States, Canada, and England (Evers et al., 2006).

How are colleges dealing with the ever-increasing pool of highly qualified women applicants compared to a smaller pool of less qualified men? Many colleges are admitting less qualified men and acknowledging they are doing so. Accomplished women face much higher rejection rates. "Maintaining gender equity on some campuses appears to require a thumb on the scale in favor of boys" (Kingsbury, 2007). Many admissions officers believe that a 60/40 ratio of female to male is the "tipping point" that will hurt the coeducational climate on campus. Some research indicates that college women prefer a gender-equitable 50–50 split. College men, however, see the larger ratio of women to their (men's) advantage in the sexual scripts played out in campus life. It is unlikely that men will continue to find it acceptable if the imbalance tips beyond the 60 percent level, especially at more prestigious colleges. If a campus is perceived as too "feminized" because of the number of women students, men may retreat to other campuses (Whitmire, 2008).

Admissions policies are complicated and secretive, especially in highly selective private institutions. Although legalities are unclear and rulings are inconsistent. The Supreme Court has endorsed race as a factor that, under some circumstances, can be used in decision making; it has not "directly addressed gender targeting in admissions" (Kingsbury, 2007). The higher rejection rate of high-achieving and accomplished women not only is legally questionable, but also implies that they are penalized for their success.

It is doubtful that complacency of this issue will continue and advocates for women will begin to challenge the system. The question becomes how to provide

strategies that do not pit males and females against each other and allow gender balance on campus without compromising other forms of diversity.

The Lessons of Title IX

Virtually all of the education issues discussed in this chapter have legal implications that, in effect, can be addressed at some level by **Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment Act**. Because this act prohibits sex (gender) discrimination in any school receiving federal assistance, the majority of educational institutions fall under its mandate. At the overt, formal level, Title IX has ushered in school policies reducing glaring gender discrimination. It has had a huge impact on athletics, for example, and is directly responsible for major increases in the sports participation of female students at all school levels (Chapter 14).

Title IX has been most successful in tackling issues of gender discrimination viewed as detrimental to *both* females and males. Policies related to single-gender education and sexual harassment are two such issues. Under Title IX, the U.S. Department of Education provided the green light for public schools to offer single-gender alternatives under certain conditions. Title IX also forbids sexual harassment of students, and a school may be liable if authorities know it is occurring but fail to act on it (Raskin, 2008). However, the courts have been inconsistent in rulings related to both single-gender schooling and sexual harassment about specific circumstances that can be used to hold a school liable.

At the informal level, discriminatory practices that are difficult to eradicate through legal means persist throughout the educational process. The gender gap in career aspirations has largely disappeared, and women's participation in traditional male-dominated majors continues to climb. Women continue to be discouraged, however, from entering the very majors offering the most lucrative job options, such as engineering and chemistry (Burge, 2007). STEM courses are the glass ceiling academic equivalents for women.

Gender segregation exists throughout all levels of education. Kindergarten girls are princesses and play with dolls; boys are pirates and play with trucks. Girls take home economics in middle school, and boys take shop in high school. In college, men major in physics and women in literature. A male Ph.D. teaches engineering. A female Ph.D. teaches French. He is paid more than she is. Even the more progressive world of the university remains gender role oriented and gender separated. And despite Title IX, gender discrimination in college admissions is making a comeback.

Curricular revisions aimed at gender inclusiveness are slow to implement, teachers retreat to gendered beliefs about classroom behavior that may punish boys and overlook girls, and the hidden curriculum stubbornly persists. When children self-select school activities by gender, teachers are reluctant to resist these choices. With seeming approval for voluntary gender segregation for 12 years, it is difficult to alter the resulting gender segregation of academic fields at either the student or faculty level.

Title IX has enormous potential to change practices that restrict educational opportunities because of gender, especially in a political environment where gender equity again becomes an important agenda item. A more receptive political climate appears to be on the forefront. Although gender segregation in education is

normative, this chapter documents encouraging signs that gender stereotypes are gradually being reduced. The good news is that gender discrimination may disappear by the time Jane and Dick reach college. But gender prejudice is likely to linger for their children and grandchildren.

Global Focus: Closing the Developing World's Gender Gap in Education

One of greatest returns on all development investments is to teach girls to read. A girl's education is linked to decreased child death rates, dramatic drops in infant mortality, delayed marriage, and poverty reduction. Even lower rates of HIV infection and higher crop yields are correlated to every year a girls remains in school. Children of a literate mother have a better chance of survival than the children living in the same place at the same level of income of a mother who is illiterate.

Among the most important global demographic trends, a woman's education level is the strongest predictor of fertility rate. This is true among countries and among women in the same country. Females with more education marry later, want fewer children, and have only the number of children they want. Birth rates and child death rates decline fastest where there is access to family planning, health services, and educational opportunities for girls. Thailand and Sri Lanka represent family planning success stories. Compared to other parts of developing Asia, these countries have higher levels of female education and literacy (Chapter 6). The simple correlation between education and fertility masks its enormous, positive impact on the lives of individual women and their families and on the world as a whole. It is clear that the ripple effect of a girl's education is both powerful and productive.

As in the United States, girls in the developing world are making great strides in educational attainment. Enrollment rates for girls in many poor countries have doubled in three decades. These rates are perhaps more remarkable because girls carry a much heavier workload both at home and at school and have less leisure time than boys, especially during adolescence (Lloyd et al., 2008). The world also has achieved gender parity in primary education. Despite these improvements, the United Nations Millennium Development Goal of gender parity in secondary and tertiary education by 2005 was met in only 2 out of 130 countries. There is a large and persistent global literacy gender gap (Table 11.2). China has made spectacular gains in reducing adult illiteracy to 5 percent, but women make up the large majority of this illiterate population. Most of these are rural women. Even with a worldwide drop in illiteracy, two-thirds of the world's people who cannot read are female, and in any part of the world, an illiterate adult is likely to be a woman. The largest education gap is between the developed and developing world (Chapter 6). For all out-of-school children, most live in Sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia. Most of these children are in poverty, most are in rural areas, and most of them are girls.

Investing in women's education brings high returns globally. Despite the fact that elimination of the gender education gap is in the best interest of a thriving global economy, reducing the gap in the developing world lost priority during the global economic downturn. As conflict theorists remind us, altering gender role norms to bring about social change brings both benefits and liabilities, depending

TABLE 11.2 Adult Female Literacy Rate, 1990–2015: Selected Regions and Countries

Region	Country	1990	2000	2010	2015 projection
Arab States	Egypt	31.4	43.6	63.5	65.6
	Iraq	—	64.2	70.6	73.4
	Mauritania	—	43.4	51.2	55.2
	Morocco	28.7	39.6	43.9	50.8
	Sudan	—	52.1	62.0	—
	Yemen	17.1	35.5	46.8	55.1
Asia and Pacific	Afghanistan	—	—	—	—
	Bangladesh	25.8	40.8	52.2	58.0
	Cambodia	—	64.1	65.9	72.1
	China	68.1	86.5	91.3	93.2
	India	33.7	47.8	50.8	60.9
	Indonesia	75.3	86.8	89.7	92.6
	Iran	56.2	70.4	80.7	87.6
	Nepal	17.4	34.9	48.3	55.7
	Pakistan	—	29.0	40.3	47.3
	Papua New Guinea	—	50.9	57.3	61.3
	Timor-Leste	—	30.0	53.0	62.5
Latin America and Caribbean	Brazil	—	88.8	90.4	92.6
	Haiti	—	54.9	44.6	57.7
	Mexico	85.0	89.6	91.9	92.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	Benin	16.6	23.3	30.3	35.2
	Burkina Faso	8.2	15.2	21.6	29.3
	Central African Republic	20.3	35.3	43.2	48.0
	Chad	4.6	18.0	24.2	30.6
	DR Congo	—	54.1	57.0	58.5
	Eritrea	—	40.2	57.5	64.7
	Ethiopia	18.5	22.8	28.9	40.5
	Gambia	—	25.1	40.4	47.8
	Guinea	—	18.2	30.0	39.4
	Guinea-Bissau	—	27.5	40.6	47.9
	Madagascar	—	65.3	61.6	62.6
	Mali	—	15.9	20.3	26.9
	Mozambique	—	33.2	42.8	50.0
	Niger	—	9.4	15.1	23.3
	Nigeria	43.7	43.3	50.4	55.3
	Rwanda	57.9	59.8	67.5	70.3
	Senegal	17.9	29.2	38.7	46.1
	Sierra Leone	—	24.2	31.4	38.1
	Togo	—	38.5	43.6	56.9

Note: Percent female, 15 years and older.

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Montreal. *Adult and Youth Literacy, 1990–2015: Analysis of Data for 41 Selected Countries.* Adapted from Table 3 (p. 15). www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Documents/UIS-literacy-statistics-1990-2015-en.pdf.

on how various social groups are affected. The paradox of the globe's gender gap is that women and girls have not amassed the power to challenge these norms in part because of their lack of education.

Summary

1. Historically, when women were first granted the right of education, it was to be in line with their wife and mother roles.
2. The process of education is highly gendered and operates through a hidden curriculum. Gender segregation in kindergarten is reinforced by toys and games promoting high activity for boys and quietness for girls.
3. Girls in elementary school have higher achievement levels and receive less criticism but less instructional time than boys. Boys adjust less easily to school but gain more attention from teachers. Children read textbooks that underrepresent girls and cast males and females in stereotyped roles.
4. Boys gain in self-confidence and achievement in high school; girls decline in both, especially Latino girls. The math gender gap has virtually disappeared. Existing differences are best explained by cultural factors due to gender rather than biological factors due to biology. Social class and the race–SES link are better predictors of math performance and school achievement than is gender.
5. Tracking puts more girls than boys in all vocational courses and in academic courses such as English. Textbooks in high school are gender stereotyped, and an androcentric bias exists in standardized achievement tests.
6. Popularity for boys in high school is tied to athletics; for girls, it is attractiveness and popularity with boys. Athletics for boys provides powerful gender identity messages; boys who cannot perform in sports can lose self-esteem—more so if they participate in coeducational sports. More money and facilities are given to sports for males.
7. Fueled by women over 35 attending part-time, women are enrolled in college at higher numbers than men. Women are undermined in college achievement and career orientation by issues related to marriage and motherhood. Men are more consistent with predictions about career in their future plans.
8. Women are distributed in majors that translate into less lucrative jobs. Men are concentrated in science and engineering and dominate fields requiring graduate work. Women in graduate school have fewer mentors of their own gender and spend less time with all faculty.
9. Female college faculty are more likely to be enrolled on a part-time basis, in nontenure tracks, and at lower ranks than males. Compared to faculty men, faculty women are evaluated differently and in line with gender stereotypes by students, colleagues, and administrators.
10. Boys or girls in educational crisis has received research attention. Boys retain narrow leads in the SAT and ACT; girls have ACT leads in reading. Men's degrees pay higher economic returns than do women's degrees. The boy crisis is explained more by race and social class than by gender.
11. Single-gender education for females is associated with higher self-confidence, leadership, and achievement. Single-gender education for boys is associated with strong androcentric pedagogy. When males and females are schooled

separately, understanding between men and women may be further decreased. Coed classrooms can be modified for the strengths of single-gender classrooms.

12. Sexual harassment of girls by boys in elementary schools often is in the form of bullying. Research on whether women of color are harassed more is unclear. Sexual harassment of males is growing. In military schools, girls are bullied, but it is not sexual harassment unless sexualized terms are used. Boys use these terms to bully other boys. Female cadets must negotiate how much they are the same as and how much they are different from male cadets. Single-gender schools are not substantially better than coed schools.
13. Women outnumber men on campus but colleges want to retain gender balance. Less-qualified men are being admitted.
14. Title IX—which prohibits sex discrimination in schools—has dealt with blatant discrimination and has greatly aided sports programs for females. But is has had limited effect in altering gender segregation in academic fields.
15. Educating girls is one of the best ways to make development a success, reduce poverty, increase wages, and reduce child death rates. Gender parity was reached in primary education globally. Despite advances, a global gender gap in secondary and tertiary education persists. Women make up the majority of illiterate adults worldwide.

Key Terms

Hidden curriculum

Sexual harassment

Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment Act

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Document the consequences of key gender differences related to behavior, academics, major, and career orientation in the process of education. Based on this evaluation, demonstrate how educators may provide a gender equitable learning process beneficial to both females and males.
2. Applied to your own college setting, demonstrate your understanding of the gendered processes in higher education. How is your college experience consistent or inconsistent with the gender patterns discussed in this chapter? What may account for the level of consistency?
3. As a feminist sociologist, as a functionalist, and as a symbolic interactionist, argue for or against the following statement: Single-gender education in elementary school and high school is beneficial to both boys and girls.

CHAPTER 12

Religion and Patriarchy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the significance of goddess images and beliefs on the lives of women in societies where goddess worship was (and is) practiced.
2. Suggest reasons why feminist interpretations of the Qur'an work to the benefit of Muslim women.
3. Explain why Islamic feminism may not be the same for Islamic women who identify themselves as feminists.
4. Demonstrate how interpretations of Hindu scripture offer both benefits and liabilities for Hindu women.
5. Discuss how Jewish women accommodate but challenge religious beliefs related to family life, sexuality, and leadership roles in Judaism.
6. Identify the similarities and differences of attitudes and behavior regarding gender roles between Protestants and Catholic women.
7. Review trends in women's ordination in world religions and identify real and potential benefits when women are ordained.
8. Define feminist theology and explain how it accounts for the "female experience" in world religions.

Religion and its gods were named by men, and until quite recently in history, it was difficult to uncover images that connect women to the divine. The transformation of ancient spirituality into modern religion came with a heavy price. Religious imagery is used to maintain injustice, suffering, and oppression—of nation against nation, men against men, and men against women. Institutionalized religion—whether pagan, Hebrew, Christian, or Islamic—bolstered existing hierarchies of domination and oppression but also worked to alleviate part of the suffering caused by these very religions (Eisler, 1995a:203). In many ancient spiritual and religious traditions and in the societies in which they were

practiced, women held influential and esteemed partnership roles with men. As religions became more formal and moved toward institutionalization, the spirituality and the partnership on which many are based receded into the background. Net gains in overall gender equality in all social institutions are recorded across the globe, but organized religion lags in the amount of religious authority granted to women compared to men. Religion is the institution that should allow for freedom of expression through liberating spirituality, but undeniable sexist interpretations and practices—and human rights violations—in the name of religion seriously impede this goal (Nussbaum, 2000). Alternative, progressive interpretations, however, are releasing patriarchy's religious stranglehold. These open the doors of churches, temples, and mosques to the empowering messages that religions offer to both women and men.

Rediscovering the Feminine Face of God

The image of God as a woman is probably quite startling to those who identify with any of the major world religions. The explosion of research on the role and status of women in these religions reveals that these early religions were infused with notions of gender interdependence rather than gender separation. Archaeological evidence from prehistoric and historic societies now offers a different view of the first civilizations; they exhibited **gynocentrism**, with an emphasis on female and feminine interests (Gimbutas, 1991, 2001; Gross, 2009). Whereas androcentrism translated to patriarchy in some ancient societies, gynocentrism did not translate to matriarchy in others. Instead, it translated into partnership. As Riane Eisler (1995b) points out, the terms *patriarchy* and *matriarchy* refer to a ranking of one part of humanity over the other. She asserts that partnership is the third overlooked alternative that characterized much of early civilization. Unlike patriarchy or matriarchy, *partnership* is based on the principle of linking and relating rather than domination and separateness. Males and females may be different, but these differences are not associated with either inferiority or superiority. Given the powerful influence of religion in the structure of ancient civilizations, evidence for gynocentric societies offers important messages to contemporary theologians as they struggle with issues related to gender role change in their respective religions.

Goddess Images

The most ancient human image we have of the divine is a figure of a female. When gynocentrism was replaced by androcentrism in partnership-oriented societies, the millennia of goddess prehistory and history were relegated to academic oblivion or dismissed by scholars as incidental to the span of humanity (Gimbutas, 2001). From a conflict perspective, when spirituality began the road to institutionalized religion, goddess images were suppressed because their power was threatening to an emerging male-dominated religious status quo. For contemporary women, rediscovering the goddess heritage can affirm their sense of religious well-being. Contrary to the conflict perspective, however, a partnership approach does not create a new hierarchy of religious images that would serve to empower women but disenfranchise men. Both men and women can share in and celebrate the principles

rooted in the goddess heritage and use these principles as standards as they work together for religious reform.

The emerging picture, then, demonstrates a religious portrait of ancient civilizations where women played a central role, where female deities were worshipped, and where religious life was a partnership between men and women, much more than modern institutionalized religion would have us believe. The intent here is to provide a brief chronicle of some images of women as they appear in the mythology and religious heritage in the ancient world. Such an account helps us understand attitudes toward women in modern world religions, the focus of the latter part of this chapter.

Women's Religious Roles Compelling evidence for a continuous, influential goddess heritage and the significance of women's ancient religious roles in this heritage abounds (Berger, 2000; Cleary and Aziz, 2000; Ahearne-Kroll et al., 2010). The cult of the mother-goddess was one of the oldest, most widespread, and longest-surviving religions throughout the Paleolithic to Neolithic periods in sites from Western Europe, through the Mediterranean world, and into India. The cult of the mother-goddess provides images of women in roles as leaders, healers, artists, music makers, and food providers. In an early effort to document women's dominance of prehistoric civilization, Elizabeth Davis's (1971:16) then controversial book *The First Sex* states not only that there is massive evidence for the matriarchal origins of human society, but also that the "further back one traces *man's* history, the larger loomed the figure of woman." She maintains that in all myth, the goddess is synonymous with gynocracy—when the goddess reigned, women ruled. Although debate continues over how much actual power women held in goddess-dominated societies, abundant research on goddess worship does suggest gynocentric (rather than matriarchal) origins of civilization. Archaeological evidence attesting to gynocratic religious and artistic traditions has been uncovered in the world's best-preserved and oldest Neolithic sites in Catal Huyuk, what is now modern Turkey. These traditions span 800 years, from 6500 to 5700 B.C.E., and are vividly represented by numerous goddess figurines, all emphasizing worship of a female deity. The artifacts of prehistoric European peoples demonstrate representations of the goddess as a symbol of life, fertility, creativity, and regeneration. The vast majority of the symbols are associated with life images rather than death images, but they all speak to the veneration and powerful sacredness of women (Gimbutas, 2001).

Goddess as Creator The goddess image is carried through to the idea of the creator when examining accounts from ancient Native America, Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, Greece, Egypt, India, and China. Nammu is the Summerian goddess who gives birth to heaven and earth; Tiamat is the Babylonian "Creator of All," the mother of gods; and in Greek mythology, Metis, loosely translated as the creative power of female intelligence, brings the world into being without a male partner. In the *Tao Te Ching* (Dao De Jing), creation is the reproduction of all matter from the womb of the Mother. Paleolithic peoples saw the original source of life on earth not as a divine Father, but as a divine Mother, and the creative sexual power of women as a miracle of nature to be revered and blessed. In Chinese Buddhism, the goddess of compassion is Kuan Yin; in Hinduism, the goddess of destruction is Kali, the consort of Siva, who is revered both as a giver and a destroyer of life. The 21 representations of the female

Tibetan deity Tara symbolize compassion, the easing of human suffering, and the guidance to wisdom and salvation. The goddess as the first creator is associated with mythology and religious principles in all corners of the world. Only in later myth does a god replace her (Ruether, 2006; Mabbett and Bapat, 2008).

With the Babylonian empire's dominance in the emerging urban–agricultural world, the warrior-champion Marduk arises as the god of the new city–state. The Marduk–Tiamet story tells of the defeat of Tiamet and her consort, who represent the power of chaos, by the new god Marduk and his followers, who represent the power of order (Ruether, 1983:50). The emergence of the new gods, however, did not erase female names and memories. Marduk molded the cosmos out of Tiamet's body, so she retained her place as the creator. Siva in India, Atea in Polynesia, and Ea in Syria also are names of goddesses carried over to the male gods who replaced them. Goddess worship was not eradicated, but driven underground by later religious persecution (Cleary and Aziz, 2000; Lightfoot, 2003). Perhaps the female names given to male gods were, and still are, the vestiges of such practices.

Africa The oldest record of human habitation is in Africa, and it is there where perhaps the best examples of the goddess as the Mother of All are found. On a continent with an incredible diversity of peoples, customs, and religious symbolism, images of the goddess throughout Sub-Saharan Africa vary as well—from Mawu, creator of the world, to the Goddess as the Moon, to the Goddess as "She Who Sends Rain" (Stone, 1993). In Ghana, Nigeria, and other parts of west and central Africa, tribal religions recognize a divinity that may be male or female. Other cults have primarily female spirit beings. Even given such diversity, the symbolism that emerges most consistently among African indigenous religions involves the concerns for honesty, courage, sympathy, hope, and humanitarianism, which the goddesses represented and the peoples who worshipped them revered. The roots of this heritage are expressed in the many female-dominated religious cults and secret societies that give meaning to contemporary African women's lives (Amadiume, 1997; Nkulu-N'Sengha, 2001).

Asia The ancient texts of China and India also speak clearly to the goddess image. Taoism, the indigenous religious tradition of China, is illustrated by the *Chuang Tzu,* written in the third century B.C.E. Part of this account is a description of the Era of Great Purity, a utopian matrilineal society where life was characterized by happiness, harmony, and spontaneity and where women held influential and venerated family and extradomestic roles. Most of the symbols in this and other Taoist (Daoist) works are explicitly female and highlight fertility and abundant, unqualified motherly love (Wong, 2002; Despeux and Kohn, 2003). It is interesting that women's spiritual power and social influence found in Taoist societies developed and coexisted in a region dominated by Confucian principles, which were highly patriarchal and hierarchical and viewed women as inferior by nature. Although Confucianism remained the dominant religion, Taoist elements could be discovered in other parts of ancient Chinese culture. Contemporary Taoism upholds the positive principles of the feminine and of mutuality in beliefs and rituals (Xiaogan, 2001).

In India, ancient Buddhist traditions supported women's quest for enlightenment (Gross, 2009). Taoism shares with Buddhism less restrictive and more positive images of women compared with many other Eastern and Western traditions.

In the few Chinese regions where Taoist and Buddhist principles intersected, some evidence suggests that women had such high degrees of power that matriarchal societies were said to exist. More research is needed to support this suggestion, but contemporary women in these areas hold positions associated with more esteem and power than do women in other regions of China (Lindsey, 1999).

The Principle of Gender Complementarity

Beyond the goddess images that dominated many ancient practices and beliefs, some religious systems also incorporated notions of balance where, in principle, neither gender was superior. Most notable among these is the ancient Chinese concept of *Yin and Yang*. Although Western interpretation often misrepresents the female principle of Yin as being passive and dominated by the active and aggressive male principle of Yang, this is a distortion of the ancient belief, which emphasized equilibrium, complementarity, and a portion of each principle being incorporated into the other. The Yin–Yang ideal of harmonious balance remains central to the Chinese value system. Much of the original intent of balance was lost as patriarchy extended its influence to all cultural elements, including religion.

Tantric Buddhism in medieval India and Tibet was amenable to both male and female *siddhas*—accomplished ones—whose gender was considered irrelevant to the ultimate Buddhist goal of enlightenment. Buddha's disciples included both men and women, and spiritual paths to enlightenment were open to both men and women. Women could be ordained as nuns just as men could become monks, practices that continue today. In Native American spiritual traditions, the complementarity of men and women was evident, with the genders performing unique spiritual practices or sharing others. The matrilineal Iroquois tribes of eastern North America participated in religious ceremonies where both the male and the female dimensions were needed, such as rites to encourage the male activity of hunting or the female activity of agriculture. It is difficult to generalize about such diverse Native American cultures, but they were likely to be holistic and organized their worldviews according to interdependent natural and human forces. For functionalists, with male and female powers balancing each other, social equilibrium is maintained.

Critique In ancient and contemporary societies, religious traditions incorporating notions of male and female complementarity and balance did not inevitably carry over into other realms. If Tantric Buddhism was a path open to both genders, the Indian and Tibetan cultures made it very difficult for women to pursue such a path, given their restrictions in other institutional settings. Women who wanted to follow the path as nuns had to submit to rigid standards of male control established by the monks, practices which carry through to today. Buddhism is shifting in response to feminist interpretations and to global politics, and contemporary nuns are challenging the gender hierarchy giving monks predominant power (Gutschow, 2004; Hooks et al., 2008). For Native Americans, the Iroquois also denied public expression of women in a variety of settings. Gender complementarity does not necessarily translate to gender equity. Complementarity assumes that males and females are "designed to make up for one another's deficiencies, rather than inspiring one another to overcome them" (Webster, 1995:194).

Regardless of the inequality that doubtlessly existed in other parts of the society, these accounts of goddess images and male–female complementarity in early religious traditions do provide an alternative, clearly positive view of women. This view can help offset contemporary religious interpretations about women's submissiveness, subordination, and powerlessness that impact three-quarters of the world's 6 billion people who identify with a world religion.

Islam

Islam is the second largest and fastest-growing religion, representing about one-fifth of the world's population. The word *Islam* translates into submission, and Muslims, the adherents of Islam, are ones who have "submitted" to the will of God, or Allah. Founded in the first century, Islam is based on the teachings of Muhammad (570–632), the greatest among God's prophets whose revelations are recorded in the Qur'an (Koran), the holy book of Islam. Islam emerged in response to unique Arab needs and circumstances, including Muhammad's desire to aid the poor and provide economic resources for those who were not under the care and protection of others, including widows, orphans, and unmarried women. Islam introduced changes that were advantageous to women in the areas of marriage, divorce, and inheritance; other Islamic practices served to disempower women (Brooks, 2002b; Hassan, 2002). In the pre-Islamic Arab world, women had esteemed roles as soothsayers, priestesses, and queens, but it is clear that these images had been swept away once Islam became entrenched in Arab cultures. By the third century, women were more secluded and degraded than anything known in earlier Islamic decades (Minai, 1991; Shehadeh, 2007).

We will see that Muslims vary considerably in how they interpret the Qur'an in regard to the roles of contemporary women. Much of what is expected of women is based on short narratives about the sayings and deeds of Muhammad's many wives that were passed down orally. These stories are part of the commentaries on the Qur'an that have since become authoritative sources for Islamic teaching. The accuracy of these thousands of narratives is questionable, and each period interprets them according to prevailing cultural standards. They have been used to validate a wide range of contradictory attitudes and practices concerning Islamic women. Women are seen as ideal, obedient, and gentle as well as jealous, conspiratorial, and having imperfect minds (Ahmed, 2002; Hotaling, 2003; Hammer, 2008). One of the most controversial passages of the Qur'an (4:34) has been used to justify corporal discipline of women:

> As to those women on whose part you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly).

Although contemporary Islam defines men and women as complementary rather than equal, passages from the Qur'an emphasizing inequality over complementarity are favored, such as another part of the passage above: "men are in charge of women, because God hath made the one of them to excel the other" (Qur'an, 4:34). Since men are a step above women and the protectors of women, God gives preference and authority to men over women. For centuries, the verse was used to condone women's oppression and abuse.

Islamic law is nurtured by a code of ethics that views a woman's key role as providing male heirs. This role may be compromised if women are not restricted in their activities, especially during childbearing years. Muhammad himself was awed by woman's power and what he saw as a mysterious, unlimited sexual drive that, if left unfettered, could wreak social havoc by casting doubt on the legitimacy of the husband's heirs. From a functionalist perspective, the practices involving *purdah* (seclusion) arose as a response to these attitudes (Chapter 6). Women have less freedom outside their homes in Islamic states where the law is based on strict interpretations of the Qur'an and where there are high levels of female illiteracy.

Feminist Views of Islam

Numerous restrictions on women in the name of the Qur'an, similar to other world religions, are more likely the result of a nation's history and politics rather than its religion. When women are educated in Islamic history and empowered to interpret the Qur'an, they not only offer more positive messages, but also balance the distorted ones regarding the role and status of Islamic women (Badran, 2009; Kassam, 2010). Muslim feminist scholars assert that human rights and equality are the expression of true Islam (Scott, 2009:60–61). The following passages, for example, suggest this thrust:

> And does their Sustainer answer their prayer: I shall not lose sight of the labor of any of you who labor, be in man or women: each of you is an issue of the other. (Qur'an 3:195)
>
> It is the (divine being) who has created you (all) out of a single soul, and out of it brought into being its mate, so that one might find rest in the other. (Qur'an 7:189)

Alternative interpretations of the Qur'an can transform the women of the holy texts into role models, even feminist ones. Sufism, the mystical school of Islam, is replete with women saints. Their shrines exist throughout North Africa, India, and the Middle East and are visited by women in search of special needs connected with their family life. Both men and women could follow a religious path and live the life of an itinerant Sufi traveler or as a mystic in their own communities (Hutson, 2005; Pemberton, 2005). Another example is in regard to the wives of Muhammad, who hold powerful places as the "Mothers of Believers." These women are venerated for the powerful and respected roles they played in Muhammad's household during the emergence of Islam.

> When we listen here to these women who surrounded the Prophet and whose words and actions held his attention . . . we hear a very present-day message. . . . Do not these wives, Mothers of Believers, remind us . . . that a society of progress and justice takes place through the restoration of women, to all women, of the dignity and the position which the religion award them? (cited in Ascha, 1995:107)

Critique Reading the Qur'an for alternative, more positive views of women is strongly supported by Muslim women. They all agree that Islam is a key mediator that can be more or less beneficial to women depending on how it is interpreted.

However, there is much disagreement among Muslim women scholars, activists, and leaders—who may or may not regard themselves as feminists—concerning definitions of Islamic feminism, Western feminism, and feminists who are Islamic. Some activists argue that Islam is not inherently biased against women and work on issues such as securing political, legal, and reproductive rights (Seedat, 2013; Mir-Hosseini, 2013). They use *shari'ah* (Islamic) law to demand justice for poor and disenfranchised women. These may be the feminists who are Islamic. Teachers at Islamic girls' schools (madrasahs) who most strongly identify with Islam and work under prescribed Islamic mandates maneuver within these patriarchal confines to assert authority to the benefit of their female students (Jeffery et al., 2012). As Islamic feminists, they use the authority of Islamic tradition, such as female piety, to get what they want. Others suggest that Islam and feminism cannot meaningfully converge because feminism is too Western and secular. The "Muslim women question" cannot be adequately addressed under feminism. In this sense, non-religious based woman's activism in Islamic states has little chance of succeeding (Hafiz, 2011; Bahi, 2012; Segran, 2013). A newer model suggests that "difference" is valued—and valuable—in any efforts on behalf of women. These differences put Muslim women on dissimilar paths, but they can work with one another rather than against one another when paths and goals converge (El-Mahdi, 2010; Hafez, 2011; Bano, 2012). Regardless of how Islam is interpreted, women's agency is always apparent. The prediction, therefore, is that different streams of feminism and Islam will emerge, converge, and diverge according to specific political and cultural contexts.

Islamic Women in the United States

With the global spotlight on the Taliban after 9/11, attention was riveted on Islamic women in the United States, which enlarged the existing dialogue among Muslims regarding women's contribution to the formation of American Islam (Wadud, 2011). Muslim women are altering as well as affirming the traditional values of their religion. Although women are denied the opportunity to be *imams*—religious leaders and administrative officers of mosques—there is strong support for the belief that Islam supports equal rights and responsibilities for women. Most Muslim women earn or expect to earn college degrees, and most work outside the home. But like women of other faiths, debate continues on how women can successfully reconcile employment and family roles, especially concerning child care (Akhtar, 2007; Jamil, 2009; Zakaria, 2009). Another debate concerns the proper dress of Muslim women in certain settings and how much of a woman's body should be covered (Gehrke-White, 2006). Muslim college students on "sexualized" American campuses, for example, walk a fine line in clothing choices that may identify them as too modest or too immodest depending on their "audience." Those choices are associated with not only their religious identity, but also level of acceptance in their various communities (Mir, 2014). Reflecting the rapid gains in education among Muslim women and the unique American stamp on Islam, women are actively engaged in these debates in and outside their homes and may have more influence than their sisters in the Arab world in resolving them.

Hinduism

Dating 4,500 years ago, Hinduism is the oldest of the world's major religions, with almost 800 million followers, most of whom live in India. As Islam is to Arab cultures, Hinduism is incorporated into the cultural fabric in so many ways that it is impossible to visualize what India would be like without it. Because Hinduism is based in one of the most ethnically diverse regions in the world and its practices have been adapted to suit such a wide variety of cultural circumstances, contradictory images of women may be expected.

The Feminine in Hindu Scripture

The oldest Hindu scriptures, the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* (1800–500 B.C.E.), provide images of women that have been interpreted in many ways. Some condemn women for selfishness, energy, and ambition, especially if they forsake their "higher" level of womanhood and neglect to serve their families (Jacobson and Wadley, 1995; Weisgrau, 2000). An influential work written almost 70 years ago describes such women:

> [They] take pride in proving that they never developed a talent for domesticity . . . [and] society will have to allow for them. Such "masculine" women do not reach the highest of which womanhood is capable. (Radhakrishnan,1947:142)

These beliefs are fostered by interpretations of the ancient *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* epics, which describe many Hindu ideals related to the proper role of men and women in their families. Combined with the Hindu scriptures, these popular epics offer children authoritative messages supporting traditional beliefs about gender roles. Women are violent ogresses and loving saints. Other interpretations dating to Hinduism's spiritual, preinstitutionalized era are more positive (Doniger, 2009). These demonstrate esteem for femininity and complementarity between spouses.

The Hindu ideal is that male and female are balanced, with man as the creator and woman as the lover and with a woman's sexual tendencies being as varied and erotic as a man's. Hindus celebrate a number of female goddesses, saints, and deities, the most prominent of whom are linked to symbols of fertility, creation, and hope. Unlike Muslims in India, where males control religious practice and where virtually all significant religious figures are male, Hindus allow women to serve in temples and lead religious rituals. Hinduism has the longest-continuing goddess heritage in the world and offers models for men and women to follow and revere.

Despite the variety of religious images offered to Hindu women, it is safe to conclude that they practice rituals congruent with their roles as mothers, wives, and homemakers. These customs exemplify the domestic sphere of life, the only one known to most Hindu women. In many Indian villages, for example, childbirth involves an elaborate series of rituals lasting from pregnancy until the child ventures outside the home. Many North Indian Hindu women practice rituals expressing their concerns for family and household. Observed only by women, although these ceremonies do not require the services of male priests, they reflect a strong patriarchal society. Some practices involve the direct worship of husbands and brothers for

the purpose of obtaining their protection, whereas others offer prayers and supplications for the happy marriages of daughters and for the joys of being blessed with male offspring (Younger, 2002; McDaniel, 2003b).

Sati

"The greatest misfortune that can befall a [Hindu] wife is to survive her husband" (cited in Jarman, 2002:2). Hindu religious rituals reinforce women's roles as mothers, wives, and homemakers and connections to men for their well-being. When women became "unconnected" to men by widowhood, the widow, referred to as a **sati**, was frequently expected to be buried alive with her dead husband or, more commonly, self-immolated on his funeral pyre.

The ritual of widow burning originated during the ancient Vedic period, where the widow performed a symbolic self-immolation on her husband's death. In later centuries, the symbol became the reality. The practice and veneration of the practice speak to centuries of women's subordinate status in India.

Literally translated to mean "virtuous woman," satis were largely confined to the aristocracy and courts. During wartime, however, widow burning occurred on a massive scale among widows of soldiers who were spared the humiliation of surrendering to the victors. Becoming a sati was considered the most auspicious moment of her existence. She was given the "supreme opportunity for self-sacrifice that consummates her life of dedication to her dead husband." A sati brought dignity and honor to her family and her community. A living widow was seen as "not only unfortunate but positively inauspicious, an ogress who ate her husband with karmic jaws" (Young, 1987:83). She would feel guilty the rest of her life that her husband died before her. This sense of guilt was heightened by the Hindu belief that a sin in her previous life was responsible for his earlier death. In principle, this was a voluntary rite on the part of the widow. In practice, her grief was often used by relatives who desired the honor associated with a sati ceremony. Only faithful wives could be honored as a sati, so a widow's refusal could be taken as an admission of infidelity (Fisch, 2006; Yang, 2008). In a culture where widow remarriages were discouraged and women were identified only in connection to their husbands, widows occupied the lowest rung on the social hierarchy. Widowhood magnified a woman's dependence, subservience, and fear of sexual exploitation and abandonment. Given these dire circumstances, a woman consumed with grief and guilt may believe "that the brief agony of sati was better than the long agony of widowhood" (Jarman, 2002:2). When Muslim Mughals ruled India, attempts were made to abolish the practice, and the British outlawed it as early as 1829. British lack of success in eliminating it altogether shows the intransigence of Hindu religious beliefs and their intimate connection to the social order.

India is rapidly modernizing. Many rural areas, however, remain untouched by this trend. It speaks to the extraordinary power of gendered religious socialization that sati is still associated with virtue for numerous Hindu women. No longer do dying husbands extract oaths to be a sati from grieving wives, but the practice has not died out. Cases of sati, both symbolic and actual, continue to be documented. Others remain hidden (Divya, 2009).

Judaism

The ancient biblical world of Judaism was a powerful patriarchal world. The two most important documents governing the conduct of Jewish life for both men and women are the *Torah* (law), the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, providing the whole of God's teaching as revealed to the Jewish people, and the Talmud, a collection of rabbinic interpretations of scripture transmitted around the middle of the first century. Because the Hebrew Bible and the Old Testament of the Christian Bible contain these five books, the Torah is the shared heritage of both peoples. Interpretation of scripture has been fairly flexible to account for the varying circumstances and cultural challenges faced by the Jewish people, but views of women and their approved roles have remained remarkably stable. A strict gendered division of labor dictated family and religious life. Men's duties were to lead, teach, and legislate, and women's were to serve and to follow.

Family Life

Men's family responsibilities included being a breadwinner and instructing their children in the history and religious obligations demanded by their faith. Women's duties were confined to the household, including overseeing domestic religious rituals such as preparing Sabbath meals. A woman required permission from her husband to engage in any outside activities, and she could divorce him only if he granted it. Ancient customs prescribed daily rigorous religious duties for men from which women were exempt. If a wife was fulfilling her household responsibilities, including those religious functions centered in the household, then her husband was able to concentrate on his religious obligations, patterns that continue today. Throughout Jewish history, a woman was described, defined, and judged by her roles as wife and mother (Ilan, 2006; Boyarin, 2013). However, women did venture outside their homes to connect with other women and to engage in some community activities; so the image of seclusion and isolation is not the whole portrait of their lives (Meyers, 2009). Intense prejudice and anti-Semitism, including the Nazi Holocaust, mark most of Judaism's 4,000-year heritage. Survival of Judaism itself depended on growth; hence motherhood meant that a woman individually sacrificed for children and family as well as for religious identity.

Sexuality and Social Control This concern for stability in family life resulted in what can be regarded as excessive control over women's sexuality. The ancient Hebrews severely punished infidelity on the part of a wife, but a husband was punished for infidelity only if he violated another man's rights by consorting with his wife (Daly, 1991:139). The right of a husband to own his wife kept her sexuality under control because she was regarded as a piece of property. An example of this control is found in the following verse:

> I took this woman and . . . did not find the tokens of virginity. . . . The father of the young woman shall say to the elders . . . "he has made shameful charges against her . . . these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity" . . . then the elders . . . shall take the man and whip him. . . . But if the thing is true, that the tokens of virginity were not found in the young woman, the . . . the men of the city shall stone her to death. (Deuteronomy, 22:14–21)

Women were denied access to the goddess religions that coexisted with Judaism during early biblical times. The goddess religions threatened Jewish monotheism, the religiously based political structure, and the sexual control of women. Patriarchal social order could be assaulted if women took advantage of the freedoms associated with these pagan religions.

The goddess religions are gone, but beliefs about controlling women, especially their sexuality, in the name of social order continue (Keshet-Orr, 2003; Ariel, 2006). However, even conservative women are not passive recipients of these beliefs. Research on orthodox Jewish Israeli women suggests that they orchestrate marital sexuality according to a range of cultural contexts provided by their religion (Avishai, 2008). In this sense, they do not "comply" with "regulations," but are agents in acting out their religious identity in marriage.

The Texts of Terror

The **Texts of Terror**, parts of four books of the Torah that include the Old Testament of the Christian Bible that document abuse and sexual violence against women, were often used as justifications for restricting women's lives (Trible, 1984, 2003). These texts (Genesis, 16:1–16 and 21:9–21; II Samuel, 13:1–22; Judges, 19:1–30, and Judges, 11:29–40) testify to rape, murder, human sacrifice, and the widespread abuse of women and girls. In Judges 19:1–30, a concubine flees her Levite master to return to her father's house, where her master is entertained by her father and then prepares to return with her to his own home. Along the way, he is invited into the home of a man from Ephraim when the home is besieged. In pleading for the safety of the Levite, the Ephraimite host says:

> Behold, here are my virgin daughter and his concubine; . . . . Ravish them and do with them what seems good to you; but against this man do not do such a vile thing. So the man seized his concubine, and put her out to them; and they knew her and abused her all night. . . . And as the dawn began to break they let her go . . . then he put her upon the ass . . . and went away to his home. And when he entered his house, he took a knife, and laying hold of his concubine he divided her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces, and sent her throughout all the territory of Israel.

Virgin daughters and concubines are treated as property to be used at will by fathers or masters to entertain male guests.

Other biblical references could be included in these texts of terror. They serve as testimony to justify rape of virgins, abandonment of wives, and sexual violence against slave girls and women taken as prisoners of war.

Contemporary Images

All branches of Judaism are engaged in making its religious heritage more palatable to contemporary women (Heschel, 2002). Much of this effort is focused on reinterpreting Talmudic edicts and demonstrating the variety of roles Jewish women assumed throughout their religious history. For instance, positive countervoices exist throughout scripture that confirm God's high regard for women. In first-century documents, Eve is envisioned as a woman who may have been naive but certainly

not wicked—an unselfish woman whose good character Satan abused. Throughout the Diaspora, Jewish women lived their lives as wives and mothers and as earners, organizers, and entrepreneurs (Mirkin, 2004). They sought and gained opportunities to climb to prestigious positions and to assume leadership roles in Jewish communities. Discussed below, women are following the path to the rabbinate, the most authoritative, respected space for Jewish leaders.

Christianity

From its origins 2,000 years ago as a Middle Eastern cult rooted in Judaism, Christianity developed as a result of the life events of its charismatic leader, Jesus of Nazareth, who was born a Jew. Christianity is the largest of the world's religions, representing about one-third of the world's population. Christianity's phenomenal growth rate is in part due to its early focus on class and ethnic inclusiveness (Stark, 1996). Gender inclusiveness highlighted the ministry of Jesus but remained unacknowledged for centuries.

The Bible and Patriarchy

Religious socialization of the young often proceeds from the teaching of biblical stories replete with colorful pictures of David confronting Goliath or Moses parting the sea in the escape from Egypt. These childhood images are nurtured by interpretations that perpetuate gender role stereotypes. The Bible is frequently evoked as the final authority in settling disputes in many areas but in particular those involving women and men.

Because the Bible expresses the attitudes of the patriarchal cultures in which it was written, it is logical that its most popular texts would be representative of those cultures. Historically the androcentric passages have been emphasized. Positive views of women and the partnerships forged between men and women exist throughout the Bible, but scripture pointing to the subordination of women is favored in part because it is more known.

The following examples, often repeated from the pulpit, demonstrate how androcentric ideology permeates the Bible. It is appropriate to begin with the version of the creation story that is most accepted as representing the traditional view of both Christianity and Judaism.

> And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made the woman and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. (Genesis, 2:20–23)

Contrary to all subsequent natural law, woman is made from man. Her status as helpmate and server to man (read "males") is confirmed. The idea that Eve not only was created out of Adam's rib, but also was created second, is used to justify the domination of man-husband over woman-wife. This view of Eve is stubbornly persistent. As one writer contends, the biblical text refers to God's "curse" of Eve and woman being a "helper" to Adam; Adam dominates Eve sexually and otherwise from the very moment of Eve's creation (Gellman, 2006:319). The *order* of

creation, however, is not an issue in supremacy considering that animals were created before humans.

The Writings of Paul In supporting this perspective, Paul has the dubious honor of formulating views (or having writings attributed to him) that continue to reinforce contemporary Christian images of women. On the one hand, Paul is closely linked with a "Christianity of female subordination," and his proclamations are used to keep women out of the ministry and confined to religious roles that are home based or, if outside the home, have a charitable basis. Perhaps Paul was concerned about the scandal and ridicule directed at the fledgling Christian sect if women were encouraged to venture into roles that could challenge existing patriarchy. On the other hand, he accepted the beliefs and practices of earlier inclusive charismatic Christianity, "the theology of equivalence of women." This form of Christianity incorporated women as local leaders, evangelists, and prophets (Ruether, 2001). Paul acknowledged the idea of equality but insisted on the divinely given quality of sexual differences. Paul's contradictory beliefs about women are evident in the *Pauline* texts, consisting of those biblical passages attributed to Paul that contain striking misogyny as well as more gender egalitarian treatment (Adams, 2000). However, it is the former that are most well-known and frequently used to justify the subordination of Christian women.

> For a man ought not to cover his head since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man. For man was not made from woman, but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman but woman for man. (I Corinthians, 11:7–11)
>
> Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or have authority over men; she is to keep silent. (I Timothy, 2:11–12)
>
> Wives be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the Church. As the Church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands. (Ephesians, 5:22–24)

Women are repeatedly viewed in terms of their status as possessions of men. The Ten Commandments list a neighbor's wife, along with his house, fields, manservant, ox, and ass as property not to be coveted (Exodus, 20:17). Lot offers his daughters to the male guests in his house.

> Behold, I have two daughters who have not known man. Let me bring them out to you and do to them as you please. (Genesis, 19:8)

Contemporary comments on biblical women are much less misogynistic, offering more positive interpretations and challenging long-held assumptions about passive women in patriarchal societies. Strong theological evidence supports these assertions (Fiorenza, 2013; Meyers, 2014). It took many years before these views became more mainstreamed in seminaries, in the pulpit, and in media. In the transition, narratives continued to be presented that simultaneously praised and disparaged women for nontraditional gendered behavior. For example, Jochebed, the mother of Moses, is praised for her role in recognizing exceptional promise in her children. The heroic efforts in carrying out this role are ignored. Selfish and possessive women—like the wife of Potiphar, who was responsible for the unfair imprisonment

of Joseph—are admonished for their wickedness and deceit (Lindsey, 1099:793). The midpoint between more or less acceptable images appears to be that women are different but not inferior to men and that they complement one another. Eve, for example, has many duties in her mission, one of which is motherhood. She is "God's last work and deepest mystery" (Juškienė, 2010). These images suggest that complementarity and equality existed between men and women and go hand in hand. In the end, however, woman's (Eve) mysterious femaleness makes her more problematic than man's (Adam) in interpreting her non-motherhood roles.

Biblical Men The Christian tradition portrays men as both rational and irrational. They are warriors, leaders, teachers, builders, and cultivators whose minds, talents, and strength are recruited in the service of God. But they also are driven by sexual desires and are irrational in their inability to resist the lure of women. Even in their irrational moments, they are portrayed as multifaceted beings adapting and thriving in a variety of roles. In contrast, women are dualistically cast with no room for deviation. Eve may be the mother of humanity, but she also is the temptress responsible for the fall of humanity. Because Eve yielded to the serpent, women thereafter are incapable of leadership. Adam succumbs to Eve's feminine wiles but is largely exempt from blame. On the other hand, Mary as the mother of Christ is the idealized image of the perfect woman—a humble, submissive virgin. Joseph is Mary's husband and Jesus's earthly father, but compared to Mary, Joseph is relegated to only a few biblical references. Biblical scholars may suggest that his "ordinary" roles as carpenter and supporter of the family do not elevate him to the same biblical importance as Christianity's political or religious leaders. In this sense, the Bible tends to neglect unexceptional men—those who for better or worse do not deviate from their roles—but to focus attention on exceptional women—those who for better or worse do deviate from their roles.

Progressive Views of Biblical Women

Numerous biblical alternatives to traditional views document the stories, images, and metaphors demonstrating a range of interpretive options related to women. Paul's forceful passage (from the Pauline texts) speaks directly to the idea of equality of the genders under God:

> There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Jesus Christ. (Galatians, 3:28)

On the heels of the equality issue is the rediscovery of the nontraditional roles women played in biblical times. Mary Magdalene and the women who went to Jesus's tomb hold the credibility of Christianity in their hands. Jesus first appeared to them, and they were instructed to gather the disciples. Mary Magdalene can be elevated as the first Prophet and the first Christian of the new religion (Griffith-Jones, 2008). In the book of Judges, Deborah is an arbitrator, a queen, and a commander of the army that she led in the defeat of the Canaanites. In Exodus, it is the women who first disobeyed Pharaoh, with his own daughter adopting Moses as her child. Women are wives and mothers as well as leaders, prophetesses, teachers, and tillers of the soil. Even Mary's humility and submissiveness are being taken to task.

Feminists argue that Mary submitted to God alone and not to Joseph or other male authority figures. She was an independent actor when she affirmed the course of her life (Ostling, 1991:64).

It is a rereading of the Gospels with an examination of the life and teachings of Jesus that provides the best message in recasting biblical imagery concerning women. Jesus's open attitude toward women is found throughout the Gospels. His acceptance of women was so uncharacteristic of the times that it could not be seen as anything short of scandalous (Magli, 2003). Women were prominent in Jesus's ministry from the beginning. They recognized him early on as the Messiah, they witnessed his death and resurrection, they conversed with him on theological topics, and they were faithful followers even through the lethal parts of his ministry.

Women of biblical times would have been the major beneficiaries of Jesus's ministry. Examples are numerous: He preached that divorce should be forbidden at a time when only husbands had the right of divorce and wives were often abandoned to a life of poverty; he rejected the double standard of sexual morality, helping to absolve women of their temptress image that previously made them solely responsible for sexual misdeeds; and he opened a religious path and monastic life for both men and women. He demonstrated that women could join men in spiritual quests and men and women could interact in radically different ways than suggested by the patriarchy of the times. By these standards, Jesus can be counted as feminist (Swidler, 2007).

Gender Roles and American Christians

Religious pluralism is a hallmark of the United States, and there are numerous religions, branches of religions, denominations, cults, and new religious movements in various stages of, growth, decline, and emergence. Of all the groups that comprise the religious salad bowl in the United States, the largest in number are under the Christian umbrella. Over three-fourths of the U.S. population identify themselves as Christian, and of these, about half are Protestant and one-fourth are Catholic. American Christians share basic theological beliefs, but diverge sharply on key gender-related issues.

American Protestants Protestants are divided into numerous denominations and independent churches, but some generalizations about their attitudes regarding gender roles can be made. Mainstream denominations including Methodists, Lutherans of the Evangelical Church in America (ELCA), Presbyterians, and Episcopalians are more inclusive and liberal in their theology, accommodating a variety of interpretations. These denominations have women in key leadership roles, including ordained ministers. Women take up visible, active roles in weekly services and share in church functions with men. Special services spotlighting alternative images of women are conducted. Sunday schools provide children with images of biblical men and women in an array of roles.

Conservative mainstream denominations including Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, some Baptist branches, Pentecosts, and small Protestant churches not otherwise affiliated with any specific Protestant groups are more absolutist in their beliefs, viewing the Bible as the literal, unerring word of God. These Protestants are at

the core of fundamentalist religious trends in the United States. Bolstered by literal theological interpretations favoring traditional biblical views noted earlier, male and female adherents hear the message that egalitarian or companionate-style families and gender roles are contrary to God's plan for the world. Patriarchal families are godly, wise, desirable, and necessary and are in the best interests of family and society (Hoffmann and Bartkowski, 2008).

Many support the agenda of the **New Christian Right** (NCR), a fundamentalist political movement composed largely of conservative Protestant groups that promotes a specific Christian brand of morality based on the Bible and God's will as the ultimate source for political and social life. Issues related to sex and gender are the core of NCR's agenda in its call for restrictions on sex education and opposition to gay and lesbian rights, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment (Chapter 14).

American Catholics Probably the most important issues dividing contemporary U.S. Catholics from the authority of the broader Roman Catholic Church are attitudes regarding sex and gender. This division shows up among both clergy and laypeople. For example, various orders of nuns have removed themselves from traditional patterns of Catholic hierarchy and worship; they take a distinctly female-centered view of religion, preferring to pray to "Her" rather than "Him." Other parishes allow altar girls, nuns as campus ministers, and women leading "priestess parishes" in rural areas where there are shortages of male priests. Catholics in the Global South (developing world) are more conservative on key issues; American Catholics are more progressive on these same issues. Among laypeople, a majority of American Catholics practice birth control other than the rhythm method, support the use of condoms and sex education in schools, believe priests should be allowed to marry, do not believe political candidates should be judged solely on the abortion issue, and believe that divorced Catholics need to be welcomed back to the Church. Over 60 percent of American Catholics support the ordination of women and are receptive to women's ordination, all in direct contradiction to Vatican authority (Ruether, 2008; Ellison et al., 2013; Hanna, 2013; Yeagle, 2014). Although Latinos and Catholics who identify themselves as more religious are less supportive of these practices, the overall pattern still holds. Because so many Catholics have beliefs and practices that directly counter Vatican teaching, the Church is reluctant to dismiss them from church rosters.

Issues related to women and sexuality have been in the forefront of Catholic controversy for decades. However, a new twist to the sexuality issue exploded in the media when widespread sexual abuse by Catholic priests perpetrated on children was revealed. The shock that priests engaged in "serial, predatory and sexual abuse of minors" was magnified when it was learned that Roman Catholic officials who knew of abuse routinely shuffled "problem priests" to other parishes, ignored the problem, or swept it under the rug. These cover-ups were as disturbing to many Catholics as the original abuse, and most people believed that the Church did a poor job in handling the scandal (Dale and Alpert, 2007; Terry, 2013; Yocum, 2013). Through the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), as short-term solutions, the Church offered official apologies, counseling, and monetary compensation for victims and removed perpetrators from the priesthood in addition to filing criminal charges against them. Surveys of Catholic priests and

the lay public toward the USCCB response showed that they believed the media's portrayal that bishops had engaged in cover-ups. Interestingly, people of all faiths with more media exposure to the sex scandals were more confident that the Church could prevent future sexual abuse. However, they also believed that the USCCB's response was inadequate, ill-conceived, and designed to satisfy public pressure (Kane, 2008; Mancini and Shields, 2014).

Cases of sexual abuse and pedophilia among priests continue to emerge, some decades old and others perpetrated recently. Papal messages are considered the most important indicators of Church stance on the sex scandal as well as other divisive issues. Very early in his papacy Pope Francis has garnered high marks and popularity in his retreat from the hard-line approaches of his predecessors. He speaks about transparency in investigating the priest sex scandal. He astonished many in his now famous statement: "Who am I to judge a gay person who seeks the Lord?" Condemning increasing inequality, his grass roots popularity resonates with people of all faiths. Irrespective of faith or level of religiosity, papal messages carry a powerful global impact. Expectations are quite high for Pope Francis's willingness not only to address the sex scandal but also to open the door to dialogue about homosexuality among Catholics, priests, and laypeople (Meichtry, 2013; Allen, 2014). So far at least, Vatican response on these issues may mend distrust between the Church and its flock. It also may refocus attention on another issue the Catholic Church prefers to ignore—the issue of women's ordination into the Catholic priesthood.

Gender, Religiosity, and Leadership

Despite rapid secular social trends, religion remains a powerful agent of gender socialization as well as a major source of a person's overall well-being. Degree of religiosity is correlated with lower support on a number of attitudes related to sex and gender, including women's ordination, women working outside the home, reproductive choice, contraceptive use, homosexuality, and the Equal Rights Amendment (Chapter 14). Higher levels of religiosity translate to less gender egalitarianism and stronger beliefs about essentialism and female submissiveness in marriage and higher fertility, a pattern that cuts across all religions. Level of religiosity is a better predictor of beliefs about gender equality than is a particular religious affiliation. Although measures of religiosity vary, it is safe to conclude that a religious commitment in conservative religions, especially fundamentalist Protestantism, predicts a preference for highly traditional gender roles. Some suggest that secular laws protecting religious freedom allow religions to be exempt from gender discrimination that would not be tolerated in other institutions (Skjeie, 2007). Preference for traditional gender roles discourages many women from seeking positions of leadership in those very religious organizations from which they derive a strong sense of well-being.

Gender and Religious Orientation

The issue of women as religious leaders is perhaps even more significant because abundant sociological research suggests that women have a greater degree of religious orientation than men, a pattern that straddles the globe (Stark, 2002).

Compared to men, women report higher levels of need for a religious dimension in their daily lives and believe that religion is an answer to contemporary problems. Women pray and read scripture more than men and have higher rates of church and synagogue attendance and practice. Religious orientation is reinforced by women's responsibility for the religious socialization of the children. Women ensure that children receive religious instruction, attend services, and practice the rituals important to their religion.

Sociological Perspectives All sociological perspectives highlight the link between family and religion in explaining gender differences in the level of religious orientation. Functionalists maintain that social cohesion is strengthened when families and communities share the same beliefs derived from the moral communities established by their religion. Traditional gender roles in the home are bolstered by similar messages from the pulpit about the proper place of men and women. Feminists also suggest that church and family are consistent because both share similar patriarchal structures. For feminists, however, the social cohesion that functionalists highlight reinforces patriarchy and benefits its male leaders but does a disservice to women who are excluded from religious leadership. Because traditional gender roles and patriarchy go hand in hand, inclusiveness and partnership roles sought by men and women congregants are discouraged.

Conflict theorists use classical Marxism to explain women's religious orientation for Christian women. Religion acts as an opiate, discouraging people from challenging the religious status quo. Christianity's belief that heavenly rewards come to those who lead humble, pious, and self-sacrificing lives bolsters women's acceptance of an "other worldly" ideology. Marx suggested that religion lulls people into a *false consciousness*, the tendency for oppressed people to accept the ideology of the dominant class—in this sense, church patriarchy. These beliefs are transmitted via religious socialization in families and are largely unchallenged. The overall result is that oppression, in the name of God, is legitimized. Conflict theorists support biblical interpretations challenging these beliefs and calling for people to use their religions in the active pursuit of social justice. Advanced initially by Catholic clergy in Latin America, **liberation theology** calls for redistribution of wealth and economic equality grounded in biblical messages about God's concern for the poor and oppressed. Liberation theology's messages about oppression of economic inequality also can be brought to bear on the oppression of gender inequality. Opening up the religious leadership structure to women is a key mechanism in contesting gender oppression perpetrated in the name of God and religion.

The Issue of Ordination

Seminaries are rapidly being feminized. Among all religions that allow women to be ordained, 60–70 percent of seminary students are women and their numbers continue to grow. This includes those seeking a Master of Divinity (M.Div.) even if their religions do not allow female ordination. The feminization of divinity schools should translate into a pulpit with women's voices offering alternative views and explanations of women from the Bible and the holy texts from other religions. These views

are necessary when contemporary women seek equal footing with men as leaders in their religious organizations, whether in churches, synagogues, temples, or mosques.

Confucianism and Islam In outlining women's roles in the world religions, the religions that stand out as the most restrictive in terms of women's leadership roles are Islam, the second largest religion in the world and on track to become the largest, and Confucianism, the smallest of the world religions. Neither religion can be described as "hierarchal" in leadership structure. In Confucianism, perhaps better described as an "ethicalist" tradition with religious underpinnings, a variety of men may organize and lead rituals, although women often ensure that appropriate rituals are conducted in their households. Men are the arbitrators and interpreters of Confucian texts as they pertain to family, business, and politics. Confucian ideals consign women to their family and household roles (Woo, 2002). Islam does not have priests, but imams are powerful figures, especially in religious states such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, where imams serving large mosques have a great deal of political clout. They have the right to choose and interpret passages from the Qur'an. Muslim women are restricted from becoming imams. As a result, they are denied an important public opportunity to provide alternative interpretations of the Qur'an.

Judaism When Jews began to enter modern Western society in the late nineteenth century, attitudes toward women shifted dramatically. Patriarchy was evident, but the flexible, adaptive quality of Jewish beliefs and practices is again demonstrated in accommodating women's greater independence and higher levels of education. Increasing numbers of women rabbis reflect these trends. Each of Judaism's three main branches—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform—varies according to the degree to which theology is literally interpreted and acted on in daily life. Orthodox Jews, for example, have the strictest interpretation, viewing the Torah as the absolutely binding word of God. Those who identify as Conservative are less strict, allowing interpretation of the Torah in the context of modern life. Reform Jews, the most liberal and assimilated branch, accept the Torah's ethical guidelines and general religious precepts, but are open to alternative interpretations of the Torah, especially related to gender roles. As the least strict branch, Reform Judaism was the first to make possible women's rabbinical ordination, with Sally Priesand becoming the first female rabbi in 1972. A year later ordination was open to women in the Conservative branch, but the first Conservative rabbi was not ordained until 1985.

Orthodox Judaism opened its doors for woman rabbis in 2013. Because of the long and contentious road to ordination for females in Orthodox Judaism, it is still navigating how these new rabbis will be included in various congregations (Brekus, 2014). Congregations vary considerably in receptiveness and may be more or less supportive for female rabbis to be in full partnership with male rabbis. Maharat, or spiritual leader, meant to be the female counterpart of rabbi, was bestowed on the first female Orthodox graduates from seminaries (Oppenheimer, 2013). Orthodox Judaism treads lightly on naming these new graduates, with many congregations referring to them as maharat rather than rabbi. Most important, women must traverse the difficult ground between feminism and orthodoxy. As its most strongly religious branch, Orthodox women, even as rabbis, are defined by religious authority chained to patriarchy; they actively challenge that authority in their ascent to

the rabbinate (Israel-Cohen, 2012a; 2012b). They are the first role models for the growing number of Orthodox Jewish women waiting to follow them into the rabbinate. Although Muslim women cannot be imams, the feminism-religious paradox discussed above is similar for both Orthodox Jewish feminists and Islamic feminists.

Christianity Three major Christian faiths do not ordain women: Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, Eastern Orthodox, and Roman Catholic. In 1972, after a long and bitter struggle that culminated in a controversial ceremony in 1974 in Philadelphia, 11 women were ordained as Episcopal priests. Two years later the Episcopal Church gave its legal, institutional blessing for the right of women to become priests. Twelve years later, by a margin of two votes, that right to become a priest was extended to women in the Church of England. This came about despite a warning by the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury that women's ordination would hurt dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. Episcopalians and Anglicans across the globe show higher levels of acceptance for women priests, but decades later the dust from the first controversial ordinations has not settled.

Catholicism Although the Catholic Church may quietly overlook theological principles in accepting the large number of divorced Catholics into its parishes, regarding the issue of women in the priesthood, the Church will not budge. The Second Vatican Council (1963–1965) monumentally changed the Catholic Church and opened up new roles for men and women to serve the Church, but women's ordination was not one of them. A pastoral letter addressing issues raised by Catholic women, including their place in the Church, which took nine years to prepare, was rejected by U.S. bishops in 1992. This was the first time in history that a pastoral letter proposed for a final vote was defeated. For every proclamation reasserting the Vatican's position that women can never be ordained, a worldwide outcry centered in the United States against the position occurs. Despite the Church's acknowledgment that ordaining women could alleviate the serious shortage of priests and the strong support for women in the priesthood, the issue is dealt with by encouraging married men to become priests under certain conditions. Papal blessing of married priests is increasing (Nessan, 2013; Fowler, 2014). Despite protest from the Church authority, illegal ordinations have already occurred and are expected to continue. Pope Francis's otherwise moderately progressive stance has come down hard on these ordinations by excommunicating priests who officiated at the ceremonies (Berry, 2012; Dias, 2013; Roewe, 2014). The priest sex scandal provides more ammunition for ordaining women. Feminists contend that the Church fails to recognize the incredible power held by an all-male priesthood that not only heightens the potential for abuse in all areas, whether related to sex, love, money, or politics, but also covers up the abuse by rallying around the priestly brotherhood to protect its own interests. As noted by one feminist scholar:

> The argument for female priests has never been stronger as a result of this scandal . . . women have no stake in protecting the interests of errant male colleagues. The presence of women [as priests] would inevitably transform the Men's Club of power and privilege the priesthood has become. (Stange, 2002:13A)

To date, the Vatican believes allegiance of Catholics can be maintained without women's ordination. Thus, sentiment is expressed by a journalist celebrating the

Pope's early papacy reporting that he has confronted "gravely serious issues" such as ensuring child safety in Catholic schools. But she contends, "Some are silly, such as whether Catholics will ordain women" (Puterbaugh, 2013). Others take the view that this issue will cause an irrevocable split among Catholics (Manson, 2013; Hunt, 2014). At this point, Pope Francis has not swayed from the path of other popes. He might not refer to it as "silly" concern, but it has not reached the "gravely serious" list that the Church must accommodate. Lutheran women have the option of shifting to other branches without changing their religion, but for those Catholic women who seek the priesthood, their choices are limited. Some convert to seek ordination in other denominations. Others assume leadership roles as lay members of the Church, or they can become nuns. This is not to minimize the leadership roles nuns assume or the other vital services they provide. But compared to priests, these roles are more restrictive and secondary. They are excluded from the position that allows the greatest authority on both doctrinal and parish matters—that of priest. The tradition of nuns as helpmates also is impacting their very livelihood. Unlike priests of a diocese, they are not employees of the local bishop; hence, they receive no pension. In addition, far fewer young women are entering the convent today, forcing some convents to close. Although nuns are better educated than most women and seldom retire from work unless their health fails, they face grim financial prospects in old age because there are fewer younger nuns to support them.

Protestantism American Protestantism has fared better in terms of women in positions of authority, with many women preachers emerging from the ranks of Quakers during the colonial era. America's first successful religious commune, the Shakers, was founded by Ann Lee, who preached that God is both male and female. Although the Shakers had no formal ordination process, all adherents, regardless of gender, were permitted complete freedom in teaching and preaching. This also is generally true of other religious sects and churches where women are credited as founders or proved to be the dominant influence in their establishment. Included here are the Seventh Day Adventists, the Spiritualist Church, and the Christian Science Church. By the middle of the twentieth century, most mainstream Protestant denominations, including the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, the United Church of Christ, and the merged ELCA, granted full ordination rights to women. Ordination also allows women to begin the climb to significant positions of administrative leadership offering high levels of decision making within their religious groups.

Clergy Women as Leaders

For those leaders who are clergy, do women differ in their approach to their ministries compared to men? The answer depends on the type of minister one has in mind and the type of ministry. In general, male and female ministers differ in their willingness to exercise power over congregations, with women more willing to give the congregation the power over its own affairs. Men and women do not differ in desire for positions of formal authority, approach to preaching, and involvement in social issues beyond the congregation (Lehman, 1993). Gender socialization encourages women to adopt styles of interaction that are relational, open, nonconfrontational,

and consensual. These characteristics can serve congregations well when adopted by both male and female clergy. Women and men have different paths to the ministry, but when they arrive and gain acceptance among their parishioners, the differences are muted (Lehman, 2002).

Although women are gradually assuming new roles within the hierarchy of their religions, the battle is far from won. Ordination does not guarantee a call to lead a congregation. Some parishes still refuse to accept female ministers, rabbis, or priests, whether ordained or not, which propels many of them into more peripheral leadership positions. The large majority of ordained women serve as associate pastors, youth ministers, or educational directors or in some other institutional capacity. Women clergy are more likely than their male counterparts to be heads of religious coalitions or leaders of campus churches or temples.

The crux of the clergy issue can be traced back to interpretations of doctrine embodied in a religion's sacred texts. It is the exclusivity of the male image of God in these texts that makes it difficult to see women representing this image. Although theologians uniformly reject the notion that God is a "male being," centuries of religious patriarchy, institutional sexism, and linguistic convention are barriers to those women and men who support women's ascendance to more authoritative ranks of their respective religions.

Toward an Inclusive Theology

From this account of religious misogyny, it might seem that feminism and the patriarchal vision of the Church cannot be reconciled. Feminists are unwilling to equate religion with oppression. They believe it is not real liberation to sever ties with a religion that is one of the most important elements of their heritage, belief system, and well-being. They choose to work at reform in a number of areas, especially in providing a historical account of women's roles in ancient religions and reevaluating scripture according to that account, whether it be in the Qur'an, Talmud, Vedas, or Bible. Even if religious experience is filtered through misogynous cultural traditions, religion should transcend gender. Every adherent should have the right to fully participate in her or his religion in a manner that best enhances individual well-being and community service. Feminists contend that only when women become aware of the root causes of their religious status and the sociopolitical nature of religious doctrine can they truly experience their religion. Historical reanalysis of world religions provides meaningful consciousness-raising for women coming to grips with their religious identity.

The Language of Religion

Language is a powerful force in socialization, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the language of religion (Chapter 4). Altering the written words of sacred texts to make it more gender inclusive, more palatable, or more understandable to contemporary readers may be accompanied by bitter controversy (Ellis, 2003; Johnson, 2003). "Radical" feminists, for example, are blamed for altering the word of God to suit political correctness. According to this view, God's word should "speak

for itself," and the generic *he* has been used for so long that "the average person *instinctively* senses that the feminist claim is not valid" (Emphasis added) (Clason, 2006:28,30). Clearly this criticism ignores the fact that once language is learned via socialization, it may be the most powerful taken-for-granted way we organize our perceptions.

The language of religion can be subdivided into *religious* language, which uses imagery and symbols appealing to emotion and imagination and readily incorporates female imagery, and *theological* language, which uses abstractions evolving out of formal, critical appraisals of religious experience and readily incorporates male imagery. Because theological language is the language of written texts, bestowed with authority, credibility, and importance, female imagery is largely excluded. Theological language is viewed as more legitimate but is a "creation of a male specialist group, whether Brahmans, priests, rabbis, or monks" (King, 1989:44–45).

Male imagery is evoked when conceptualizing God, and in turn, such images are used to support the subordination of women. Christians and adherents of other religions who firmly believe that men and women are equal under God confront a theological language that contradicts this belief. God and god-language is associated with male imagery and masculine traits (Johnson, 2003; Wiley, 2003). Women are portrayed as distracting men from godliness, as Eve did when she tempted Adam. The language is clear: There are "Sons of God" but "Daughters of Eve." Theologians do agree that the use of the generics *man* and *he* impedes our understanding of God's view of the genders. Yet when congregations begin the arduous task of altering liturgy, hymns, and prayers to conform to nonsexist, inclusive language, resistance runs very high. The old argument reappears: One is tampering not only with tradition but also, more importantly, with the "language of God."

Supported by trends in *ecumenism*—promoting practices that bring churches together, such as through joint worship and communion—mainstream Christian denominations are making headway incorporating inclusive language in the written material used in religious services. Here is a portion of the Nicene Creed, recited by many Christians, demonstrating that a one-word change suggests a meaningful difference in imagery:

> Who for us *men*, and for our salvation, came down from heaven. . . .
>
> to
>
> For *us* and for our salvation He came down from heaven. . . .

Although it is inappropriate to remove the word *He* from the second version because it refers directly to Jesus, the word *men* is now deleted. A hymn titled "Good Christian *Men*, Rejoice and Sing" in older hymnals was changed to "Good Christian *Friends*, Rejoice and Sing." Seemingly subtle changes can have a profound impact on images of men and women.

Reinterpretation of Scripture

Reinterpretation of scripture is an important mode of reform, especially when coupled with changes in linguistic reference. By pointing out alternative translations of key words, introducing nonsexist, inclusive language that

minimizes the powerful aspects of male imagery, and highlighting lesser-known biblical texts and religious writing that demonstrate both gender equity and nontraditional roles of women, a gradual shift in religious awareness regarding gender roles and relationships is occurring. In Christianity, for example, because theology and preaching are so strongly oriented to masculine images and symbols of God—such as *king, father*, and *shepherd*—the feminine corollary of God goes unrecognized. In *Matthew* 13:31, although it is acknowledged that the man who sowed the mustard seed is God, most miss the parallel image that immediately follows in *Matthew* 13:33, where God is presented as a woman hiding leaven in meal.

We have already seen that most world religions emerged out of spiritual heritages that were more gender egalitarian than what exists today. But the esoteric and mystical schools of Christian Gnosticism, Islamic Sufism, and the Kabbalah movement of Judaism show a heritage of men and women in equitable partnership (Greenspahn, 2011; Sultanova, 2011). This is pointed out by Elaine Pagels (1979) in her classic work recounting the archaeological discovery in Upper Egypt, now referred to as the *Gnostic Gospels*, offering evidence that the early Christians viewed women in very different terms than what is implied by the practices of many contemporary churches. In the *Gospel of Mary* (Magdalene), for example, we find a view of Mary as an "apostolic leader" and as part of an inclusive ministry that is not divided strictly by gender (De Boer, 2004). The texts on which these views are based are providing important alternative perspectives concerning women.

Many biblical writings can be reevaluated with these standards of reform in mind. Consider the lesser quoted of the Judeo-Christian creation stories:

> So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. (Genesis, 1:27)

God is still named as "he," but this version clearly does not have the implication that God's image of people is different depending on gender. Even Paul's most restrictive passages may be reevaluated with the idea that the Gospel liberates people to stand equally before God. Reread Ephesians 5:22–24 with the idea that the words *be subject* were not in the original biblical text. This suggests that Paul is calling for mutual submission of husband and wife and not the superiority of the husband. Absoluteness of male authority is certainly challenged (Carey, 2001; Kershner, 2013). Paul's writings must be scrutinized carefully with an eye toward historical context and Jesus's ministry. As noted by one scholar: "If it was the practice of Jesus and Paul to join hands with women in mission and ministry, should not this be our contemporary practice as well? (Still, 2013:16). Given these innovative directions, Paul's misogyny continues to fade.

Feminist Theology

Religious reform related to gender is perhaps best expressed by a rapidly growing **feminist theology**, which draws on women's experience as a basic source of content previously shut out of theological reflection. Feminist theology makes theological knowledge visible, understandable, inclusive, and acceptable to all who believe in

the liberating power of religion. It also may be viewed as an example of liberation theology in that it interprets the Bible from the perspective of an oppressed group. In this sense, female experience is an appropriate metaphor for the divine. Feminist theology is not only a valid perspective, but also a necessary one. Rather than exclusion, women's experiences are central to theology of formal religious structures. Inclusion is critical when reflecting on the divine and human relationship (Briggs, 2012; Rafferty, 2012). Articulating with the female experience in any of the world's major religions, feminist theology also is ecumenical from its origins and borrows models from a wide range of disciplines. Although it accepts the idea that a major critique of god symbolism is called for, there is much disagreement on the solutions to the problems resulting from such a critique. Views of religious tradition advocated by feminist theologians may be grouped in the following three categories (Christ, 1987:144):

Type 1: Tradition is essentially nonsexist in vision that becomes clear through proper interpretation.

Type 2: Tradition contains both sexist and nonsexist elements; nonsexist elements must be affirmed as revelation and the sexist elements rejected. Nonsexist visions must account for the contemporary experience of all women and embrace their full humanity.

Type 3: Tradition is essentially sexist and must be rejected. New traditions must be created on the basis of both past experience and/or nonbiblical religion.

Depending on which viewpoint is subscribed to, god symbolism would be altered. For example, those subscribing to the third position would prefer female symbolism for God found both inside and outside biblical tradition. God is best symbolized by dual male–female imagery and might include goddess symbolism from non-Western religions (Pui-Lan, 1988; Christ, 2003). Those subscribing to Type 2 would agree with the words of a Peruvian Christian leader:

> Christian women have developed theological reasons not to have rights. So we are dedicated to resolving a fundamental problem: how to convince that there is equality with men by means of the Bible whose vision is patriarchal. (Basye, 2005:17)

Feminist theology takes on many forms. Regardless of the position held by any one person, feminist theology has been the major source of new research, scholarship, and critiques on gender as related to religious tradition. Feminist theology serves to infuse institutionalized religion with the inclusive spirituality of its heritage and is the key catalyst reopening religion's liberating potential for both women and men.

Summary

1. When spirituality became institutionalized as religion, women lost prestige and influence. The first civilizations probably had more partnership-based spiritual traditions and social institutions. In these gynocratic—female-centered—societies, a goddess heritage provided significant religious roles for women. The goddess as creator and powerful female deities existed throughout Africa and Asia. Many

societies exhibited balance and complementarity where in principle neither gender was superior.

2. Muslims vary considerably in their interpretation of the Qur'an in terms of the role of women. Gender roles are mainly defined as complementary. Feminist Muslims are providing alternative interpretations based on the powerful and esteemed roles of the Prophet's wives. Muslim women are debateing how feminism applies to Islam. U.S. Muslim women are altering as well as affirming the traditional values of their religion.
3. Interpretations from Hindu scripture are contradictory: Women are idealized as being submissive and serving their families and are condemned if they are too ambitious; other views see male and female as balanced and emphasize the continuing goddess heritage of Hinduism. Historically, idealized views of women occurred when a widow became a sati, immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.
4. In Judaism, scripture has been interpreted to ensure a strict gender division of labor in family and religious life. Contemporary Jewish women must deal with the separation between family and their lives outside the home. New interpretations of scripture provide positive images of women. Jewish women are ascending to leadership roles. With the recent addition of Orthodox Judaism, all branches allow the ordination of women as rabbis.
5. The Christian Bible's images of patriarchy and androcentric ideology have been favored, especially the writings of St. Paul. Reformists demonstrating nontraditional and vital roles of women, especially Mary Magdalene, offer alternative views. American Christians, both Protestants and Catholics, vary considerably in attitudes about women's roles and rights.
6. Women express higher levels of religiosity than men. Higher levels of religiosity are associated with traditional gender roles regardless of the specific religion.
7. Ordination and other leadership roles for women vary by religion and how each religion interprets scripture. Confucianism and Islam are the most restrictive for public religious roles for women. With the recent addition of Orthodox Judaism, all branches allow the ordination of women as rabbis. Most Christian religions ordain women. The notable exceptions are Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and Catholics. The priest shortage and sex scandals in the Catholic Church provide fuel for women's ordination.
8. Female clergy are more willing to share power with congregations and have more consensual interaction styles than male clergy; otherwise, there are few differences between them. Ordained women are less likely than men to receive a call to lead a congregation.
9. To make theology more inclusive in all religions, feminists and scholars are providing historical accounts of women in ancient religions, inclusive language is being adopted, ecumenism is encouraged, and scripture is being reinterpreted.
10. Feminist theology is an interdisciplinary field that draws on women's experience previously shut out of theological reflection. Religious tradition contains both sexist and nonsexist elements that may or may not be rejected.

Key Terms

Feminist theology
Gynocentrism
Liberation theology
New Christian Right (NCR)
Sati
Texts of Terror

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Demonstrate how women lost prestige and influence and misogyny increased when spirituality became institutionalized as religion. Specifically reference Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in this discussion. What strategies do feminist adherents use to deal with the misogyny of their respective religions?
2. Why would functionalism be the dominant theoretical perspective explaining the persistence of gender inequity related to religion? How does feminist theology counter this perspective?
3. Based on your understanding of gender and religious socialization, how can women who are of faiths that restrict ordination and other leadership roles of women work for gender equity in their respective religions?

CHAPTER 13

Media

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Define the *Feminine Mystique* and argue whether it does or does not continue to play out in contemporary advertising and print media.
2. Identify trends in film related to women's power and women's portrayals from early days of film to the present.
3. Provide reasons for the escalating pairing of sex and violence in films.
4. Demonstrate how popular music both reflects and challenges traditional gender roles.
5. Define misogyny and show how it is reflected in rock music and music videos, focusing on gendered violence.
6. Offer a profile of women's portrayals in prime-time television, accounting for age, beauty, family life, and employment.
7. Examine the intersection of gender, social class, and race on men's images in media and provide examples of positive portrayals of men based on the intersection.
8. List the areas of media where women have been more successful and show how these successes benefit women overall.
9. Explain why media remain sexist even when it abandoning it would benefit everyone, including advertisers.

Kathryn Bigelow is a great female director of "muscular action movies." What is more astonishing? "She is, simply, a great film director."

—Dargis, 2009:AR1

With its popular culture backdrop, the influence of mass media on our lives is profound. This influence is traced to a lifetime of gendered socialization via media renderings (Chapter 3). The columnist above offers a backhanded compliment to Katheryn Bigelow, the only women to receive an Oscar (*The Hurt Locker*) for directing. Despite "two X chromosomes," she shows "a fist in the face, a knee to the groin" and "gets into your

head even as it sends shock waves throughout your body" (Dargis, 2009:AR1). The perception that women are interlopers in mass media controlled by men is pervasive. Gender must be explained away to attract male audiences for date movies and female audiences for "blood and guts" action movies.

We are bombarded by media sights and sounds daily. We are subjected to music, news, and advertising sitting at our office desks, standing in elevators, and jogging or driving to and from school or work. Advertisements crop up at virtually every site we encounter—from usual ads on billboards and subways, to those on uncontrollable computer pop-ups, shopping carts, channel guides, online search screens, and video games. They shout out the newest, best, most modern, most dazzling, and most efficient products and services necessary for daily existence. Film and niche television allow for every conceivable programming taste. With the advent of extraordinary, but now convenient technology, we can choose our entertainment specialties in any location. As documented in Chapter 3, gender socialization occurs via multiple agents. Parents provide the earliest source, but television becomes another potent socializer when children are as young as 3. We rely more and more on the mass media, especially television, to filter the enormous amount of information we receive. This filtering process has a major impact on our ideas about gender. Indeed, one of the most documented, consistent findings is that for both males and females and in all age and racial categories, heavy use of entertainment media, especially heavy television-viewing, is strongly associated with adherence to traditional and stereotyped views about gender.

All media present the genders in stereotyped ways. It is easy to see why, even at an early age, we form relatively rigid beliefs about what is considered appropriate behavior for boys and girls, women and men. Although media representatives may argue that what is presented merely reflects the reality of gendered beliefs, the question of reinforcing an already sexist society cannot be dismissed. After reviewing the media's record on how the genders are portrayed, we will return to this question.

Print Media

Magazines and newspapers and ease of online access are powerful in presenting views about gender roles. Gender stereotypes persist and thrive in print media across the globe, regardless of how media content is adapted to a culture's values and norms. Perhaps the earliest research on attitudes about women in print media is traced to what became a founding document of the women's movement.

Magazines

The publication of Betty Friedan's groundbreaking *Feminine Mystique* in 1963 challenged notions about contented American women in their homebound roles. Friedan was one of the first to look at the role of the print media (in this case popular women's magazines) in the formation of attitudes about women.

Fiction Concentrating on the fiction that was the staple of women's magazines until recent decades, Friedan traced the images of women from the emancipated views in the 1930s and 1940s to the "happy housewife" and glorified mother of

the 1950s and early 1960s. This beginning led to a great deal of research on gender stereotypes in magazines. Data over the next two decades confirmed the earlier patterns, but with some new twists: The ideal woman of magazine fiction was a housewife with one or two children ("homemaker" was the less common label). These women may have experienced psychological difficulties raising a family and attending to their husbands' needs, but they carried out their roles in exemplary manners. Employed women were unfeminine and posed threats to otherwise happy marriages. The baby boom accelerated in the 1950s, and so did the birth rate in magazines. Having a baby was a good bet for saving a floundering marriage. Married women who remained childless and spinsters who remained childless and husbandless were pitied for their wasteful, unhappy lives. Fiction of this period cheered on heroines who, through virtue and passivity, won the hearts of the men they would marry. Widows and divorcees were portrayed as unable to cope without a man. The overall conclusion: The happy housewife was even happier.

Articles By the 1970s, magazine fiction was gradually being replaced with other material targeted to women. But dramatic changes affecting gender roles were occurring that eventually impacted magazine images as well. The birth rate was leveling off, many thousands of women entered the paid labor force, and the feminist movement was making headlines. Magazines focusing on the challenges of women working outside the home emerged, some with explicitly feminist orientations, such as *Ms. Magazine*. Older, more traditional magazines such as *Ladies Home Journal* and *McCall's* began to include articles about educational opportunities, employment options, and women's rights. Magazines such as *Savvy*, *New Woman*, and *Working Woman*, geared to single women or employed married women, also appeared, offering advice to those coping with increased role responsibilities. Nonetheless, compared to the social upheaval in the real world of women, the magazine world of women has been minimally affected. After flirting with themes related to self-development, establishing one's identity, and expanded opportunities, the 1980s witnessed a return to more antiquated images. Even today magazines promote a traditional motherhood ideology. Homemakers with children may be shown as confused, overwhelmed, and focused only on their households, but magazines offer products, services, and advice to help frazzled women. Women may be employed, but magazines ensure that they are not absolved of homemaking responsibilities.

Educated women with children who opt out of careers to be full-time homemakers are emerging in magazines as the new model of the feminine mystique. Reinforced by daytime television (think *Dr. Phil*), magazines offer advice to women who contemplate how to abandon careers to become stay-at-home moms. The newly minted homemakers emphasize their preference for the homemaker rather than career road. They continue to be high achieving at home: "Raising children is as challenging as anything else they've ever done" (Peters, 2008). Although articles in newspapers portray these women as heralding a return-to-the-hearth revolution, labor force trends do not match the media images. Highly educated mothers are more likely to be employed than are less educated mothers, a pattern virtually unchanged for several decades. The reality is that for most women, opting out is neither a simple choice nor a choice at all (Chapter 8).

With over a half century of magazines showing a standard of femininity associated with domestic life, appearance, romance, and dating, it is not surprising that today the two dominant themes in magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Vogue*, and *Essence* are, first, how to be more beautiful, and, second, how to get and keep relationships with men. The subtext in the relationship message is sexual. To keep their men from straying, women must develop sexual skills. In succumbing to new trends, yes, his needs will be met, but so will hers. Advice about beauty, relationships, and sex are found in the same article. Magazine advertisers are happy to oblige women who want all of these.

Advertising

Articles on beauty, romance, and homemaking are reinforced through advertisements testifying to the power of makeovers and weight loss and the glories of spotless floors, soft toilet tissue, and antiseptics for children. Extensive research documents that even with some improvement over time, advertising images of women continue to be based on these traditional gender role norms.

Stereotypes An early major study on gender stereotyping in advertising analyzed magazines according to the number of males and females and the gender of adults, the occupations and activities in which they were presented, and the kinds of products being promoted (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971). Despite the explosion of employed women, the data showed that women's place is in the home, they do not make important decisions, and they are dependent on men, who in turn regard them as sex objects. Women are only interested in buying cosmetics and cleaning aids. A number of studies quickly followed. Ads began to depict women in more occupational roles, but the vast majority of women were still pictured exclusively in the home. There was a decline in the blatantly sexist ads, but advertisers continued to be insensitive to women in the real world. Women's concerns centered on appearance, men, and simple decisions revolving around domestic roles (Should I cook turkey or beef for dinner?). Advertisements spanning two decades rarely showed women in nontraditional situations, even in magazines oriented to a wider audience, such as *Newsweek*, *Look*, and *Sports Illustrated* (Courtney and Whipple, 1983). Since it was first published in 1964, the swimsuit edition of *Sports Illustrated* maintains the same content of ideally beautiful and sexy women who are available to men. This edition catapulted the bikini as legitimate swimwear on beaches and in community swimming pools.

Contemporary magazines maintain these images, but in important ways, gender-stereotyped and sexualized portrayals of white, African American, and Asian women have increased in general interest and fashion magazines (Kim and Chung, 2005; Hazell and Clark, 2008).With nudity and near-nudity now the norm in mainstream magazines, it is common to see undressed or scantily dressed women and girls selling all kinds of products. Females in sexually provocative poses are used as decorations in ads (Morris and Nichols, 2013). Car and boat ads typically show bikini-clad women draped over fenders and posing on yacht decks. Even some hamburger ads are so sexualized that they border on pornographic.

Products sold primarily to men, such as machine tools and industrial equipment, use a similar format. In gun magazines, women in lingerie or evening gowns

clutch men who are holding handguns and rifles. Advertising campaigns for popular brands of clothing and fragrances routinely show near nude women or women and men in sexually provocative scenes—but do not show the items they are selling—only the logo of the company. This content often includes messages related to aggression and violence. When sex is used to sell a product, the ad is usually aimed at men (Monk-Turner et al., 2008). Advertisers in magazines such as *Vogue*, *Cleo*, *Elle*, *GQ*, and *Esquire* typically portray women as being helpless, passive, or bound or being maimed and abused by men or animals. Men are shown as independent, rugged, sexually risky, and dominant over women and other men (Stankiewicz, 2008; Leonard and Ashley, 2012).

Activism Preteen, teenage, and young adult females are targets of many ads. There is a growing market for seductive clothing designs aimed at little girls. From Barbie to Bratz, advertisers tell girls that it is never too young to be sexy (Levin and Kilbourne, 2008). Via cosmetics and clothing, girls are routinely shown in sexualized ways in magazines that are ostensibly for adult women but consumed by both tweens and teenage girls (Graff et al., 2012). With female teenage consumption of these magazines at an all-time high, depictions of sexualized girls and unrealistic beauty and weight images are being challenged. After a 14-year-old girl initiated an online petition garnering nearly 100,000 signatures protesting the flawless females in *Seventeen,* editors vowed to limit retouching (Dwyer, 2012; Haugney, 2012). Although *Seventeen* was singled out, all magazines adhere to these practices. As we will see, the business of beauty does not succumb to change easily, even with consumer protests.

Subtlety and Subliminals It is relatively easy to analyze ads according to general themes and images. Ads also sell products and reinforce attitudes in ways that are often unrecognized by the casual reader. Advertisers may embed *subliminal* messages at a subconscious level to prompt consumers to buy a product. Whether subliminal messages actually increase sales is debatable, but it is a standard tool in advertising. The pioneering work of Erving Goffman (1979) concentrated on the subtleties of posture and relative size and positioning of hands, eyes, knees, and other parts of the body in ads. A man is pictured taller than a woman unless he is socially inferior to her. Men and boys are shown instructing women and girls. A woman's eye is averted to the man in the picture with her, but a man's eye is averted only to a superior. Women's hands caress or barely touch. Except in sexualized subliminal ads, they are rarely shown grasping, manipulating, or creatively shaping. Women have faraway looks in their eyes, especially in the presence of men. Women act like children and are often depicted with children. Factoring in race—and counter to the contradictory stereotypes of sexualized and passive or dominant and strong African American women—black models are posed less sexually and more submissively than white models. Female models have fairer complexions than male models of the same race, images that are largely unchanged over time (Doring and Poschl, 2006; Millard and Grant, 2006; Baumann, 2008).

Such depictions are reinforced by how much of the body is shown in an ad. Males represent "face-isms," in that their faces are photographed more often than their bodies. Females represent "body-isms" or "partial-isms," in that their bodies or parts of their bodies are more often shown. Women, for example, appear much more frequently in swimwear than do men.

Aging and Gender Age and gender stereotypes combine in ads targeted to older women and play on insecurities related to aging and sex appeal. Older women are portrayed much less frequently than men and women in all age groups. Despite the demographic shift favoring longer and healthier lives for women, they are portrayed even less frequently than in the past. The fear-of-aging theme increased cosmetics sales dramatically for the over-60 baby boomers. There are few older models, however, who sell these products. Whereas younger women sell lipstick and hair color to older women, when older women are used in ads at all, it is for products and medications signaling body decline and loss of independence, such as adult diapers, dentures, bone-strengthening drugs, and emergency alert devices.

Considering the avalanche of messages pertaining to physical appearance that women receive in advertising, social constructionism and symbolic interaction correctly predict the self-fulfilling prophecies that follow. Advertising artificially creates images that become the reality. In addition, as predicted by the end point fallacy, new labels about attractiveness will produce new behavior in an ongoing process. Beauty standards will continue to change, and consumers will adapt to these standards and change their behavior accordingly in a never-ending cycle.

The Business of Beauty What is remarkable about such findings is that women—and increasingly men—are highly critical of the images. If the people to whom the ads are directed find them distasteful and irritating, how can a double standard continue? From a business viewpoint, sexism is disadvantageous in that a product's market potential is not realized. Another problem is that advertisers are the lifeblood of magazines and make concessions to receive magazines' business. Advertisers demand that "complementary copy" appear with their ads. This once shunned practice allows an article about beauty to support or complement an ad about a beauty product usually appearing on the same page. Now standard in print magazines, advertisers exercise a great deal of control over editorial and other content of the entire magazine (Duffy, 2013). Although beauty and fashion products are the target, food dietary supplements, cigarettes, and other products with a gender link are used. Some changes are evident. Women are depicted in more diverse occupational, athletic, and non-household roles and are seen more frequently in general interest magazines. Older women are a huge potential market. While proclaiming that older women are (still) beautiful, advertisers offer images of fitness, vitality, and new ageing trails to be blazed. Regardless of age, she is active, involved in an array of projects, and enjoys her home but is not monopolized by it. Advertisers are only beginning to recognize that women are diverse, lead successful lives, and can balance home and career. The jury is still out on the impact of these newer images. The caution here is that another artificial creation emerges along with yet another set of standards women are expected to adhere to.

Advertisers are aware of consumer trends. The moment a product is "improved," campaigns begin to sell its virtues. To sell means to change. Advertising, however, stubbornly persists with outdated messages to women. Gender-based ads have not kept up with changes in the real world of families, of relationships, and of economics (Levy, 2006/2007; Robinson and Hunter, 2007). What is ironic is that advertisers ignore hefty research that consumers react negatively to sexist advertising. Men have been slower to lobby for these changes than women, but with the rapid increase in

print ads and other media showing men as sex objects with unattainable perfect male bodies, men are joining forces with women to protest sexism in society, including advertising (Chapter 9). The belief that "sex (and sexism) sells" is strong.

Film

Compared with other media, women have enjoyed a more central position in the film industry. Women have succeeded as screenwriters, editors, costume designers, critics, and actors. In Hollywood's early days at the height of the studio system, women dominated the star spotlight. This was reflected in popularity polls, fan mail, and billings that female leads received. Although the contract system allowed studios literally to own actors, women had influence in determining their careers and the parts they received. The female stars of this era were offered roles showing them to be bright, articulate, and independent. Since the 1940s, however, males have overshadowed female stars. With a few exceptions, this continues to the present. In contrast to the reality of women's diverse contemporary roles, current film portrayals are sorely lacking in depth and authenticity.

Screen History

Reflected in screen images, World War II encouraged the independence and initiative of women. They were portrayed as homemakers who could make the transition from kitchen to the war industry smoothly, without severely disrupting family life. Or they were shown as nurses serving overseas, at times as combatants who, like men, died for their country. Movies were a critical part of the war effort and emphasized the need for self-sacrifice to ensure victory. Women on the home front were necessary for this effort. *Rosie the Riveter*, who became the home-front heroine, symbolized the double-duty woman who worked in a defense plant.

Although women on the World War II screen possessed self-confidence and strength, a certain ambiguity also was evident. The taken-for-granted functional balance of home and workplace was upset. Both men and women left home to engage in the unlikely occupations of soldier and defense worker. They were fighting to save the American home. But films reassured American audiences that after the war, women would be as eager as men to return to the gendered natural order of homemaker women and breadwinner men. True to this message, by the 1950s, films reaffirmed the domestic subservience of women.

Good Women and Bad Women Whereas the war years presented women as multifaceted, after the war, they were portrayed as one dimensional, as either good or bad. The "good" woman embodied what was later called the feminine mystique. She remained virtuous throughout courtship. Her premarital virginity was never questioned. She might have a successful career, but Mr. Right would change her priorities and definitions of success. After marriage, she became the ideal wife and mother. Doris Day and Debbie Reynolds represented this image. Indeed, Doris Day became the national emblem of the perfect, sanitary, all-American girl next door (Kaufman, 2008). The "bad" woman, on the other hand, was the sexpot, who could entice a man away from his faithful wife and loving family. Marilyn Monroe and

Ava Gardner represented this image. Regardless of the good–bad dichotomy endured by screen actresses, these movies were awash with sexual innuendo and hinted broadly at the enticements of immorality. The difference between this era and those to follow, however, was that sexual desires were actualized on the functionalist screen only when it was normative to do so. Only in his fantasies did married Tom Ewell succumb to Marilyn Monroe in *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), and Doris Day would not surrender to Cary Grant in *That Touch of Mink* (1962) until they were married.

Although the films of the 1950s display a concern for domestic righteousness, they also reflected the disenchantment of women in their struggle with narrowly defined gender roles. This period combined both conventional and progressive expressions of the difficulty women faced as they made the transition between domestic roles and newer alternatives. Screen actresses portrayed women torn between desire for security, symbolized by the customary and comfortable lifestyle of home, and desire for adventure and challenge beckoning to them outside the home. These conflicts and contradictions of the transitional women helped set the stage for the changes of the next two decades.

If the early days of film romanticized women and put them on a pedestal, the 1960s and 1970s quickly compensated. Blatant sexuality laced with violence became the staple of the era. The new women of this era were loosened from the constraints of family life, but with broken bonds, an attitude of "they deserve what they get" arose. Women who ventured outside the home were portrayed negatively, suffered, and were usually punished as a result. The favorable images of the war years disintegrated, and women were accorded fewer roles than ever before. Male speaking roles outdistanced female by 12 to 1. This period has been referred to as the most disheartening in the screen history for women on the screen and the women they represented off the screen. As the women's liberation movement gained momentum and women were asserting themselves in new realms, a backlash occurred in commercial film (Haskell, 1987, 1997).

Sexual Violence and James Bond By the 1970s, explicit sex and sexual violence in films were so prevalent that a rating system was developed to determine suitability of content for children. The system addresses sex more than violence so that love scenes are more apt to get the film a restricted (R) rating than are rape scenes. Rape is considered inconsequential when victims love the rapist or fall in love with him later. In turn, the rapist is portrayed heroically. In half a century of James Bond films, for example, women are depicted as enjoying rape. Bond is the suave, charismatic good guy—the fantasy of every woman and enviable role model of every man. Bond films are a composite of sex, spectacle, heroism, and menace. Once raped, women are then ignored by the male star, sometimes murdered by him, and often murdered by someone else. Bond must always be free of women. If he inadvertently falls in love with her, she is doomed to die before the end of the picture.

Pairing Sex and Violence

Despite spurts of romantic comedies, dramas about innocent love, often with tragic conclusions (*The English Patient, Sleepless in Seattle, As Good as it Gets, Juno, The Fault in Our Stars),* and "chick flicks" (not suitable for male audiences), romance

in mainstream movies has been replaced with sexuality and violence, and pairing of the two. Romantic movies in an earlier Hollywood had bold and capable females paired with males (Fred Astaire/Ginger Rogers; Katherine Hepburn/Spencer Tracy). These couples are gone, with prostitutes and girlfriends of questionable morals filling the void. The most typical occupation for women in the last four decades of movies is prostitute or ex-prostitute. Themes of love and adultery are infused with violence, rape, and murder.

Mainstream films often are more violent than pornographic films. Even with the mass killing of children and a PG-13 rating, *The Hunger Games* and its sequel *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* remain among the most popular films for teens. Movies with both sex and violence that received an X rating a generation ago (*Exorcist, Midnight Cowboy*) would receive an R rating today. "Slasher" movies appealing to adolescent boys regularly send the message that sexual violence is normal and acceptable. The higher the exposure to sexually violent media, the more likely the viewer will accept rape myths (Emmers-Sommers et al., 2006). Successful mainstream movies routinely portray graphic violence against female victims, many who are stalked or portrayed as passive. Often films are infused with overtones of humor and romance that serve to normalize the violence *(Fatal Attraction, Die Hard, Natural Born Killers, Girl with the Dragon Tattoo)*. Love and violence coincide. Females are victims in movies of horror, murder, and especially rape, in which film directors seem to have a macabre interest. Films with a central rape theme continue to proliferate. Although women as rape victims are more sympathetically depicted than in the past, moviegoers also are becoming more desensitized to the issue, reinforcing the notion that rape potential is an inescapable burden women must face.

Aging Females, Ageless Males

Unlike men, women must be young and display the physical strength needed to be cast as romantic leads of powerful (and sexy) heroines in action films (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon, Gravity, Lara Croft: Tomb Raider, Terminator 2, Charlie's Angels)* that appeal to both young men and women. In Hollywood, young translates to under 30. The hottest stars of the 1930s–1960s were women in powerful, multidimensional roles—Bette Davis, Joan Crawford, Kathryn Hepburn, and Rosalind Russell—and were often playing romantic leads well into their forties and fifties. Today these women would have long before been consigned to obscure roles or relegated to made-for-TV cable movies.

As James Bond ages, his "girls" do not. Various Bonds were often 30 years older than their leading ladies. After a certain age, women are destined to play shrews, jealous housewives, struggling widows, lonely executives, or eccentric aunts. Younger female faces are sought to replace aging stars. Distinguished actors such as Faye Dunaway, Shirley MacLaine, and Meryl Streep get old; Tom Cruise, George Clooney, and Richard Gere get distinguished. Julia Roberts is now maneuvering the Hollywood age abyss. Harrison Ford's reprise as Indiana Jones is played as an Indie who was older than Sean Connery, who played Indie's father in an earlier Jones movie. Movies are not kind to older men or older women in percentage of speaking characters in films (4.6 percent men compared with 3.4 percent women overall). However, only 24 percent of 40–64 year olds in films are female (Smith et al., 2011).

However, an interesting twist to the James Bond movie franchise is that in *Skyfall*, Judi Dench's character as powerful, seemingly emotionless "M" and Daniel Craig's Bond are shown dealing with crises of aging and physical decline. In many ways, M transgresses age and gender roles that subvert stereotypes (Krainitzki, 2014). She sends a powerful message to older women. At M's death, we are left with the first Bond in history who appears to be left physically and emotionally vulnerable.

Gender Parity and Film Portrayal

In over 50 years of film, the numbers of male and female characters have remained remarkably stable, with male characters outnumbering female characters more than two to one. Women are oversexualized but underrepresented in the highest-grossing films. In 2013, women accounted for 15 percent of protagonists and 29 percent of major characters and had less than one-third of all speaking parts (Bleakley et al., 2012; Lauzen, 2014). The so-called wholesome roles for women, although devoid of the sexual content that may demean women, signal doom in Hollywood. As noted above, it is a sign that she is an aging bygone. There are a few positive signs suggesting a return of women to movies that offer greater role latitude and countering stock Hollywood formulas related to gender. Although not immune to gender stereotypes and violence, *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire* rests on a female lead and attracts male and female audiences in all age groups. Resisting the often derisive chick-flick label, other movies highlight sensitive issues relating to love, health, family and friendship, and loyalty among women (*Beaches, Waiting to Exhale, Mama Mia, Black Swan, A League of Their Own, The Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants)*. Success for some female friendship movies is bittersweet. *Fried Green Tomatoes* and *Silkwood* were criticized for lesbian overtones.

Filmmakers believe an injection of violence makes films more palatable to a wider audience. Sharon Stone's portrayal of a bisexual murderer in *Basic Instinct* drew storms of protest from gay men and lesbians. It is apparent that film critics, too, subscribe to a gender-stereotyped world that is suspicious of loving and cooperative relationships between women. It reveals much about the tenacity of gendered society when decades of movies routinely show females who are mutilated, maimed, murdered, and raped film after film, but when a successful, critically acclaimed movie reverses the scenario (*Thelma and Louise*), a charge of man-bashing is leveled against it; the subtext of violence against women was ignored. The issue is not so much that turnabout is fair play, but that violence is viewed as an acceptable mode of conflict resolution.

With limited roles and limited meaty roles going to women, it is not surprising that male stars and superstars far outnumber their female counterparts. A cursory look at film offerings in your local paper testifies to the scarcity of female stars—strong, multidimensional, or otherwise. Barbra Streisand was the only bankable female lead for a decade. Jessica Lange, Charlize Theron, Diane Keaton, Susan Sarandon, Demi Moore, Meg Ryan, and Halle Berry occupy star status. Superstardom will elude them as they age. Angelina Jolie, Helen Hunt, Julia Roberts, and Meryl Streep are superstar frontrunners; they endure the Hollywood roller coaster for women. There is less tolerance for box-office bombs starring women. Jack Nicholson, Matt Damon, or Leonardo DiCaprio may emerge relatively unscathed from bad reviews and bad movies, but studios are reluctant to offer parts to women who have fallen victim to the critics'

axe. Women are almost hidden among the faces of numerous male actors who endure as superstars. Although complaints abound that women are held hostage by Hollywood, the bottom line is male domination of movie marquees.

Critique There are challenges to these views. Box-office advertising is increasingly directed at women. Filmmakers will continue to focus on the key age demographic (young—between 14 and 24); male and female are almost at parity in the moviegoing public. To make movies that ignore or demean a large portion of the audience does not make good marketing sense. Two decades of Hollywood's service to teenage boys may be matched with offerings geared to teenage girls (*The Secret of My Success, Juno*, *Freaky Friday*, *Bend It Like Beckham*, *Whale Rider*). Because these movies also spotlight rebellious teens who succeed in challenges to parents, teachers, and adults, they also attract the necessary number of males to ensure the movies' profit. Such movies do not do much to dissuade stereotypes about teenage girls, but they offer young women alternatives from the typical female bashing movies they usually see.

Film producers concerned with the image of women must successfully combine fantasy and realism to attract people to movies in the first place. Mainstream cinema continues to represent women as either idealized sex objects or threatening objects to be subdued. The limited range of female characters finds them in the same roles: as madonnas, whores, bimbos, psychotics, and bitches (Silvas et al., 1993). On the other hand, should women be portrayed as victims of patriarchy, conquerors against mighty odds, or burnt-out employees and soccer moms? Will romance be crushed by realism? Filmmakers are only beginning to deal with the struggles facing contemporary women, and few directors are willing to confront the issues. In turn, movies retreat into an unrealistic stereotyped world. The majority of the viewing public believes that movies demean women, but gender stereotypes remain an American film staple. Movies may be creations of male fantasies, but women also need to invent and portray their own fantasies.

Music

Media cater to a public always demanding innovative sights and sounds to satisfy an unending thirst for entertainment. Music is increasing its already powerful role in gender socialization. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the world of popular music. Whatever niche is defined—country, rock, pop, rap, hip-hop, alternative, or heavy metal—the quest for musical fame continues unabated. Although the music industry is diverse, it recognizes that teens and young adults control a significant portion of the record market. Producers of contemporary music and television videos are ruthless in competing for the teen dollar compared with music depicted on television a generation ago.

Music is always at the vanguard of change. Rock musicians take conventional morality to the limits. Their music challenges the traditional and creates the conditions for further change. Because many genres of contemporary music defy social norms, it would appear to be the one medium where traditional gender roles also are challenged. Evidence counters this assumption. Popular music is the most gender stereotyped and misogynistic of all media.

A half century of popular music sings to the conquest of women by men. The conquest theme shows males objectifying women and using sexual violence as a means of control. The dependent women theme in turn emerges—women assess their self-worth by the men in their lives (Bretthauer et al., 2006). On the other hand, beauty and sex appeal are used by women to manipulate unsuspecting, naive men. A beautiful woman can use supposed submissiveness to her advantage. Country music in particular stereotypes women in two categories: They are temptresses luring lonely truck drivers or soldiers and the wives who wait patiently for their two-timing husbands to return. No matter the consequences, "stand by your man" is the response for the long-suffering woman.

Rock Music

For popular music, rock claims artistic supremacy. Rock remains the dominant creative force that sets the standard for all popular music. This claim to supremacy serves to legitimize whatever musical representation it offers to its public, however gender or racially stereotyped it might be. The lines are blurred, but rock can include pop, hip-hop, heavy metal, and country crossover. Popular music may be gender stereotyped, but its rock niche exceeds all others in stereotyped portrayals.

Since the 1950s, images of women in rock music have become increasingly associated with sexual violence. The misogyny in the lyrics of many categories of music that can be regarded as rock—"cock rock," heavy metal, rap, R&B, hip-hop—is unconcealed, with little attempt to be subtle. Some images of women in rock are positive, but these exist side by side with overriding, blatant misogyny. Women are cast into rigid categories determined by their perceived gender role characteristics. CD covers depicting women being brutalized by men and animals suggest some of these images. Digital images allow these depictions to be acted out. The love–hate dichotomy is featured, where men are kissing and killing women at the same time. Boycotts of records showing violent themes against women on CD covers have generally failed. As rock lyrics have become more sexually explicit, however, some record companies have agreed to put a warning label on their album covers indicating that the words may be "unsuitable for younger audiences." As in film ratings, sexual themes are considered more offensive than violence against women. Also as in film, restricted (R) ratings have higher sales.

The Women of Rock Before the advent of rock in the 1950s, female singers occupied one-third of the positions on singles charts, but by 1985, that figure had decreased dramatically to 8 percent. A number of female entertainers—such as Patti Page, Rosemary Clooney, and the Andrews Sisters—were popular before World War II and were commercially successful for decades later by combining music and film careers. With the emergence of rock music and its appeal to teenagers, younger male entertainers moved into the spotlight. Only the "girl groups" of the 1960s and 1970s—such as the Supremes, Ronettes, and Shangri-Las—charted any real successes for female singers during this era.

In the 1960s, Janis Joplin broke into the rock culture and emerged as a unique, controversial, and often-contradictory symbol for young women caught in the middle of a confusing period of history. She was viewed as a pothead floozy, one who

sang of the pains of womanhood and as a feminist symbol who paved the way for other women destined to enter the sacred realm of the male rock kingdom (Hirshey, 1997). In 1967, Janis was unconventional and freakish. Today she would be hip and alternative. In her drive to be true to her soul, singing rock 'n' roll did not feel strange. Her message to girls is that they did not have to be secretaries or housewives, but could be rock stars.

A number of rock bands either led by women or that have female and male lead singers and musicians have emerged. Only a few steps behind superstars Madonna, Gloria Estefan, Christina Aguilera, Britney Spears, and country crossover Taylor Swift are other leading women of rock genres (Alicia Keyes, Kelly Clarkson, Shakira, Katy Perry, Rihanna, and Nicky Minaj). They have garnered the music industry's most prestigious awards. It cannot be said, however, that their songs substantially differ from, or offer challenges to, stereotyped representations of women.

Challenging Misogyny Until recently, female rock artists have produced few popular songs depicting women in a sympathetic light and have had little power in altering the sexist material of their bands while remaining commercially successful. Resurgent sexism on the rock scene also may counter efforts at change. With the rise of the female superstars, however, rock artists are creating new identities that challenge male domination in mainstream rock culture and are gaining control over their own images.

Song themes and lyrics may challenge misogyny, but sexualization in rock persists. In transitioning from tween idol to independent musician "to be taken more seriously," Miley Cyrus was roundly criticized for lewd dress and highly sexualized performances. Beyoncé and Robin Thicke also were criticized for objectifying women. The sexualization path for these female artists comes with a commercially successful path (Reed, 2013). Assuming the path is a chosen one, it is associated with control and power rather than misogyny and passivity.

Madonna may have been the front-runner of this pattern. Originally an enigma, her early music countered traditional feminine ideals of dependency and reserve, presenting a "postmodern" feminist image embraced by third wavers. Others condemned her for sending potent messages to teens about the glamour of sex and pregnancy through a fantasy world she created. An inveterate gender rule breaker, she was judged by different standards than males. Some of her videos were banned by MTV and mainstream video networks for sexual and violent content that men likely would have escaped. But because she transitioned successfully into acclaimed film roles, her multidimensional talents are receiving high marks. Lady Gaga follows the Madonna legacy. As an avant-garde performance artist and musician, she is inspired by Madonna and wants to be compared to her (Peters, 2012; Munford and Walters, 2014). Also counted in the rock and roll category, pop singer Pink controls her music. Reflected in an interview for *Honey* magazine, she emphatically states: "I am a songwriter and musician . . . I can't be a puppet."

Janis Joplin died early in her career. Even if they do not self identify as feminists, it will be interesting to see if Madonna, Lady Gaga, and Pink become feminist role models for young women that may have been Joplin's destiny.

MTV and Music Videos

MTV was introduced to cable subscribers in 1981 and catapulted to become one of the most widely consumed forms of popular culture for teens in the United States. A wave of cable programming devoted to niche music videos for various age groups and genres followed on MTV's successful heels, including VH1 for adult contemporary music, BET geared to African Americans, and CMT for country music fans. VEVO, You Tube, and many other online options offer music videos from a range of artists and music genres. Under the umbrella of MTV Networks, music channels throughout the globe play 24-hour music videos in the native language of the country where they are aired. On such channels around the world, males appear on the videos twice as often as females. Despite these diverse niches, three patterns are clear: adolescents and young adults are the largest music video consumers; these two age groups are the target market; and music videos are gendered, sexually violent, and misogynistic.

Gender Ideology "Generic" rock videos, hip-hop, and rap—whether performed by male or female artists—provide a visual extension and support a gender ideology of male power and dominance reinforcing misogyny. Videos routinely depict women as emotional, illogical, deceitful, fearful, dependent, and passive and men as adventuresome, domineering, aggressive, and violent. Sexual imagery has increased steadily in all genres of music videos, and today almost all music videos depict sexual images. Most videos combine sexual images with acts of violence; these acts routinely depict rape imagery.

Heavy metal and rap display the most violent and sexually violent lyrics and images. Whereas heavy metal uses more double entendres and symbolic allusions to refer to sexual acts and male domination of women, rap and gangsta rap makes these acts more graphic and explicit. Typical of songs that depict rape and sexual violence include "Stripped, Raped and Strangled" by Cannibal Corpse, "Smack My Bitch Up" by Prodigy, and "Balla Baby" by Chingy. The lyrics in Poison's "I Want Action" leave no doubt about the message: "I want action tonight. If I can't have her, I'll take her and make her." Routine exposure to such images desensitizes viewers to erotica and sets the stage for more graphic and sexually violent portrayals on "mainstream" television. Consider, too, that these lyrics are from songs over a decade ago. Even more graphic portrayals continue to escalate.

Since males of all races consume more sexualized videos than females and prefer more violent content, they are more likely to view women as sex objects and to accept rape myths (Selah-Shayovits, 2006; Peter and Valkenburg, 2007; Colley, 2008). Consistent with social constructionism, gender is shaped by social myths articulated in popular culture. Publicity surrounding the graphic portrayals of sexual themes is exactly what many performers desire. In addition to CD sales, cable subscribers will pay extra for premium channels that show controversial videos that other networks refuse to air.

Race and Gender With misogyny as the ever-present backdrop, music videos portray gender in highly racialized ways, especially for African Americans. Even counting videos by black artists, white women outnumber African American

women almost three to one. When they are portrayed, however, African American women are increasingly taking on the roles that white women traditionally have assumed in videos. A decade ago black women were shown in more active foreground roles, such as dancing or playing an instrument; white women were shown more in the background for decoration (Smith and Boyston, 2002; Smith, 2005). Today women of all races are depicted in roles that are more passive and decorative. African American women, however, are most sexualized and represented as "porno chicks" throughout the world of music videos.

Most telling is that African American women are, literally, looking more like white women. They are thinner, have lighter complexions, have longer and straighter hair, and have features that are generally Eurocentric. African American girls are fast succumbing to the white beauty and appearance norms they have long resisted. African American men, whether as the musical artists or in the background, have darker complexions and more natural hair. Black gangsta rappers have liberally tattooed and pierced bodies. All varieties of male rappers and hip-hop artists are portrayed as being associated with criminality (Gordon, 2008; Conrad et al., 2009). These videos conceptualize African American masculinity as evolving out of gangs and ghettos. Music video content depicting African American women as sexually promiscuous and African American men as criminals remain largely unchallenged in the African American community or in the larger corporate culture (Littlefield, 2008; Balaji, 2009). Such videos do untold harm in reinforcing gender and race stereotypes.

Regardless of race, women musical artists do break out of the mold in which they are embedded by the broader rock culture, but in turn find themselves in a no-win situation. From a conflict theory perspective, they may have a financial stake in maintaining the racialized, misogynistic images they disdain. Only when they reach superstardom or own their own studios can they be somewhat immune to the power of record producers. Indeed, few can act as role models and challenge rock's misogynous lyrics. With notable exceptions such as semiretired Tina Turner, who reemerged in rock and catapulted to the superstar category, alternative views of women that are both popular and empowering are rarer today than in the 1960s.

Television

Television is by far the most influential of all media and television watching is at an all-time high. In the United States, virtually all households have at least one TV; the average number of sets per home is 2.92, one of which is on seven hours per day. Americans also watch TV on the one-half billion internet-connected devices in U.S. homes. Approximately three-quarters of households pay or have access to cable programs. Although people over age 55 watch television the most, preschoolers and young children may spend up to one-third of the day in front of the set.

Television plays a central role in the lives of children and is a powerful agent of socialization. Television for children is much more gender stereotyped than the shows adults watch. In the early stages of identity formation, young children from all races in the United States use television for role modeling (Chapter 3). Seventy percent of day care centers use television on a typical day. Children from poor homes watch television more than those from affluent homes, working- and

lower-class children more than those whose parents have higher education and income, and African Americans and Latinos more than European Americans.

Gendered Violence

Decades of research document a clear and consistent correlation between amount of television viewing and aggression. Viewing violence increases the potential for violence and desensitizes the viewer to subsequent violence. The more violent the content, the more aggressive the child or adolescent toward siblings, parents, spouses, teachers, and peers. The following evidence suggest the aggression–media–television link (Nagle, 2009; Martins and Wilson, 2012; Miller et al., 2012; Cardwell, 2013; Yang and Huesmann, 2013).

- Two out of three TV programs contain violence that threatens or actualizes hurting and killing.
- By sixth grade, the average child has witnessed at least 8,000 TV murders and 100,000 other violent acts.
- Over 90 percent of children's programs contain physical or social aggression and one every 4 minutes for social aggression—an average of 14 violent acts per hour of typical programming.

Although the number of violent acts may have plateaued on television, the violence that is shown is more graphic and realistic. Other forms of media violence repeat and exaggerate many of the patterns found on television. Video game violence is linked to increases in aggressive behavior, particularly in boys, a pattern found globally (Willoughby et al., 2012; McGrath, 2014). Because of the ability to manipulate characters, violent video games have a stronger connection to aggression in children and adolescents. Attracting over 9 million players, America's Army is a collection of sophisticated, realistic, and extremely violent video games developed by the U.S. army. Players are taken on virtual missions from basic training to waging war and fighting terrorists. Players are entertained as well as enticed to enlist (Bica, 2009).

Television violence is directed toward women. Overall, men kill and women get killed. Men kill more than twice as often as they are killed. White men and boys more likely to perpetrate violence and to get away with it, with girls and women of color, older women, and foreign women the most likely victims. As in music videos, rape is increasingly portrayed on television. The brutality, frequency, and graphic violence against women in the hugely popular HBO series Game of Thrones (GOT) has prompted "rising unease" among viewers. TV plotlines usually explore consequences of rape on victims, but rape in this series is so pervasive, routine, and even casual that it is relegated to "background noise." Producers defend the violence as a faithful representation from the books from which it was spawned (Itzkoff, 2014). Given that GOT is HBO's most lucrative property, public outrage is likely to be muted.

Prime Time

Women's prime-time presence continues to increase, and women now account for over 40 percent of all characters. On-screen presence, however, does not predict plot or importance of character. Television prime time revolves around men. Leading

male characters outnumber females about two to one, a consistent trend since the early days of television. Highlighted in this section, a great deal of research focuses on the continuing unrealistic, stereotyped portrayals of both television men and women.

Gender Profiles in Drama Men dominate dramatic shows, especially those involving action, adventure, and crime. In lead roles, they play tough and emotionally reserved characters who are unmarried but have beautiful female companions. The profile of prime-time men includes the following: He is in his thirties and is single, white, handsome, smart, middle class, and sexy. We do not know much about his family, his leisure life, or his interests outside work. He may be attracted to a coworker but usually fails in his attempts to hide it from others.

Compared to men, women have far fewer leading roles. Their increase in on-screen presence is attributed to minor roles. However, minor roles where ongoing characters have speaking parts are expanding for women. Female characters are attractive bystanders in background shots but are less attractive than females who are named as specific characters. The sex appeal of background females cannot outshine those with more important roles. The profile of prime-time women includes the following: She is unmarried, under 30, employed outside the home, more likely to be in a professional occupation than in the past, cares for children if she is a single mother, and is not involved in but is looking for a romantic relationship. Their lives are more complicated than those of male characters. Marriage rates of prime-time women are increasing. They often delay marriage until their mid-thirties, with subthemes revolving around their quest for pregnancy before their biological clocks run out.

Invisible Women Older women are invisible in prime time. If seen at all, they are marginalized and subordinated, lacking prestige and leadership. A few powerful women may have minor roles, but their on-screen presence is minimal. Gone are Jessica Fletcher *(Murder She Wrote)* and the older, powerful women of *Dynasty* and *Falcon Crest*. Often representing the serious side of comedy, shows such as the *Golden Girls* also have disappeared. Viewers today are most likely to see characters in their thirties and least likely to see characters in their sixties. Age also is not helpful to older men on prime-time TV, but men still represent almost three-fourths of all characters age 60 and older. Prime time sends powerful messages to the general population about aging in general and older women in particular. The one exception is 92-year-old (in 2014) Betty White (*Hot in Cleveland*). Although age and gender stereotypes are juxtaposed with issues surrounding sexuality and physical decline, she is portrayed as wise and witty rather than feeble and vague. The mismatch of age and gender on prime-time television is puzzling. Older women are the heaviest viewers of television and the fastest-growing age group in the United States and globally . They remain healthy and active well into old age. Baby boomer women are the first generation with the largest proportion of women working full-time throughout their lives. Advertisers have yet to recognize the enormous returns by providing more images—and more positive images—of older women on television. To date, however, older women remain invisible.

Intersecting Gender, Race, and Ethnicity Although white males dominate network television, African American characters are increasing rapidly, with males outpacing females. Compared to their population numbers, African American characters are overrepresented on TV today and Latinos, now the largest minority group in the United States, are underrepresented. The following trends intersect gender with race and ethnicity.

- African American boys and men are leads, are costars, have white partners, and have an array of major supporting roles. Criminals and bad guys are no longer exclusively African American.
- African American women are cast as leads and in key roles (*Person of Interest*, *Scandal*, *Scorpion*).
- In drama and comedy shows, African American women are still likely to be cast as overweight, asexual mothers and aunts and sexually alluring girlfriends and unmarried temptresses.
- Asian males have more starring roles than Asian females, but both are depicted as intellectually strong professionals (*The Mentalist*, *Hawaii Five-O*, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Elementary*). Asian women in background roles are becoming less exoticized, retreating from their common portrayal as prostitutes.
- Of all races, Latinos are most underrepresented. With the notable exception of the *The George Lopez Show*, few men are in starring roles. Unlike the music industry, Latinas have only recently emerged on television. Rare starring roles are highly stereotyped by race and gender. Although she effectively satirizes the "stereotype of the Latina sexpot," Sofia Vergara plays a trophy wife in *Modern Family* (Bellafante, 2009:MT3). Gabrielle, of *Desperate Housewives*, is strong and willful but is undermined by Latina stereotypes about sexuality

The popularity of these shows, however, may signal a trend for prime-time television to become more female friendly and less gender stereotyped.

Comedy In comedies, women now appear about as frequently as men. The completely dependent housewife role in early comedy series such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *I Love Lucy* have all but disappeared. The "liberated" women of the 1970s, such as *Maude* and *Rhoda*, paved the wave for this trend. The immense popularity of the long-running *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* is linked to the fact that this was the only show in which a single career woman was depicted without a steady boyfriend or any major story line revolving around her unmarried and nonmotherhood status. Some suggest that *Ally McBeal* was the new Mary Richards, but her ditzy character and obsession with romance countered this view. *Two Broke Girls* and *Jennifer Falls* are not homemakers, but they would like to be married to rich men. Homemakers may have disappeared, but there are virtually no comedy or dramas that have the equivalent of a Mary Richards.

Beauty Issues related to appearance and beauty permeate prime-time comedy shows. Women and girls are laughed at when they are too heavy—the heavier the woman the more negative the comments about them, especially comments made by men (Barriga et al., 2009). These images continue despite increases in shows

featuring female leads. Younger women are particularly vulnerable to stereotyping and are depicted as empty headed and obsessed with beauty, clothes, shopping, materialism, and dating.

Television's beauty obsession collided with gender, age, and class stereotypes when Susan Boyle, an overweight, middle-aged woman from a working-class background, appeared on Britain's version of *American Idol*. Prejudged to fail by an appearance completely at odds with TV beauty standards, she stunned audiences with her magnificent voice. In popular culture media, the belief that feminine beauty equates to talent, goodness, and social acceptance is extremely difficult to dislodge. Rather than newspaper accounts admonishing us about the harm, injustice, and inaccuracy of sexist and ageist stereotypes, scientists astonishingly suggested that from an evolutionary perspective, snap judgments are "only natural" (Belluck, 2009). The "only natural" argument is routinely used to sustain gender role stereotypes that are individually and socially damaging (Chapter 3).

Employed Women The explosion of women in the workplace translated to prime-time television. In the rush to capture the female 20–50 age group, television's depiction of employed women mushroomed. By the millennium, employed women comprised over three-fourths of prime-time female characters, about 15 percent more than those who worked outside the home in real life. Compared to men in the workplace, women's roles are more likely to revolve around relationships, marriage, and family rather than their actual work activities. In *Cougar Town*, Courtney Cox plays divorced mom Jules, a successful real estate agent. The show features her desperate quest "to find a hunk, not a home buyer (Stanley, 2009:MT1, 4). Female characters are likely to be identified by their marital status; male characters are likely to be identified by their occupation. Compared to men's occupations, women's are less prestigious and less powerful. Powerful women often remain in the background with less airtime. They maintain a "now you see them, now you don't" shadow existence.

Employed women may be married and have children, but work–family conflicts are minimized. Prime-time drama and comedy revolve around what happens at work or after work—but not both. In *Parenthood*, for example, work-to-family spillover is experienced by women more than men, but the series takes place in around the home, not the workplace (Prince, 2012). Television is slowly moving to more realistic programs about the joys and trials of marriage, family, and jobs, but the lack of attention to the real-world experiences of women continues (Birthisel and Martin, 2013; Scott, 2013).

Daytime Television

Networks struggle to match programming for a diverse daytime audience. Early news and weather for commuters and late afternoon after-school programs for children leaves the middle of the day open for homemakers and older viewers. On cable and network television, the day is filled with game shows, cooking and shopping shows, movies with multitudes of commercials, and reruns of television series dating to the 1970s. Daytime programs are largely directed toward women.

Soap Operas Originally designed for a daytime female audience, soap operas allowed homemakers an escape into a fantasy world of romance and adventure. The soap opera was the only television format with more female than male lead characters. Soap opera women were schemers, victims, bed-hoppers, and idealistic romantics. Families suffered because husbands had affairs, but forgiving wives held a family together until errant husbands returned and temporarily made amends. Despite these themes, however, the women of soaps were intelligent, self-reliant, resilient, and articulate, seeking out one another for advice and friendship. Many questioned the gender status quo and challenged home-based patriarchy.

Notice that this section is written in past tense. The target soap opera audience has virtually disappeared. The few remaining traditional daytime soap operas may be on the verge of extinction *(General Hospital, Days of Our Lives, The Young and the Restless)*. For devoted fans, some are online and aired in the evening. Reality TV has filled the daytime cavity left by the retreat of soap operas.

Reality TV Likes soaps, reality (unscripted) TV both engages and distances viewers from content while keeping them entertained. Also like soaps, reality TV is ludicrous in distortion of reality but popular because of it. Critics deride reality TV, but its huge success in both daytime and prime-time slots is traced to combining elements of comedy and drama, often with the backdrop of ruthless competition. This is seen in *America's Next Top Model, Survivor, Entertainment News* (celebrities maneuvering the red carpet), and *Dancing with the Stars*.

Reality TV combined with home shopping networks offer instruction from male authority figures to mostly female audiences. When reality TV women are in positions of authority, they often take on a stereotyped masculine persona (Kuhn-Wilken et al., 2012; Feasey, 2013). Women are instructed on how to find romance (*The Bachelor*); manage their homes, children, and husbands *(Wife Swap; Supernanny)*; please men sexually (*Girls next Door: The Bunny House)*; and, most important, work hard on becoming more beautiful. Men also are consumers of reality TV, but shows revolve around risk, danger, soldiering, and heroism.

Beauty obsession is what stands out in reality TV. Consistent with research in *body studies*, men and women adhere to rigid appearance and size standard in gender-appropriate ways (Chapter 3). Although the unrealistic standard affects both males and females, young women are its most likely prey. Beauty can be bought with cosmetics and clothing (*Extreme Makeover, What Not to Wear*). It is the weight standard that requires an even greater investment.

Reality television has capitalized on the obesity epidemic in the United States. It may be argued that fatness is normalized on reality TV (*More to Love*) or ignored by obese brides (*Say Yes to the Dress*). Obese people appear regularly throughout all television formats. Normative, however, does not translate to acceptable. A fat stigma exists, and reality TV helps people, literally, to reduce it (*The Biggest Loser, Fat March*). Perhaps because of pressure to represent the general population, a "pseudo-fat acceptance" underlies the proliferation of fat people on television (Peltier and Mizock, 2012).

The Oscars and its wealth of lead-in shows also may be counted as reality TV. Acclaimed film and television actress Melissa McCarthy was turned down by all top designers for a dress to wear during the Oscar ceremony, when she herself was

nominated for an Academy Award for *Bridesmaids*. Although designers ferociously work to showcase their clothing on Oscar night, they clearly did not want their fashions to be worn by a plus-size woman. A mediated fashion industry sends another message, and in this case not a subtle one, that fat women are unacceptable. McCarthy is partnering with a designer to create a fashion line to flatter rather than disparage (and discourage) plus-size women (Berger, 2014). From a marketing standpoint, it also "fits" reality TV programming.

Young women are especially vulnerable to messages revolving around beauty and body. They certainly recognize the importance of appearance as they traverse dating, romance, sports, peer relationships, and the job market. They internalize the belief that changing their appearance depends on individual efforts. With everything reality TV has to offer, if they cannot succeed, it is their own fault.

TV's Gendered Exceptions

Standout exceptions in past and current television programming can serve as cues to predict future trends. Debuting in 1982, *Cagney and Lacey* was the first prime-time drama featuring two female leads as police partners. Deviating from the prime-time television norm, crime plots intertwined sensitively with issues rarely addressed on police shows, including breast cancer, domestic violence, abortion, and child neglect. Police women, like all women, faced career and family conflict, misogyny and prejudice, and ambition and hope at midlife. These compassionate yet entertaining portrayals created a loyal male and female audience for its six-year and later made-for television movie run. The contemporary version of *Cagney and Lacey* may be *Rizzoli and Isles* (TNT), detective and medical examiner crime solvers and good friends on and off the job.

Other exceptions to the stock gender-role television drama formula include 50ish Detective Superintendent Jane Tennison (Helen Mirren) in the British series *Prime Suspect* and the brilliant forensic anthropologist Dr. Temperance Brennan (Emily Deschanel) in *Bones*. In *The Good Wife*, 40-something Alicia Florrick (Julianna Margulies) is a respected defense attorney reclaiming her life and identity after her philandering political husband lands in jail. Esteemed and resourceful firm partner Diane Lockhart (Christine Baranski) supports an already strong female cast. These heroines lead diverse casts of men and women who solve complicated crimes; deftly defend their clients; and thoughtfully struggle with issues related to family, friendship, and motherhood. Gender stereotypes do lurk in the background. Their careers offer fulfillment, but their personal lives are often in disarray. The message that women can't have it all—rewarding career and loving family—remains a compelling subtext.

For high school girls and young women, the success of *Xena: Warrior Princess* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is attributed to the nonstereotyped traits associated with the characters—confidence, strength, and the ability to match and outwit male villains—as well as loyalty and friendship among young women. With the action, fantasy, and adventure of these series, young males crossed over to watch these shows. With strong and heroic female leads, these series attract a legion of viewers for reruns. The beauty subtext and sexism vestige for all female characters in these shows are certainly evident, but may or may not overshadow the shows' other messages.

It is now common to see more gender-related social issues on entertainment-focused dramas, on talk shows, and increasingly on comedy series. Despite enduring stereotyped portrayals, women and men are pursuing a diversity of nontraditional roles in real-world living arrangements and occupations far removed from Beaver Cleaver's family. Consider *Will & Grace* and *Designing Women* of the past and more recently *The Office*, *Ellen*, and *Parks and Recreation*. These shows demonstrate that class, race, age, sexual orientation, and gender diversity can be successfully portrayed without demeaning stereotypes often associated with these categories.

These exceptions need to be considered in light of overall programming, including cable and online TV and reruns dating back half a century. Even with women in lead roles in a few popular series, they still do not typically include major roles, especially for minority women. Gender role diversity has had minimal impact on the stereotypes embedded within the very programs that are often promoted as representing more realistic gender images. As shows enter the rerun market, *Roseanne* competes with *Charlie's Angels* (Whose angels are they?) and *Cheers*, the bar owned by womanizer Sam Malone. Intent to make programming less gender stereotyped is often countered by reruns.

Commercials

Television advertising reinforces print images we encounter daily. Nonverbals in print ads can be used effectively, but their use is limited compared with television commercials. Lighting, camera angle, tone of voice, body movement, animation, and color, to name a few, can be infinitely manipulated to provide the ideal sales mix for commercials.

Gendered content in television advertising has been researched extensively. For network and cable television, the results are similar to print advertisements. Gender stereotypes also far outweigh racial stereotypes. As judged by location of the commercial, the single largest occupation for a female is homemaker. She is usually shown at home testifying to the merits of bathroom and kitchen products. Although she is selling products to other women, a man's voice in the background tells her what to do. The large majority of voice-overs are male. She is portrayed in dependent, subordinate, and helping roles to her husband, her children, and her male employer if she works outside the home. If she is African American, this pattern intensifies. Consistent with print ads, television commercials emphasize that women must be attractive to be acceptable. Through a male voice-over, about one in every three commercials presents a message about attractiveness to women. Women and men are now at parity in prime-time commercials, but women are shown in domestic situations as wife or mother; when shown with men outside the home, they are portrayed as less assured and more foolish and immature. Super Bowl commercials are the most expensive and most watched by the most people at once (Grinberg 2013). Many of these continue to be deemed sexist and offensive, especially to women viewers. These trends not only are consistent over time, but also are strikingly similar cross-culturally (Yoder et al., 2008; Nelson and Vilela, 2011).

Children's Commercials Of all forms of television advertising, commercials for children are the most gender stereotyped. Because a child typically views

more than about 20,000 commercials annually, the impact on gender attitudes is enormous. Commercials depicting children are strictly gender segregated. Girls are shown in more passive activities and are more dependent on another person or a doll for entertainment. They learn how to help their mothers, assist in household tasks, serve men and boys—especially where food is concerned—and see how to become beautiful or stay cute. The ads focus on passive and quiet play and use dreamy content, soft music, and fades or dissolves for sequencing. Commercials do not teach independence or autonomy for young girls. The opposite characteristics are depicted in commercials for boys and focus on aggression, action, control, completion, and independence, most in scenes outside the home (Chapter 3).

Changing these patterns is not encouraging. Females still need males to tell them what to do or buy, even for products such as window cleaner, deodorant, and hair color. Gender stereotypes in children's commercials have actually increased. Only a tiny portion of alternative gender possibilities are imaged in children's advertisements. Advertisements continue to picture children in settings that are unrealistic and in roles that are nonoverlapping and oppositional: Boys will be boys, and girls will be girls. Overall, television advertisers speak in male voices to female consumers.

Men's Images in Media

Given their varied roles in the real world, women have not fared well in media. Men star in more television series, sell more records, make more movies, and are paid more than female media counterparts. But men, too, pay a price for that power and popularity. From the media's standpoint, a man is a breadwinner who cheats on his wife, has no idea how to wash clothes or vacuum a rug, is manipulated by his children, and uses force to solve problems. How do media contribute to these images?

Advertising

Advertisers divide products according to their emotional appeal; hence, some are seen as masculine and some as feminine. Cars, life insurance, and beer are masculine; so men do the selling to other men. Men also sell women's products, such as cosmetics and pantyhose. In fact, men do most of the selling on television, as evidenced by the use of male voice-overs in both daytime and prime-time television. Male voice-overs have decreased slightly over time, but a man's voice is heard over three-fourths of all commercials. Advertising puts men in positions where they direct what all people buy. A man's voice is the voice of authority.

Commercials shown on television, usually during sports events, are almost exclusively male oriented. Often laced with violent images that endorse the sexual objectification of women, men respond positively to these ads, but women do not (McDaniel et al., 2007; Hust and Ming, 2008). Advertisers intensify their marketing of beer to males rather than alter content to make beer ads more palatable to women. Traditional images of masculinity surrounding beer commercials on television and products in print ads directed toward males are camping, cowboys, competition, and camaraderie. Men are the good old boys who are adventurous, play hard at sports, exercise vigorously, and have a country spirit. Compared to television-ads,

print ads with male models deviate sharply from those of only a decade ago. Men who read male-directed magazines (*Maxim, Men's Health)* are more likely to value thinness in women and muscularity for men (Hatoum and Belle, 2004). *Playgirl* centerfolds depict idealized versions of muscular men supposedly desired by women Capitalizing on men's concerns about being underweight or undermuscular, advertisers aggressively market dietary supplements, sports equipment, and weight-lifting CDs to men and boys. Eating disorders in men are correlated with the increasing objectification of men's bodies (Chapter 2). Underweight males on television series' and in film are often portrayed as insecure, shy, and unappealing as friends. Overweight males, however, are still portrayed in a range of positive roles (*Mike and Mollie, King of Queens, Modern Family*).

For other products and for both print ads and television commercials, women are increasingly shown in activities outside the home and men are increasingly shown in family roles. Men inhabit nondomestic worlds of workplace, gym, and sports bar and are portrayed as mature, wise, successful, competitive, and powerful. The competent man image shifts greatly when men are shown doing housework and child care. In their homes, they are depicted as more foolish than women, bumbling in the kitchen and inept with infants and children. The audience is meant to laugh at men who create havoc when doing chores typically performed by women. His ineptness, lack of success, and less time devoted to the task at hand characterizes him as "hardly working" rather than "working hard" (Scharrer et al., 2006). Men may be doing more in-home work in today's commercials, but stereotypes about his incompetence in a woman's sphere persist.

Film

Fueled by advertisers, films contribute to the images of men as invulnerable, decisive, and increasingly as sex objects. Films routinely portray men in two thematic ways. The first is the hero theme. Heroes are the hard-living and adventurous tough guys and superheroes engaged in action–adventure plots. Pure fantasy exists in movies where the hero escapes unscathed from the jaws of death. The twist for some movies is that the hero starts out insisting he is not brave, really scared, and just doing his job. Circumstances prove otherwise as he rescues the maiden, finds the gold, protects national treasures, or saves the world from destruction *(I Am Legend; The Monuments Men; The Matrix*). Antonio Banderas, Will Smith, Brad Pitt, and Matt Damon have replaced John Wayne, Gary Cooper, and Clint Eastwood of the past. Unlike women who appear as leads in either romantic or adventure films, these men will maintain their hero qualities well into later life.

Often men are linked in "buddy" movies. The plot makes them initially suspicious and competitive on the surface; then they gradually move toward genuine—if begrudging—respect and camaraderie. Heroes move in and out of relationships with women. Romance is short-lived, not enough to keep the men from their carefree but dangerous escapades. They learn to admire one another for traits they see lacking in themselves. *Die Hard, Lethal Weapon, 48 Hours,* and *Men in Black* are examples of heroic buddy movies.

The sex object subtext of the hero theme suggests that action motion pictures of the last several decades are increasingly portraying men as leaner and meaner. The

gaunt heroes of the past (Clark Gable, James Stuart) are replaced with aggressive, muscular men who achieve positive outcomes, including romance, by the end of the movie (Morrison and Halton, 2009). Like TV, film allows men to be older and larger and still be admired by men and desirable to women. Weight gains by Russell Crowe, John Travolta, and Denzel Washington do not disqualify them as heroes or as romantic leads in adventure movies (Cieply, 2009). The next generation of aging male actors may not be as fortunate, however, if men's bodies continue to be objectified.

Second is the violence theme. Both heroes and villains are violent, and violence is needed to end violence. The kill-and-maim plots of the *Friday the 13th, Halloween,* and *Prom Night* movies, the *Star Wars* and *Lord of the Rings* epics, and a multitude of graphically violent movies where drug lords and organized crime are toppled, attest to revenge, killing, and violence in the name of justice and honor. Male characters refusing to abide by this formula to resolve the problem are portrayed as unintelligent, egotistical, and cowardly.

Violence is normative in all genres of movies, increasing most rapidly in films aimed at younger audiences. The escalation of violence and the graphic display of sexual violence in action–adventure films are associated with the financial success of movies released to international audiences. In the global economy, high-profit films need minimal editing for non-English speakers or for audiences who cannot read subtitles. The next time you watch a film, note the length of time of a scene that has no dialogue. Chances are it is an action–adventure sequence consisting of heroic males in chase scenes, explosions, and nonstop escapades related to violence and destruction.

Television

Television reinforces other images of media masculinity. In prime-time dramas, men are portrayed as active, independent, less tied to relationships, and in control. Men acknowledge that power is a double-edged sword; it may bring adversity as well as rewards, but they are willing to accept the consequences (*Hawaii Five-O, Blue Bloods amd CSI*). Less favorable portrayals of men are connected to their use of violence and force to deal with ongoing relationships. Whether as heroes or villains, television equates male strength with lack of emotion (other than anger), self-reliance, and ability to fight their way out of a difficult spot.

Situation Comedies: Men in Families The key exception to the image of masculine strength and independence is the situation comedy, where husbands take on a childlike dependence on their wives *(The Simpsons, Home Improvement, Family Guy)*. Clearly father no longer knows best. It also is rare to find men in loving and nurturing relationships with their television children without a woman hovering in the background. Television refuses to allow men to be shown as competent fathers who are capable of raising young children on their own. In the *Andy Griffith Show*, there was Aunt Bee; in the *Courtship of Eddie's Father*, there was Mrs. Livingston; and in *Family Affair,* there was Mr. French. Past shows such as *Full House* and recent shows such as *Two and a Half Men* portray single dads in amazingly nontraditional living arrangements where there other adults are always present. Unlike series featuring women as single parents, almost ludicrous circumstances must be invented to accommodate single fathers.

An interesting twist on fathers with children is the series *Modern Family*, featuring a clan of families including a gay couple raising a young daughter. Two gay fathers rather than one father—gay or not—are surrounded by an army of female friends and kin who aid them in child rearing. It is virtually impossible to find a father raising an infant or a very young child alone. The media allow men to display a greater range of roles than women, but stereotypes lurk in most men's imagery as well.

TV's Gender, Race, and Class Link

Like *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood*, until the mid-1960s, white middle-class professional and managerial men of generic northern European background mainly inhabited prime-time television. They were married to women of similar backgrounds who were depicted as full-time homemakers. When male people of color were seen, they usually fell into three categories: African American chauffeurs and bodyguards, Asian cooks and gardeners, and Latino desperadoes and drug lords. However, the next two decades saw a marked shift for people of color in both numbers and types of roles, a pattern that continues today. After African American and Asian men, however, portrayals by Latino men remain a distant third. Latino men are largely supporting players and background figures and are more likely to be stereotypically portrayed as poor, deviant, or criminal compared to all other racial and ethnic groups (Greenberg and Worrell, 2007).

A steady blurring of racial differences among men is occurring on prime-time television. However, as racial differences decrease, class differences are increasing. Gone are the struggling working-class African American families of 1970's television. The laborers, servants, and junk collectors of the Evans family (*Good Times*) and *Sanford and Son* were replaced by the 1980s with business owners, attorneys, and other professionals (*The Jeffersons, The Cosby Show*). Overdue for a millennium replacement to *The Cosby Show*, *Black-ish* aired in 2014. Framed as "post-racial," an affluent African American man with a biracial wife wants to reconnect his "colorblind" children with their cultural heritage. The framing and plot, however, are mired in gender stereotypes and it is difficult to dismiss sexist content that cannot be disguised as satire. It is unlikely that the show can match the Cosby legacy. It is clear, nonetheless, that African American affluence is viewed as normative in these shows. In prime-time drama, leading roles for African American secret agents, doctors, lawyers, and police officers are common [*Criminal Minds, Power (new), Elementary*]. The professionals of *How I Met Your Mother* and *Sex in the City* have supplanted the struggling waitresses of *Alice* and assembly-line workers of *Laverne and Shirley*.

As men and women from all races moved up in social class, they left their working-class counterparts behind. Television is a virtual haven for the middle class, with middle- and-upper class men dominating television in number of series, number of roles, and number of starring roles (*Suits*, *30 Rock, White Collar, Castle*). Middle-class men on prime-time television are college educated, lead interesting and productive lives, and have disposable income to travel and buy expensive artifacts for their tastefully decorated homes. Shows spotlighting women parallel these trends [*Real (rich) Housewives*]. Advertisers desiring to show a full range of products used by glamorous people are often catered to. The result is television shows built around affluent characters. The psychiatrist brothers of *Frasier* represent the middle-class standard of prime-time television for males. Racial stereotypes are still apparent,

but class stereotypes are on the fast track to overtake them. Gender stereotypes, however, remain largely intact.

Working-Class Men In the real world, people in the working class are those who lift, bend, drive, keyboard, clean, load, unload, provide physical care for others, cook, and serve (Ehrenreich, 1998). They are high school graduates working for a wage rather than a salary and are employed in blue-collar positions, retail sales, and lower-level white-collar clerical jobs. Although they represent over two-thirds of employed Americans and include well-paid workers in the skilled trades (Chapter 10), the working class of prime-time television is largely unseen. In over half a century of situation comedies, working-class households families are the most underrepresented. The large majority of sitcom families are in the middle class and above, with the working class relegated to a vague, marginalized category of "other" (Leistyna and Alper, 2005). Prime-time television's construction of men from this small group of working-class families is a vastly different reality from that of television's middle class. Blue-collar men are depicted as needing supervision, and it is up to middle-class professionals to provide it. Working-class characters have few starring roles and are usually depicted as friends or relatives of the main characters in situation comedies (*Everybody Loves Raymond*) or as unsavory characters lurking in the background of police precincts, courtrooms, schools, and hospital waiting rooms in prime-time drama (*NCIS*, *Grey's Anatomy*).

Unlike racial portraits of men, comparable working-class portraits have remained virtually the same throughout television's history. Homer Simpson has replaced Ralph Cramden, Fred Flintstone, and Archie Bunker. The few shows that portray working-class or even lower-middle-class men in lead roles have prototype characters: They are now men of all races depicted as wise fools, lovable but incompetent with parochial, poor, or questionable taste in all things. They hide behind a veil of exaggerated masculinity that is easily unwoven by their ever-suffering wives (*Tyler Perry's House of Payne, King of the Hill, King of Queens)*.

The significant holdouts to this pattern were *Roseanne*, which for a decade was one of the most popular shows on television, and the five-year run of *Grace Under Fire*. Both shows deviated from the working-class norm by showing family members in diverse roles dealing sensitively with a range of difficult issues all families face. Comedy was not sacrificed in these portrayals.

Changing Images Reality television may be doing a better job portraying working class positively. High-rated shows follow men in their dangerous work as loggers in Oregon, long-haul drivers, and fishers who confront dangerous conditions to carry out their work. Others are the paramedics, firefighters, and police offers who routinely lead risky lives in the service of others. Framing working-class men as capable because of the risks they take and the physical strength needed for their jobs is a double-edged sword. Working-class men are defined by images of masculinity drawing on physical capability that few can attain. Considering that these are "reality" shows, stereotypes equating masculinity with physical strength and action are more difficult to dislodge (Chapter 9).

Like media-created women, men cannot be all that they are meant to be—or all that they are. Men increasingly disdain their media portrayals as sex objects and

success objects. They want to be identified more for their lives as fathers and husbands and less as sexual exploiters of women and ruthless competitors of men. Tom Hanks and Robin Williams demonstrate this; Howard Stern and Donald Trump do not. Until we see men consistently portrayed as loving fathers, compassionate husbands, and household experts, attitudes about masculinity will not be significantly altered.

Gender and Mass Media Industries

Few women in creative and decision-making positions in media industries help explain the pervasive gender typing throughout the mass media. Except as secretarial staff, for example, women are numerically underrepresented in all phases of advertising. Because advertising is the medium with the power to quickly alter the pervasive and consistent stereotyping it now supports, an influx of women into managerial positions may provide the industry with more realistic images of women.

Television

The same can be said for television. In 1980, about 30 percent of the employees at network headquarters and network-owned stations were women, but only 10 percent were at the managerial level. Ten years later almost 20 percent of directors of commercial television in news and entertainment shows were women. Women make up over one-third of news professionals, but few are news directors, remaining largely unchanged for two decades. Although women account for almost half of TV characters, as actors in commercials, soap operas, and prime-time television, their representation in leadership roles in production, management, and news is much more limited.

The major qualifications for entry into these positions are advanced, specialized education and experience. Women match men in educational profiles, but their experience is less favorable when compared to their male counterparts. Most women managers in television entered the industry within the last decade. Until women move into higher ranks, as in most jobs, gendered occupational segregation in the television industry is the norm.

Broadcast Journalism

Compared to men in overall television programming, women are making the greatest strides in TV news and commentary, gaining more production roles and on-screen visibility. With Barbara Walters as the pioneer, Katie Couric, Rachel Maddow, Cokie Roberts, and Diane Sawyer demonstrate the professionalism and integrity of women broadcasters. Until recently, the few women seen during news programs were billed as "weather girls" and held third-rate positions on the news teams. Today female meteorologists are responsible for preparing and broadcasting the weather. Metropolitan areas have male–female news teams that vie with each other for ratings. Women in news and weather departments have made inroads, but the sports anchor is likely a white man or, increasingly, a former African American athlete teamed with a white man.

Does increased visibility in news and information programs mean that gender barriers are eroding? The answer is both yes and no, and a look at morning television news helps explain why. The three major networks produce a morning show described as combining news with entertainment. Currently, male and female teams consisting of three or four "racially diverse" persons host each of these shows. This format is now necessary for success. No longer can a man or a completely male news team expect to carry the show. On the other hand, women are increasing their numbers rapidly as foreign and war correspondents. In 1970, only 6 percent of women were foreign correspondents; today over one-third fill this slot. They have more control over what they report and how they report war news. They tend to focus more on the human toll of war related to civilian populations and highlight the issues faced by women and children in war-torn areas. In high-visibility positions reporting from war zones, like journalists throughout the globe, they are in harm's way. Public acceptance of these women and their reporting is at an all-time high.

Film

The golden days of film coincided with the Depression. Ironically, this period was the golden age for women actors but the dark age for women directors. The position of director is the apex of the film industry. In the silent screen and pre–World War I eras, there were over 30 female directors, more than at any other time in film history. The rise of the studio system and its vertical monopoly model consolidated the production, distribution, and exhibition of films in individual companies and forced many independent filmmakers out of work.

Directors In this early era where film norms were still emerging, Dorothy Arzner was the only woman directing for a studio (1927–1943). During the next two decades, Ida Lupino was the only woman directing major feature films, and she established herself even before World War II. Actors including Penny Marshall, Kathy Bates, Sally Field, Jodie Foster, and Barbra Streisand emerged as acclaimed directors by the millennium. In 2013, for the top 250 films, women held only 6 percent of prized director slots (Figure 13.1). Barbra Streisand was an Oscar-nominated director for *The Prince of Tides* but was passed over. As noted earlier, except for Kathryn Bigelow, no woman has won an Oscar for directing. The number of female directors can be correlated with the number of parts for female actors. There are three speaking males for every one speaking female, a consistent trend for 40 years. Whereas the position of director remains a male bastion, the number of women producers, editors, and screenwriters is rapidly increasing. Although less likely to be represented by studios producing box-office blockbusters, they are entering areas that offer creative work in newer cinematic forms. Art, documentary, educational, experimental, and emerging "alternative" cinema are especially hospitable to women eager to demonstrate their talents. Women film critics do hold influential positions in the industry, so efforts outside mainstream filmmaking are not ignored. Feminist film theory is emerging from these efforts. Prominent female critics review films from perspectives that male critics usually dismiss, such as how women are portrayed, the quality of the roles women are being offered, and the degree to which films reflect social reality.

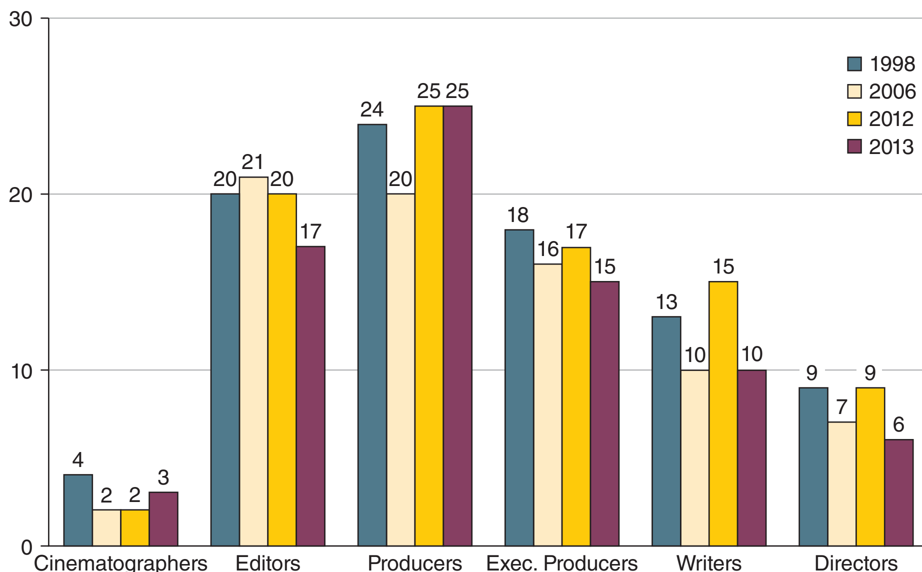

FIGURE 13.1

Historical comparison of women employed on top 250 films.

Source: Adapted from Martha M. Lauzen, 2014. "The celluloid ceiling: Behind-the-scenes employment of women on the top 250 films of 2013." (p. 1). womenintvfilms.sdsu.edu/files/2013_Celluloid_Ceiling_Report.pdf

These achievements are impressive, but they account mostly for films outside the mainstream and in lesser-known studios. These may be respected indies, but not the studios producing movies people will line up to see on a cold Saturday night. Money and fame are reserved for commercially successful films. Although alternative cinema may provide creative outlets for women filmmakers, a male monopoly in the established film industry makes the switch from one system to the other difficult.

Media and Social Change

Media present views of women and men far removed from the reality of our everyday lives. Men are portrayed as more multidimensional and more positive than women, but still in highly stereotypical ways. Ruled by advertisers, media willingness to reduce gender stereotyping is not very encouraging. Advertisers argue that their images reflect society and these are images the public wants to see. They acknowledge that advertising images may reinforce existing sexism, but they did not create it. From their viewpoint, altering patterns simply to counter sexism risks public acceptance and profit. Moral responsibility for gendered media messages is rarely an issue.

Changing for Profit and Social Progress

We confer an inordinate amount of power to media. They satisfy our unquenchable entertainment thirst and demand for instant news. Media move us from the

mundane to a world of fantasy and excitement. Is it possible for media to provide the entertainment and information, maintain public acceptance, increase profits, and simultaneously provide alternatives to the sexist portrayals of men and women? Given that research indicates that gender role shifts to less stereotyping are associated with profit, the answer is affirmative. As noted above, the irony of media and its advertising arm is that they thrive on change, yet are barely beginning to move from rigid patterns regarding gender. When convinced that success can be profitable when packaged differently, media change will accelerate.

Finally there is the issue of moral responsibility. The issue surfaces when sexual and violent content of media is examined, especially content consumed by children. Little attention is paid to ongoing, taken-for-granted misogyny pervading all media outlets. Consider how Dr. Margaret Chan, the director of the World Health Organization and the most powerful international public health official in history, is spotlighted:

> All of this authority is packed into a diminutive woman with large glasses who does not drive, type or cook, is fond of sharp suits and silver pins, and may be among the most qualified people in the world to lead the global response to the threat of a pandemic flu. (Harris and Altman, 2009)

The media cannot be absolved of moral responsibility for such portrayals. By addressing the sexual content of violent media, however, a latent function regarding gender stereotyping also may occur. As this book documents, gender portrayals intersect with other social statuses (for example, race, social class, and sexuality) in all media. Attention to sexually violent media forms can carry over to consciousness-raising about the damaging effects of misogyny throughout society. In this sense, we become "resensitized" to the damaging effect of gender stereotypes in all media forms.

Women as Media Executives

Women hold a minimum of influential positions within mass media industries. As women gain positions of power and prestige, gender-stereotyped images will be altered. But the media are entrenched in a broader social system that supports the notion of female subordination. When advertisers are singled out for blatant sexist portrayals, for example, they defend themselves by saying they are trend followers, not trend setters. They ignore the mountains of research indicating that heavy diets of gender stereotypes in all media forms are associated with higher levels of intolerance and prejudice, lower acceptance of gender and racial equality, and lower self-esteem for both females and males. In dealing with diversity and equity, mass media industries subordinate gender issues to racial and ethnic issues. With the critical acclaim and public acceptance of movies such as *Brokeback Mountain* (2006) and TV shows such as *Glee* and *Ellen*, LGBQ issues also are gaining support from media leaders. Subordination in any area harms efforts of equity in the others. The voices of women are heard when they ascend to leadership positions in media. The media are formidable socializers and provide images that both reflect and reinforce gender stereotypes. Whether acknowledged or not, media do have the power and responsibility to alter stereotypes. The public is demanding entertainment, news, and advertising offering positive images that affirm the reality of their gendered lives. Evidence suggests that media are moving in that direction.

Summary

1. Mass media, particularly television, is a major agent of gender socialization. Heavy television viewing is strongly linked to traditional and stereotyped views about gender.
2. Magazines show women linked to home and family and interested in beauty and relationships with men. Highly stereotyped advertising showing beautiful women available to men and products sold to men reinforce these images. Sexualization and flawless images of young girls has led to activism against magazines. Age and gender stereotypes in ads play on the insecurities of women as they age. Both men and women are critical of advertising images, but only minimal changes have occurred.
3. In the early days of film, women held more powerful and diverse positions. Films during World War II depicted independent, multifaceted women, but after the war, women were dichotomized as good (feminine mystique) or bad (sexual and immoral). Sexual violence in films continues to increase. Mainstream films now routinely pair sex and violence. Females are offered fewer diverse roles and, as they age, fewer roles overall when compared to males.
4. Music is highly gender stereotyped, with heavy metal and rap most misogynistic. Many successful female groups and rock bands have been led by females, but they have had little power in altering sexist material. Janis Joplin of the past, Madonna, Lady Gaga, and Pink may be feminist role models.
5. Rock videos, especially heavy metal and rap, display the most violent lyrics and images related to sexual violence. Men and women receive the messages differently.
6. Gendered violence on television is routine, with most violence directed toward women. Amount of television viewing is clearly linked to higher acceptance of aggression and acting out aggression. Children are most vulnerable to images of aggression.
7. In prime-time television drama, leading male characters outnumber females two to one. Prime-time women are unmarried, professional, and looking for romance. Portrayals of independent, single women without a story line revolving around her relationship with a man are absent from television. Employed women are now more frequent on TV, but work–family spillover is not addressed. Prime-time television has mostly white characters, but African Americans, including women, are in lead roles. Asians, both male and female, are portrayed in professional roles. Latinos have the least visibility in television.
8. Most viewers of daytime television are women, especially older women. Soap operas and reality TV have more female characters and are directed to women. Despite showing more overweight women in television, they are still laughed at or not accepted. Countering gender stereotypes, shows with strong female lead characters offer positive images to women and teen girls.
9. The majority of television commercials portray women as homemakers and mothers in helping roles with male voice-overs telling them what to do. One in three commercials has an attractiveness message for women. Children's commercials are the most gender stereotyped: Girls are shown in passive, quiet, and dependent roles in inside, settings, mostly at home; boys are shown in outside settings as aggressive, active, in control, and independent.

10. Advertisers portray men as competent, wise, and successful breadwinners outside the home but inept in their households. Men in film are portrayed in two thematic ways: as heroes and in violent scenarios. In prime-time television dramas, men are powerful and independent.
11. Prime-time television has mostly white characters but African Americans, including women, are in lead roles. Asians, both male and female, are portrayed in professional roles. Latinos have the least visibility in television. Racial differences in portrayals of men are decreasing, but class differences are increasing. Working-class men have fewer lead roles and are portrayed as laughable.
12. Women are underrepresented in all mass media industries. They are gaining in broadcast journalism, especially as foreign correspondents. Women directors have decreased in numbers; men direct about nine of ten films. Women producers, editors, and screenwriters are increasing in number but in less mainstream studios. Female decision makers in films are necessary to counter gender-stereotyped portrayals of women.
13. Although media are reluctant to reduce gender stereotyping, they will likely do so if they are convinced it is profitable and that success can be packaged differently. Media do have the power and responsibility to alter stereotypes and will respond to a public desiring more positive images of their gendered lives.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Based on your knowledge of media's influence in gender socialization, why do gender stereotypes persist in advertising when both men and women are critical of the images?
2. Analyze two prime-time television series and two movies that represent stereotypical and nonstereotypical content regarding gender content. What gender features contribute to their success? How can the stereotyped content be altered in ways that still maximize the success of the portrayals?
3. Discuss how the double standard for male and female movie directors, actors, and broadcasters serves to limit opportunities for the advancement of women in mass media industries and limits the profit of these very industries. How can this double standard be altered in a manner that benefits women and still caters to the programming tastes of the audiences served by mass media?

CHAPTER 14

Power, Politics, and the Law

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Demonstrate how the law remains gendered with reference to specific legislation that is supposed to make it equitable for men and women.
2. Provide examples of how women and men are treated in the law in regard to sexual harassment, domestic relations, reproductive rights, and crime.
3. Review trends in the political gender gap and suggest reasons it continues to widen for Republicans compared with Democrats.
4. Distinguish between men and women as successful candidates for political office related to beliefs about gender and candidates' education, occupation, and family backgrounds.
5. Compare elections 2008 and 2012 in terms of gender and race of candidates and issues identified as concerns for women.
6. Give a brief history of the Equal Rights Amendment and offer reasons for declining or increasing support today.

Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance.

—Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, 1997–2006

Formed in 1966, the National Organization of Women (NOW) embraced achievement of equality for women in America and a "fully equal partnership of the sexes." Networking with NGOs globally, a half century later NOW's efforts continue through the worldwide revolution that recognizes human rights abuse as the "cause of our time." These efforts focus on the legal and political interventions necessary not only to liberate women from oppression, but also to provide them with a true sense of empowerment (Chapter 1).

Laws reflect the values of any society. The political institution and its legal foundation provide the critical lens through which all gender relations are viewed. In the United States, the "equal justice for all" principle around which the law functions is embraced. This gap between principle and practice, however, is a large one. Cultural definitions related to gender, race, social class, religion, age, and sexual orientation often determine how justice will be served. Power is a basic element in the social fabric, and people possess it in varying degrees according to the social categories they occupy. Max Weber (1864–1920), one of the founders of sociology, defined *power* as the likelihood a person may achieve personal ends despite resistance from others. Because this definition views power as potentially coercive, Weber also considered ways in which power can be achieved through justice. *Authority*, he contended, is power that people determine to be legitimate rather than coercive. When power becomes encoded into law, it is legitimized and translated to the formal structure of society. In Weber's terms, this is known as *rational–legal authority* (Weber, 1946). Women as a group are at a distinct legal disadvantage when both power and authority are considered.

We already have seen how this is economically true. In virtually all job categories, women are rewarded less than men in terms of money and prestige. Interpersonal power also is compromised, even in the family, where women may have more weight in terms of decision making. To this list, can be added the limited political and legal power that women wield. Social stratification is based on differential power, which in turn underlies all inequality. Inequality between the genders persists because the power base that women possess is more circumscribed than that of men. Restrictions in terms of political power and legal authority are at the core of inequality.

The Law

Key assumptions about gender that permeate the law and provide the basis for how the law is differentially applied in the United States are as follows:

1. Women are incompetent, childlike, and in need of protection.
2. Men are the protectors and financial caretakers of women.
3. Husband and wife are treated as "one" under the law. The "one" is the husband.
4. Males and females are biologically different, giving them differing capabilities and differing standards on which to judge their actions (Richardson, 1988:104).

These assumptions are taken for granted and rarely questioned. When formally developed into law, they become largely sacrosanct.

Law serves to perpetuate yet also alter traditional gender roles. At all levels of government, laws are enacted that may offer one or the other gender certain advantages or disadvantages. There is considerable variation on how laws are interpreted and how they are enforced. Even strong, constitutionally based federal legislation is inconsistently applied. What will become clear is that regardless of beliefs about equality and justice, the law is not gender neutral, much less gender equal. Although efforts to remedy this situation are ongoing, we will see the difficulty of the task ahead. Note, too, that most legal statutes use the word *sex* rather than *gender* in

written law and in most discussions concerning it. This designation generally will be retained when discussing the gendered impact of politics and the law on females and males.

Employment

Addressed more fully in Chapter 10, one of the most important pieces of legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment based on sex is *Title VII of the* 1964 *Civil Rights Act* making it unlawful to refuse to hire, discharge, discriminate against an employee with respect to "compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment" because of "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."

Bona Fide Occupational Qualification

The only way that Title VII can be legally circumvented is through the **bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ)**, which allows hiring an employee on the basis of one sex, thereby "discriminating" against the other, if it is deemed critical for carrying out the job. For example, a woman can be hired over a man as an actor for a specific part in a movie to establish "authenticity or genuineness" of the role. If characteristics of one sex are necessary for the job, a person of that sex is hired, such as for a job modeling men or women's clothing. The courts also have rejected "customer preference" arguments to hire women over men as flight attendants and "job preference" beliefs that exclude women from working night shifts. With few exceptions, the BFOQ rule is very narrowly interpreted by the courts and is seldom used as a defense for charges of sex discrimination.

Disparate Impact

Another accomplishment of Title VII has been the elimination of policies that may appear to be neutral but can have a "disparate impact" on one or the other gender. When employees must be within certain height or weight limits, a large proportion of males or females may be excluded. Women, who on average weigh less than men, have been systematically denied employment opportunities in areas such as law enforcement, security, paramedical fields, mining, and construction by setting such limits. Men, who on average have larger hands than women, are less likely to be denied factory work where small components must be hand-tooled. Employers must now demonstrate that such a policy is a business necessity without which the job could not be safely or efficiently carried out. A strength test, for example, can determine if an employee is suitable for jobs where a specified amount of lifting is required. The test would have less disparate impact on women as well as some men.

Equal Pay Act

Because Title VII mandates the elimination of sex as a basis for hiring, the corollary should be an end to wage discrimination on the same basis. In 1963, the **Equal Pay Act (EPA)**, requiring that females and males receive the same pay for the same job, became federal law. We have seen, however, that even when controlling for educational level and occupational classification, women earn less on average than men, an earnings gap that has improved only slightly over the last two decades. This disparity in pay continues even with EPA because, as we have seen, women and men typically hold different jobs and women's jobs are undervalued

and underpaid in comparison to those held by men (Chapter 10). Occupations are gender segregated and become gender stratified. The challenge, then, becomes how to assess jobs on the basis of skill level, effort, and responsibility. According to this argument, equal pay should be judged in terms of equal worth. In 2009, President Obama signed into law the *Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act* (FPA) that expands the statutory limitations to file a discrimination suit based on provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and later legislation related to age and disability. It will extend provisions to include sexual orientation and gender identity when the *Employment Non-Discrimination Act* (ENDA) goes into effect with a probable Executive Order signed by President Obama. With women in the lead, a coalition of groups worked for the passage of FPA. The act does not guarantee equal pay, but enlarges protection from discrimination based on a range of minority statuses.

Comparable Worth To be interpreted through the provisions of Title VII, *comparable worth* was initiated to deal with the persistent gender gap in pay. In a suit against the state of Washington, a hospital secretary charged that she was being paid much less than men employed by the state, even though her job was "worth" much more. The same case brought evidence showing that laundry workers, who are mostly female, earned $150 less per month than truck drivers, who are mostly male. In 1983, a federal court ordered the state of Washington to raise the wages of 15,500 employees in predominantly female occupations, which amounted to almost $1 billion in back pay. Two years later a higher court overturned the decision with the argument that market forces created the inequity, and the government has no responsibility to correct them.

Critique Even if objective measurements for comparable worth can be established, the perception that the government should not interfere with perceived supply and demand in a free-market economy is strong. If the wage gap between males and females is a true reflection of market forces, then there must be other reasons for it. The market-driven pay system is perceived to be so neutral that if women get paid less, they must either prefer less demanding jobs or are less productive in the jobs they do get (Chapter 10). This not only justifies the wage gap, but also eliminates gender discrimination as another reasonable explanation for it. In this context, comparable worth is seen as a radical departure from conventional economic beliefs. If implemented on a large scale, it would create unnecessary bias in an already fair and neutral system.

On the other hand, comparable worth issues a challenge to reevaluate all the work that women do and questions the existing gender-based hierarchy that systematically denies comparable earnings to women. Employers typically use gender to assign people to jobs. In the public sector, women are assigned to jobs with less pay and shorter career ladders. In the private sector, women are assigned to already overcrowded female-dominated jobs, which in turn creates an oversupply of labor. Organizations may hire an abundance of women professionals, for example, and justify paying them less. Recruitment strategies thus limit a woman's access to positions of authority.

Comparable worth can be used to redress not only the gender wage gap, but also the damage to overall market productivity. Although it departs from the

conventional model, functionalists would applaud comparable worth if the market system became more efficient and productive. Comparable worth is used to counter a powerful economic argument that supports an institutional theory of wage discrimination and sex discrimination in employment (Hattiangadi and Habib, 2000). The courts are inconsistent in decisions regarding comparable worth. Title VII and EPA notwithstanding, laws are interpreted according to rigid textbook standards about market economics. The relentless march to embrace even more stringent neoliberal economic models (Chapter 6) predicts further weakening of comparable worth. Comparable worth will be shortchanged if it is seen as "interfering" in strong neoliberal economic principles that allow employers to determine salary structures.

Affirmative Action Also discussed in Chapter 10, another bulwark of federal policy is *affirmative action*, the generic term for an employment policy that takes some kind of voluntary or involuntary initiative (under the compulsion of the law) to increase, maintain, or alter the number or position of people, usually defined by their race or sex. Affirmative action calls for a fairer distribution of social benefits, a constitutionally accepted principle applied throughout U.S. history. Devised primarily to promote the economic status of African American men, other people of color and ethnic minorities can fall under its scope. In the involuntary situation through the courts, the Civil Rights Act can justify ordering employers found guilty of discrimination to create and implement an affirmative action plan. Public perception and media portrayals notwithstanding, affirmative action policies are *not* the opposite of policies based on merit; neither are they efforts at "reverse" or "inverse" discrimination.

The Gender–Race Link As a program that also is assumed to benefit women, affirmative action has mixed results. In compliance reviews, African American males and other minority males have been advanced more than African American females and significantly more than white females. On the other hand, women's overall economic progress is upgraded by affirmative action. For example, women's employment has increased in male-dominated occupations that are organized by race as well as gender, such as construction and the highly paid skilled trades (Chapter 10). Because women of color have clearly benefited directly, affirmative action's gender repercussions benefit all women indirectly.

Prompted by partisan politics, affirmative action is paraded as a wedge issue during elections. Ideology and perception take precedence over data and experiences in shaping public support for affirmative action. Although preferential treatment and affirmative action are not the same, the media have perpetuated this belief. The more the public knows about affirmative action, the more support it receives. Most people believe that affirmative action programs should set objectives, but not rigid quotas (the *Q-word*), to allow opportunities for women and minorities to get hired. It is clear that public opposition increases when affirmative action is associated with quotas and preferential hiring, whether to do with race or gender (Kowalski, 2007).

As would be expected, support for affirmative action also varies considerably by demographic category. Although support remains generally dependent on a person's race and gender, age and educational background are becoming key factors. Whites and men are less supportive than are people of color and women. Whites are more influenced in their perception by ideology, and people of color are more influenced

by their experiences (Kleugel and Bobo, 2001). Support appears to be declining for younger people overall, regardless of race. Minority college students, like their white counterparts, generally oppose racial preference, especially on college campuses that have higher numbers of African American but not Asian American enrollments (Rothman et al., 2003). Gender is less of a predictor of level of support for gender-based affirmative action than is race for comparable race-based programs (Baunach, 2002). Gender is less salient than race in overall perceptions about affirmative action.

The Courts Given the history of misperception and contentious debate on affirmative action, two decades of Supreme Court rulings offer confusing and inconsistent messages about it. Rulings generally have not made a clear distinction between equal opportunity and discrimination, but tougher standards for federal affirmative action programs have been enacted. In a high-profile case, the George W. Bush White House filed a brief with the Supreme Court against the University of Michigan, opposing its affirmative action policy, which used a point system based on a number of admission factors, including test scores, grade point average, and race. Lower courts previously upheld the admissions policy. The Supreme Court later ruled that race cannot be an overriding factor in admissions but can still be a "less prominent" factor. In the language that fueled misperceptions, the Bush administration cited the ruling as a victory for "diversity without using racial quotas." Opponents cited the narrower use of affirmative action as a retreat from progress related to equalizing opportunity for people of color and, by extension, for women.

Women who disagree with affirmative action assert that when women receive special assistance, it reinforces stereotypes about gender roles and stigmatizes those women who gain jobs through it. They are put in a double bind. They may be in a work environment where suspicion abounds because others believe they got the job over more qualified people. When they succeed in the job, the preferential treatment they receive at the outset will tend to devalue their performance. Self-esteem also can be endangered when everyone, including the recipient, believes that being awarded a privilege overrides being given an opportunity to achieve. Sometimes referred to as "twofers," woman of color are more vulnerable to these messages because they fill two minority categories at the same time.

Affirmative action lost political clout over the last two decades. Decline in support for affirmative action is linked to resegregation in higher education and loss of gender and ethnic diversity in corporations. Businesses originally opposed to affirmative action, however, find themselves struggling to compete in a global market hit hard by the continuing repercussions of the recession. They are keenly aware of the benefits and profitability of a workforce that not only represents diversity, but also values it. They may join with supporters of affirmative action to gain back losses of diversity and equality of opportunity. The Obama administration advocates strengthening affirmative action, but without quota restrictions.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission The viability of law depends on how earnestly it is enforced. Although the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)** was created to ensure that Title VII mandates are carried out, enforcement is aimed primarily at protecting minorities, particularly African American men, rather than women. EEOC often ignores the sex provision because

of the fear it would dilute enforcement efforts for racial minorities. Fortunately, the National Organization for Women was formed in part to protect women's rights and directed its initial efforts at changing EEOC guidelines. These efforts were seriously hampered during the Reagan years, when cases of sex discrimination filed by EEOC dropped by over 70 percent. As discussed later, this figure would not have changed significantly during the Bush presidency if Anita Hill had not presented a major challenge at the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings. EEOC's fortunes continue to be buffeted by political agendas. The Clinton presidency revived and strengthened EEOC, placing importance on civil rights legislation for minorities and women. Accused of deciding that equalizing the field of opportunity for women and people of color is no longer a priority, the subsequent George W. Bush presidency reduced EEOC's prominence (Dervarics, 2003). Returning to constitutional mandates to ensure equal rights, within weeks of taking office, President Obama strengthened the work of EEOC.

Education and Title IX

Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 was enacted to prohibit sex discrimination in any school receiving federal assistance (Chapter 11). The key provision of Title IX states that:

> No person in the United States, shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

This legislation is comprehensive and has helped alter, and in many instances eliminate, blatant sex discriminatory practices in schools. These include dismantling gender barriers in relation to admissions, promotion, and tenure of faculty. Different standards related to health care, dress codes, counseling, housing, sex-segregated programs, financial aid, and organizational membership also have eroded. Policies are devised for equitable treatment compatible with the local conditions and the culture of the educational institutions involved.

The Courts The courts allow for exceptions to the law. Fraternities and sororities still may be gender segregated, as can sex education classes. Housing and living arrangements also can be restricted by gender as long as comparable facilities are available for both men and women. The most notable exception concerns educational institutions exempt from Title IX provisions—those that do not receive federal funds and public institutions that have historically always been gender segregated. When considering all schools, those that fall under the Title IX mandate include previously integrated public schools and universities and most vocational, professional, and graduate schools. A number of private, religious, and military schools remain excluded. If by choice or legal mandate any single-gender school does begin to admit the other gender, equal admissions requirements must be followed.

Issues involving equity for women are at the forefront of Title IX enforcement, but in *Mississippi University v. Hogan*, the case related to a violation of men's rights, the U.S. Supreme Court narrowed the scope of gender-based classifications

by holding that an all-female state institution that excluded qualified males from its nursing program was in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Both men and women have benefited from gender equity legislation originally formulated for women.

Athletics Title IX has had a huge impact on athletic programs. Until Title IX, money allocated to female athletics had been negligible in comparison to money provided for male athletics. Fearing that an equal redistribution of financial resources would hamper men's programs, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) strongly opposed any federal intervention under Title IX mandates. In a compromise to the storm of controversy generated by potential interference in untouchable men's sports, primarily football and basketball, the final regulations did not insist on equal spending. Title IX instead called for both sexes to be offered equitable opportunities to participate in college sports. Schools are not required to offer identical athletic teams for males or females or identical numbers of opportunities for athletic participation. Big-ticket men's sports remain "protected," but there were improvements to support women's athletics and for women to receive athletic scholarships.

Benefits to Females Before Title IX, few colleges offered female athletes adequate facilities or training, and no institution of higher education offered athletic scholarships to women. Participation in athletics is not benign in its effects. It is associated with better grades, higher graduation rates, and enhanced self-esteem for women (Rishe, 2003). Since 1975, close to a 900 percent increase in female high school sports participants and close to a 500 percent increase among collegiate women have been reported. Scholarships are reaching gender parity. As impressive as these figures are, in 1972, women's athletic programs at 90 percent of all colleges were administered by females, but by 2000, the figure had plummeted to under 20 percent, with most of these in Division II and III programs. Despite many qualified women in the pipeline, the top seats going to women in Division I has have never exceeded 10 percent and in Division I-A, only nine women have held director positions (Sander, 2011). The spectacular successes of Title IX that increased numbers of female athletes in high school and college has not translated to cracking the glass ceiling for women athletic directors.

Title IX may be responsible for eliminating overt discrimination, but beliefs about the place of men and women in athletics and sports organizations prevail (NCAA, 2009). The power behind Title IX lies in potential funding cuts to schools, not in compliance. Many programs that practice some form of gender discrimination, intentional or not, are allowed to continue, even in direct violation of the intent of Title IX. This is particularly true of athletic programs that can exist independent of school budgets because they are supported by revenue from sports events and contributions from parents and alumni.

Partisan politics, inconsistent court rulings, and inaccurate media accounts about quotas have hampered Title IX enforcement. Like affirmative action, if a school is found to be discriminatory, a formal plan must be submitted to rectify the problem. Until recently, most schools ignored this provision. The partisan political pattern is repeated. The situation improved during the Clinton administration, and

compliance reviews increased fourfold, with Title IX complaints doubling. The conservative political climate during the Bush administration hampered Title IX enforcement. In the Obama administration, Title IX enforcement is again a priority. In calling for more transparency under Title IX, however, the priority is led by escalating sexual assaults to both male and female athletes than by continuing allegations of unfair treatment and inequity in male and female sports programs (Gerstein, 2014).

Critique In replaying the affirmative action backlash theme, critics suggest that Title IX hurts women and is discriminatory to men, specifically minority men. Gender equity is seen as robbing racial equity in sports programs such as basketball and football that have high concentrations of minority participation. Like affirmative action, these criticisms suggest that race is more important than gender in athletics. Also, although some schools are adding women's teams, such as soccer and tennis, they are eliminating men's teams, such as gymnastics and swimming. Critics of Title IX use the inflammatory "quota" label, which is associated with public disapproval, whether in employment, education, or sports. They also assert that in women's sports, hard work and dedication are not rewarded when talent is "shackled" to federal mandate (Gavora, 2003). This latter argument mysteriously suggests that women are hurt and the women's movement loses ground when Title IX is viewed as responsible for female athletic accomplishments.

Title IX is the major federal effort dealing with gender inequity in education. Political maneuvering and charges of reverse sexism, however, damage consensus building. Given that Title IX is a formal, legal approach, it also must be assessed in light of the informal biases in education, particularly higher education. If students are discouraged from pursuing athletics in high school, scholarship opportunities for college athletics are unavailable. There are far fewer women than men in the higher ranks in academic institutions, and even fewer women have decision-making authority in athletics. Women have limited exposure and influence in serving as role models for aspiring female athletes. Legal approaches need to account for sources of bias from informal sources.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that is prohibited under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Chapter 11). In 1980, the EEOC adopted the following definition of sexual harassment:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when

1. submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term of condition of an individual's employment;
2. submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as a basis for employment decisions affecting such individuals; or
3. such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Although sexual harassment is a pervasive problem existing throughout schools, government, and workplaces, until fairly recently, it had been an area with a noteworthy lack of interest, reporting, and enforcement.

The Thomas–Hill Controversy The event that swiftly and dramatically brought the issue to the attention of the public was the 1991 Senate Judiciary hearings on the confirmation of Clarence Thomas for Supreme Court Justice. The nation was riveted to the television during Professor Anita Hill's testimony that Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her on numerous occasions. Hill's testimony centered on Thomas's comments regarding sex and sexual matters, her personal appearance, and pressure for dates when she worked as his assistant at the Department of Education and later with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The intensity of this testimony transformed the hearing into a trial where, "regardless of the confirmation, the public decided who was telling the truth." Racial and gender polarization spiked in the media wars by pitting anti-feminist African American men against pro-feminist African American women. As Hill stated:

> It would have been more comfortable to remain silent . . . I took no initiative to inform anyone. But when I was asked by a representative of this committee to report my experience I felt I had to tell the truth. I could not keep silent. (Cited in Norton and Alexander, 1996:502)

Impact of Sexual Harassment The Thomas confirmation hearings allowed a firsthand view of the extent of sexual harassment. Twenty years later, analysis confirms the impact of this tumultuous weekend and the sea change it instigated in attitudes about sexual harassment (Richards and Greenberg, 2012). Research continues to demonstrate that sexual harassment—both in perception and type—remains pervasive. On campus, about two-thirds of both men and women report that they have been sexually harassed, although it takes different forms. Women report sexual harassment related to physical contact, and men report it related to taunting and use of homophobic language, usually by other men (Chapter 9). It is estimated that in workplaces, between 15 and 20 percent of men claim that they have been sexually harassed by women but between 60 and 75 percent of women claim that men have sexually harassed them. Men file about 18 percent of EEOC sexual harassment claims (Hill and Silva, 2011; EEOC, 2014). It is safe to conclude that in their lifetimes, three-fourths of all women have experienced it in some form at school or work.

Sexual harassment is linked to emotional trauma, compromised work productivity, absenteeism from work and school, lower grades, a deterioration in morale, and long-term depression, all of which can seriously impact a person's work and private lives. Although its effects are serious, most employees, both men and women alike, do not report sexual harassment, fearing retaliation by employers and coworkers that can amount to career suicide. Court rulings strengthened approaches by schools and workplaces to combat sexual harassment. Fueled by social media, for example, "textual" harassment is on the rise and may counter these successes (Mainiero and Jones, 2013; Menendez et al., 2012). As a taken-for-granted fact of social life, sexual harassment is difficult to dislodge.

The Hill–Thomas confrontation resulted in a massive increase in sexual harassment lawsuits, prompting companies to adopt more rigorous policies to protect employees. The turnabout of the courts has been dramatic. Earlier instances of blatant abuses of power by supervisors were likely to be disregarded, with the belief that a supervisor's attraction to an employee was natural and unrelated to the job. Employers' defenses of sexual harassment continue to erode. For example, a woman does not forfeit her right to be free of sexual harassment when she chooses a work setting that traditionally allowed openly antifemale behavior, vulgar and obscene language, and pornographic material on display. The courts challenged the belief that women at school or in the workplace could *expect* to be sexually harassed. In a straightforward and unanimous Supreme Court ruling, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor stated that targets of sexual harassment do not need to show that they suffered psychological damage to win their suits. The court upheld the notion that sexual harassment is a form of sexism that violates workplace equality.

The Social Construction of Sexual Harassment Despite court rulings, confusion still exists about what is acceptable or not in behavior that has sexual overtones. Men polled about sexual harassment report sympathy, but are often bewildered by sexual harassment claims made by women. Women are angry and fearful when they are sexually harassed. Men and women talk about and construct sexual harassment differently. Reinforced by institutional sexism, both men and women are socialized into powerful beliefs that define women largely in terms of their sexuality (Tinkler, 2012). We have seen how this kind of sexism plays out at school and work regardless of legal protection. As symbolic interaction theorists assert, sexual harassment will be dislodged through its social reconstruction from an acceptable social condition to an unacceptable social problem. Feminist and conflict theorists assert that institutional sexism will stall the process of reconstruction until women increase their sense of empowerment in their schools, workplaces, and families. Sexual harassment is so hard to identify and resolve because of accepted definitions of sexuality that disguise and dismiss sexual domination and exploitation of men over women.

There is a final note on the Hill–Thomas case. In 1991, the public and Congress split on whether they believed Anita Hill lied and perjured herself during the hearings. Clarence Thomas's confirmation by the narrowest margin ever for a Supreme Court Justice (52–48) clearly indicated this split (Anderson, 2001). By 1997, over 80 percent of the public believed Anita Hill told the truth. In 2001, new information emerged that allegedly confirms her testimony (Brock, 2001).

Domestic Relations

Perhaps more than any other area, domestic law is where gender inequity is most evident. Legal statutes regarding expected wife–husband marital roles are based on three models (McBride-Stetson, 2004).

1. Unity—husband is dominant, and the wife has few rights and responsibilities.
2. Separate but equal—husband is breadwinner and wife is companion and nurturer of children, but they share similar legal rights. Also known as the reciprocity model, this is the functionalist assumption of nonoverlapping, complementary responsibilities.

3. Shared partnership—husband and wife have equal rights and overlapping responsibilities.

Historical circumstances dictate whether one model dominates at any point in time. Because contemporary law is comprised of elements from each theory, with each state having its own pattern, reform in family law is an exceedingly complicated task.

Divorce Chapter 8 documented the impact of divorce on women and the failure of the law to do much about collecting child support or alimony when it is awarded. The fact that women gain custody of children who are minimally or not supported by their fathers propels many divorced women into poverty.

Property division at the dissolution of the marriage also contributes to women's poverty. Although the trend is to have individual attorneys work out the details of the divorce, these details must be considered in light of overriding state laws. In a **community property** state, all property acquired during the marriage is jointly owned by the spouses; so in the event of divorce, each partner is entitled to half of the said property. Community property recognizes the value of the homemaker role. Residing in a community property state, however, is not a panacea. Equal division of property, which originally was intended to help women, can actually hurt them. A woman is forced to sell her home, often the couple's only "real" property, and she and her children find themselves in less than desirable rental property, often in a new location. They are dislocated from home, friends, school, and neighborhood at the very time these are most needed for emotional support.

The other states are referred to as **common law** states, with property belonging to the spouse in whose name it is held. Any property acquired during the marriage belongs to each spouse individually. Unless a house or car is also in the wife's name, the husband can lay claim to it in a divorce. Because the common law system has severely restricted and penalized women economically, most states also have passed equitable distribution laws. Rather than viewing property solely on the basis of whose name it is in, courts now consider a number of factors, including length of the marriage, amount of time parties spend on child care and household tasks, earnings ability, age, health, and resources available from friends and kin. Most important, this accounts for marriage as an economic partnership where both wage earning and unpaid homemaking should be considered as contributions. It at least attempts to redress past abuses where the legal system put women at a major disadvantage in divorce. Nonetheless, regardless of more recent equitable distribution laws, women still get well under half of marital property in divorce. Such laws did not cover many divorced women who were single parents when their divorces were finalized, and community property is the exception rather than the rule.

Confusion reigns in divorce law. Punitive and sexually biased legislation results in uncertainty over issues such as sale of the family home, rights to the ex-spouse's future income, and revisions of child-support orders to reflect changes in income and inflation. Conflicting interpretations in family law, therefore, increase. Gender bias becomes entrenched as a major influence in decisions, contributing to an adversarial relationship to men's and women's positions. Although changes in family form and functioning will add to this confusion, a positive sign is that there is some shift from lethal patriarchy to partnership.

Family Economics With regard to Social Security, the housewife's role is an economic liability. Women are unpaid for this role and do not contribute to disability or retirement funds for ensuring their future. If a woman is married less than ten years before divorce from or the death of her husband, she is not eligible for his benefits. Social Security policies were originally based on a division of labor and family life that do not exist today. In 1984, the **Retirement Equity Act (REA)** was passed to deal with some of these issues and to make pension benefits fairer to women. Under REA, an employer is required to get the spouse's approval before an employee is permitted to waive any spousal benefits offered through the employer, such as pensions or health insurance. Of key importance is that REA allows for pensions to be included as part of property settlements in divorces.

Statistics are dismal in indicating how poverty has become feminized, particularly for elderly and African American women (see Chapter 8). Inequity related to Social Security, the main source of income for unmarried women over 65, is responsible for this trend. The "separate but equal" theory of the marital relationship, establishing that husbands and wives have reciprocal but not equal rights, is still strongly evident in domestic law. A husband is required to support his wife and children, and in return, a wife must provide services as companion, housewife, and mother. It is left up to the individual couple to determine how these requirements are actualized. In some families, the wife controls all household expenses and decides on how one or both salaries are apportioned. In others, husbands provide their wives with allowances to take care of household or personal needs. She may file for divorce if there is evidence of gross financial neglect, or he may do so for unkempt children, a dirty house, or her refusal to have intercourse. As discussed earlier, until recently, spouses were excluded from charges of rape because sexual intercourse traditionally was viewed as "his right and her duty." This exemption also included separated, divorced, and cohabiting couples. Today there are more provisions for prosecution if the couple is legally divorced or separated, but because of questions concerning consent, most states allow for spousal exemptions.

Domestic Abuse and the Courts Given the doctrine of reciprocity and the huge differences in legal definitions of domestic violence, the courts are inconsistent in efforts to prosecute cases of wife abuse (Buzawa, 2007). The most disheartening evidence about continuing gender bias in the courts is in the area of "domestic relations," which also is most life threatening. We have seen how history reflects the belief that wives are expected to be controlled by their husbands and that physical force is an often acceptable means of control. Feminists have publicized the issue of wife abuse, and awareness of its incidence and lethality has grown. This awareness has led to police training programs in family violence and the establishment of hotlines to provide emergency help and counseling. Although more judges are ensuring that the rights of abused wives are enforced, a significant number remain unwilling to implement newer legislation protecting battered women.

Gendered Rights and Liabilities Justification for this unwillingness also is tied to how a judge determines which laws are the more important ones to enforce. Barring a husband from his home through civil protection orders and antistalking laws may be interpreted as his due process rights being more important than his

wife's right to be protected from assault. The abusive husband is protected over the wishes of the victim. At the police level, mandatory arrests are now more likely to include dual arrests of both the man and the woman. Judges and police often accept the stereotype that it is the wife's behavior that caused the battering anyway, the classic "blaming the victim" ideology. A wife is penalized by being arrested with her husband, even when the charges of her alleged abuse of him are found to be untrue (Tjaden, 2007; Alvarez and Bachman, 2008).

With powerful constitutional mandates, the criminal justice system in the United States protects the rights of alleged perpetrators; victims' rights are not legally guaranteed. Domestic abuse legislation is of enormous benefit to women, but it "is about promises made—their implementation is about promises kept" (Beatty, 2003:22).

Reproductive Rights

From the colonial era to the nineteenth century, a woman's right to an abortion could be legally challenged only if there was "quickening"—when she felt the first movements of the fetus. In 1800, there were no known statutes concerning abortion. By 1900, every state banned abortion except to save the life of the mother.

The large majority of Americans, both men and women, support abortion rights. The numbers shift according to the conditions abortions might be performed in. About one-third support legal and safe abortion in any circumstances. Another one-half say that abortion should be legal in certain circumstances, such as to end pregnancies due to rape or incest or to save the life of the mother. These numbers mask the complexity of the issue. For example, when age is factored in, oldest women have lower levels of support and adolescent boys have the highest level. African American and Latino women have shifted from less support to more support over time. African Americans, both men and women, now express greater approval than whites (NORC, 2012). Abortion rates are at the lowest level since 1981 for all women, including teens. However, the abortion rate for African American and Latino women is three to five times higher than for whites (Census Bureau, 2012:75; Guttmacher Institute, 2014a). This may be reflected in unintended pregnancies. African American women have a 45 percent unintended birth rate (unwanted or mistimed by two years or more at conception) compared to 35 percent among Latinas and 20 percent among whites (Mosher et al., 2012). As we will see, religion is the key variable dividing those who do or do not support abortion rights. Catholics, for example, are historically likely to oppose abortion rights, but a significant minority are pro-choice, including a majority of Latinas. Americans are deeply ambivalent about abortion. A majority believe that some restrictions should be placed on abortion but do not want it outlawed.

Legal History On January 22, 1973, with two landmark decisions by the Supreme Court—*Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*—the Supreme Court voted seven to two in support of the right to privacy of the women involved in the abortion cases. The states in question, Texas and Georgia, had failed to establish "any compelling interest" that would restrict abortion to the first trimester of pregnancy. Abortion in this instance would be between a woman and her physician. In the second trimester,

when an abortion is deemed more dangerous, the state could exert control to protect the health of the mother. Although these cases concluded that women did not have the absolute Constitutional right to abortion on demand, a broadening of the legal right to an abortion was established. The right to an abortion has been challenged ever since.

In 1983, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the 1973 decisions by ruling that second trimester abortions may be performed in places other than hospitals. A city ordinance requiring a physician to inform the woman that "the unborn child is a human life from the moment of conception" also was struck down because *Roe v. Wade* held that a "state may not adopt one theory of when life begins to justify its regulation of abortion." The ordinance was also unacceptable because it intruded into the physician–patient relationship.

Although this ruling was a victory for reproductive rights, a setback occurred in 1977 with the enactment of the *Hyde Amendment*, which restricts funding for abortions for women who also receive Medicaid (unless the pregnancy is considered life threatening). **Medicaid** is a health insurance program jointly funded through state and federal governments for qualifying people of any age who are unable to pay medical expenses. Low-income women and their children are the large majority of Medicaid recipients. Because Medicaid is publicly funded, supporters of the Hyde Amendment argued that the government should not be in the business of funding abortions. In 1980, a federal judge in New York ruled that a denial of Medicaid funds for medically necessary abortions was unconstitutional and violated a woman's right to privacy. Although he ordered the state government to resume funding, two weeks later the Supreme Court overturned this ruling, thereby upholding the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment.

In 1989, *Roe v. Wade* was tested in *Webster v. Reproductive Health*. The Supreme Court upheld a Missouri law stating that life begins at conception and requires physicians to conduct viability tests on fetuses of 20 weeks or more before an abortion could be performed. But *Roe v. Wade* was not overturned. Sandra Day O'Connor, a Reagan appointee and the first woman on the Supreme Court, voted with the majority to retain the constitutionality of legal abortions. Three years later the Supreme Court ruled in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* that a state cannot place substantial obstacles in the path of a woman's right to choose an abortion prior to fetal viability—the ability of the fetus to survive outside the womb. States can still restrict pre-viability abortions as long as the health of the mother and fetus are promoted. Over time, the Supreme Court has shifted from characterizing abortion in a medical context to a "right of decisional autonomy" (Lindgren, 2013:385). Countering this shift, however, several hundred new antiabortion laws framed in medical language have been enacted through the United States, largely in Republican-controlled legislatures. Most laws further restrict or eliminate all public funding for abortions or drugs that are viewed as abortion-related (morning after pills) but also curtail private health insurers from covering them. Rules for performing abortions have been tightened for health care practitioners and facilities where they are performed (Bazelon, 2011; Blinder, 2013). Contrary to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the right of privacy and personal autonomy for women seeking abortions, access is denied under the guise of protecting a woman's health. As of this writing, legal challenges to much of this legislation are still in process. President

Clinton was elected to office on a platform that included a pro-choice plank. On the twentieth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, less than two weeks after his inauguration, he issued an executive order rescinding the so-called gag rule that had prohibited the discussion of abortion as an alternative in clinics receiving public funds. The George W. Bush administration reinstituted the gag rule and reversed many of Clinton's reproductive health and abortion rights initiatives, many previously available to poor women. Taking away a poor woman's right to an abortion carried over to abortions for other women. President Obama was twice elected on a platform that supports abortion rights (see Table 14.3). These rights have not been extended to the landmark health care law, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA).

Abortion rights remain at the center of ongoing health care reform debate. ACA excludes private and public coverage for abortion services available through the exchanges, even if they are deemed medically necessary. The federal ban on funding for abortions stands as a key obstacle for women's reproductive health and may mean even more restrictions on legal abortions for poor women who would otherwise be eligible under current public plans (Huberfeld, 2013). Circumventing the ban also may increase costs and reduce coverage for abortion services that may be covered under non-ACA private health insurance plans. No public subsidy, such as that through Medicaid, may be used to purchase abortion coverage (Schaler-Haynes et al., 2012). The Obama administration is credited with passing historic health care legislation to reduce the ranks of the insured and loosening the insurance industry's stranglehold on determining cost and coverage for health care in the United States. Despite Obama's pro-choice platform, ironically, the compromises necessary to get *any* health care reform passed may be the forum that reduces all women's abortion rights, regardless of their ability to pay for these rights. Reproductive rights will not be the issue dividing the public into two opposing camps under pro-life and pro-choice banners, but it will remain on the political burner and on court agendas in the foreseeable future.

Pro-Life Bolstered by the reaffirmation of divinely ordained sex and gender differences, the New Christian Right has been effective in challenging abortion rights. The association of their moral stance with religion is clear by the term *pro-life*, adopted as a label for their group. Stronger religiosity for the pro-life group is a key element separating them from the general public. In the United States and globally a higher degree of religious fundamentalism is strongly associated with lower support for reproductive rights (Chapter 12).

With religion as the factor that distinguishes pro-life activists from others, it is understandable that their antiabortion work is viewed as "God's work." Anti-abortion activists lobby tirelessly against funding for any national or international agencies offering abortion counseling, even if such counseling is only a small part of a broader program of family planning. Some activism has transitioned to **domestic terrorism**, violent acts as a violation of criminal law in the United States to intimate or coerce civilians or to influence public policy. Nine people have been murdered in the name of antiabortion linked to religion, including five physicians, three clinic employees, and a clinic escort. Unlike the past, some antiabortion organizations do not keep as wide a distance between themselves and the extremists. Operation Rescue, the most visible antiabortion organization in the United States,

issued a statement following the murder of Dr. George Tiller, a women's health care physician who also performed abortions, condemning his killing as a cowardly act of vigilantism. Most national antiabortion organizations quickly reaffirmed legal, nonviolent means to thwart abortions. The founder of Operation Rescue, however, called Dr. Tiller a "mass murderer" and said that he "reaped what he sowed." Statements from other antiabortion leaders included the following: They were cheered by his death; all abortionists desire death; like the other murders by antiabortionists, it was justifiable homicide; and any politician and judge supporting abortion desire the same penalty (Barnes, 2009; CNN, 2009; PBS, 2009; Terkel, 2009).

The irony of such tactics is that they are successful from the extremist view. As a category of domestic terrorism, health care workers in abortion clinics fear for their lives and the lives their families, but the many antiabortion activists who condemn these tactics do not speak out.

Pro-Choice On the other side, and just as tireless and now perhaps more determined, are *pro-choice* activists, who cite public and legislative support for abortion rights by a spectrum of people. A significant number of Americans want to retain *Roe v. Wade* (53 percent) rather than overturn it (29 percent) (Saad, 2013). Women legislators are more likely than their male counterparts to oppose overturning *Roe v. Wade*. Pro-choice advocates note that throughout history, women sought abortions—and will continue to seek them—whether they are legal or not. The death rate of illegal abortions far exceeds the risk of dying from a legal abortion or dying from complications due to pregnancy and childbirth. Safe abortions are associated with lower maternal mortality globally (UNFPA, 2013). In line with Supreme Court rulings related to privacy and autonomy, the pro-choice camp argues that abortion rights are a referendum on women's rights to control their own bodies.

Working Together Although the abortion issue is presented to the public as two intractable sides, there is agreement that preventing unwanted pregnancy is a desirable alternative to abortion. Pro-life and pro-choice feminists value working with each other. Others on both sides of the issue are discussing positive alternatives to abortion, such as sex education, easier access to birth control, and better financial support for parents. Theological debates also are yielding common ground. Given the significant number of pro-choice Catholics, including nuns and church leaders, dialogues in a Catholic context are escalating.

The success of pro-life and pro-choice camps working together will be gauged by how the intersection of gender, religion, and politics unfold (Lysaught and Kotva, 2012; Ziegler, 2013; Mannien, 2012). With religious grounding, antiabortion activists argue that life begins at conception; so they promote abstinence for the unmarried and limited types of contraception for the married. Feminists suggest that sex education and availability of contraception should be expanded for young people, married or not.

A blow to contraceptive coverage under ACA was dealt in the landmark Burwell v. Hobby Lobby in 2014. The Supreme Court ruled that "closely held" corporations are exempt from ACA's contraceptive mandate, if corporate owners claimed religious objection. Although closely held corporations are owned largely by 5 or fewer individuals, they employ over half the labor force. ACA had already exempted

churches and religiously affiliated schools and hospitals from the contractive mandate, but for-profits can now be exempt for violation of their religious beliefs. As discussed in Chapter 12, religion continues to exert a powerful influence on a range of beliefs about gender roles. It remains to be seen if the ruling opens a floodgate allowing corporations to use religious objection to circumvent other federal laws.

Partisan rupture on the ACA and the contraceptive and abortion issues generated in Election 2012 continue today. Coupled with the upsurge of antiabortion legislation and threats of violence, promising efforts at pro-life and pro-choice consensus building have been stalled. Some fear they may be destroyed.

Crime

Crime is a highly gendered activity, and the criminal justice system reflects this fact. Statistics from official sources and self-reports indicate that about 90 percent of all serious crimes—murder, assault, violent personal crime, and robbery—and virtually all rapes are committed by males, a pattern in the United States and globally. Approximately 10 percent of crimes are committed by females and fall mostly in the nonserious/nonviolent category. These include minor drug offenses, prostitution, shoplifting, forgery, and petty larceny; for juvenile offenders, these include truancy and alcohol consumption. The male–female arrest ratio is approximately four male offenders to one female offender (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013). Both males and females commit substance abuse–related crimes but males are much more likely than females to engage in violence to support a drug habit. Because males comprise the criminal rosters, until recently, a lack of attention has been paid to issues of female criminality.

Rising rates of female crime changed this situation. Female crime and arrest rates grew slowly in the 1970s, plateaued in the 1980s, and have again grown slowly since. This growth includes more arrests for violent crimes, especially connected with gang behavior and drug use. In explaining the gender patterns of crime, criminologists focus on three general areas differentiated by gender: socialization, economic background, and the manner in which the criminal justice system treats offenders.

Socialization In explaining the gender gap in delinquency and crime, social learning and cognitive development theorists focus on early socialization patterns (Chapter 3). These patterns show that boys are allowed to be more autonomous, impulsive, rebellious, and physically aggressive and expect girls to be more passive, nice, protected, monitored, and expressive. Such traits become part of a gendered core of self-image, which are reinforced by peers and other agents of socialization later in life. Socialization patterns preparing girls for lives connected to the home and boys for lives outside the home also provide boys with more opportunities for criminal activity.

Economics Landmark feminist research highlighting the economic disparity between men and women challenged the socialization model (Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975, 2002b). These researchers asserted that traditionally lower rates of female crime can be traced to attitudes and behaviors associated with women's lower SES.

Women may be engaging in criminal activities to bolster their economic security, but also commit crimes because social change allows them more latitude to engage in activities outside the home. Since increases in female crime are due largely to property crime and selling of drugs, the economic explanation is compelling. In the long run, therefore, the lifestyles and criminality of men and women may be comparable. The rising subset of "new" female criminals—younger and more violent and with higher rates of *recidivism* (the return to incarceration)—reflects these changes.

Criminal Justice The third explanation focuses on crime in relation to patterns favoring the arrest of males over females. The *chivalry hypothesis* suggests that police are reluctant to arrest women and judges are reluctant to incarcerate women precisely because they are female. By virtue of gender, they are treated less harshly and are punished less severely than males in the criminal justice system. This differential treatment serves to mask levels of female criminality.

Evidence for the chivalry hypothesis is mixed. In the era of new federal guidelines to address sentencing disparities, empirical support for the chivalry hypothesis and its gender-disparate effects in arrest, incarceration, and punishment is weakening. The main crime in which men receive longer sentences than women is sex offenses. However, sex offenses committed by men are likely to be more violent and lethal than those committed by women, especially when committed on other men (Embry and Lyons, 2012; Bontrager, 2013). Increases in arrest and incarceration rates for the subset of females engaged in violent crime and gangs are linked to changes in criminal law that impose stiffer penalties and less latitude ("three strikes you're out") for all perpetrators, regardless of gender (Lawston, 2012). In support of the chivalry hypothesis, however, women may be more likely to avoid a felon label and the stigma of violent crime convictions that comes with it (Bontrager et al., 2013). Race is a better predictor of sentencing disparity than is gender. African American and Latino men are less likely to receive probation and receive longer sentences than white men and all women (Sorensen et al., 2012; Freiburger and Hilinski, 2013; Spohn, 2013). In addition, beliefs about equality under the law are making their way into the criminal justice system for both perpetrator and victim.

Prostitution: A Case Study As a case study, prostitution provides insights into all three explanations. Prostitution, a subset of *sex work*, is fundamentally a female occupation. Historically, poverty-stricken women turned to prostitution as a means of survival, a pattern that continues today. Some women work occasionally as prostitutes as an aside to their roles as hostesses and adult entertainers. Others derive their total income from prostitution. At the global level, children are much more likely to be prostitutes than in the United States. Globally, an estimated 2 to 3 million children with an average age of 13–14 work as prostitutes. According to the FBI, in the United States, about 300,000 children, the large majority being girls, are at risk for **sex trafficking**, the trade in humans, most commonly for sexual slavery and forced labor. Many will end their lives as "permanent" prostitutes and will be arrested for their activities (Johns and Cohen, 2013) Young girls are recruited, sold, or forced into prostitution by poverty-stricken parents. In parts of the developing world, owners of brothels dotting sprawling urban slums often abduct girls

from their villages. Another pattern is recruiting migrant women for jobs as nannies, maids, or dancers that serve as covers for sex work. The "legitimate" job does not exist, they owe money to the recruiters who paid their way, and they are left stranded in a foreign country with no means of support. Sex work is presented as the solution (UNICEF, 2014). Although arrest rates of men who engage the services of prostitutes is increasing, female sex workers are more likely to be arrested than their male clients.

Critique Feminists denounce prostitution when women and girls are exploited as sexual objects for the sexual pleasure of men. There is disagreement about the reasons women become sex workers. Do they offer their services because of financial desperation or as a freely chosen occupation? One faction argues that prostitution exists due to male demand and a need to subordinate women to male sexuality. She is vulnerable to rape, sexual violence, and exposure to HIV infection, especially in war-torn areas with a history of human and civil rights abuses. If a woman chooses prostitution because of economic needs, then it is not a free choice; child prostitutes have no choice. Sex traffickers and buyers, therefore, should be criminalized and prostitution eliminated. Women need to be retrained for meaningful work offering them a living wage and an enhanced sense of self-worth (Whisnant and Stark, 2005; Agnes, 2008; Elleschild, 2008).

Others contend that sex workers are free agents who choose the best job of the gendered work available. They question the term *sex work* as being equivalent to prostitution—sex work suggests agency; prostitution does not. The sexism in prostitution is no different from sexism in the rest of society. Although the feminization of poverty may be a factor in a woman's choice to become a prostitute, denying them income from prostitution should not further impoverish women. Like other service industries, prostitution and its traffickers and buyers can be regulated, but laws against prostitution oppress sex workers. Prostitution, therefore, should be decriminalized (Oakley, 2007; Weitzer, 2012; Maher et al., 2013).

All factions condemn sex trafficking and sex slavery where women and female children are abducted, bought, and sold as sex slaves or forced laborers. Women and girls represent over half of forced laborers globally, and 98 percent of an estimated 4.5 million are forced into sexual exploitation, including prostitution (UN-WOMEN, 2014). Beliefs about agency in these children are not justified.

Politics

Changing the law to reflect equality and justice regarding gender is linked to two key factors: understanding how gendered perceptions influence voters and increasing the number of women in office who address women's concerns through social policy. Once the law is changed, interpretation and enforcement must be consistent with gender equality. This also assumes that the women who serve in their political roles view issues related to gender differently from men. Voting behavior, therefore, should mirror such differences. This assumption has been confirmed.

Women legislators have a major impact on the extent to which women's interests are represented in state policy. Compared to their male colleagues, women

legislators are more supportive of policies providing access to services for traditionally disadvantaged groups in American society, including women and minorities. In global rankings, the United States ranks 84 out of 189 countries for its percentage of women in national legislatures (IPU, 2014). Women are rapidly being elected to public office, but not in the numbers necessary for achieving political parity with men.

The Gender Gap

The **gender gap** concept was first used to describe male–female differences in a political context, including votes for candidate and party, and policy preferences. When women gained the right to vote in 1920, it was widely believed that women's political opinions differed considerably from those held by men and these differences would be evident in voting behavior. For over half a century, this belief remained unfounded; women, like men, tended to vote along class, ethnic, and regional lines. In the 1980s, however, a new political trend emerged. A higher percentage of males voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980 than did females. By 1982, the gap widened, this time accounting for party identification and policy issues: 55 percent of women and 49 percent of men identified themselves as Democrats; 34 percent of women identified themselves as Republican compared to 37 percent of men. Women increasingly opposed Reagan's policies regarding the economy, foreign relations, environmental protection, and gender equity. Women have shifted to the Democratic side at a faster rate than men. The political "gender gap" was born (Figure 14.1).

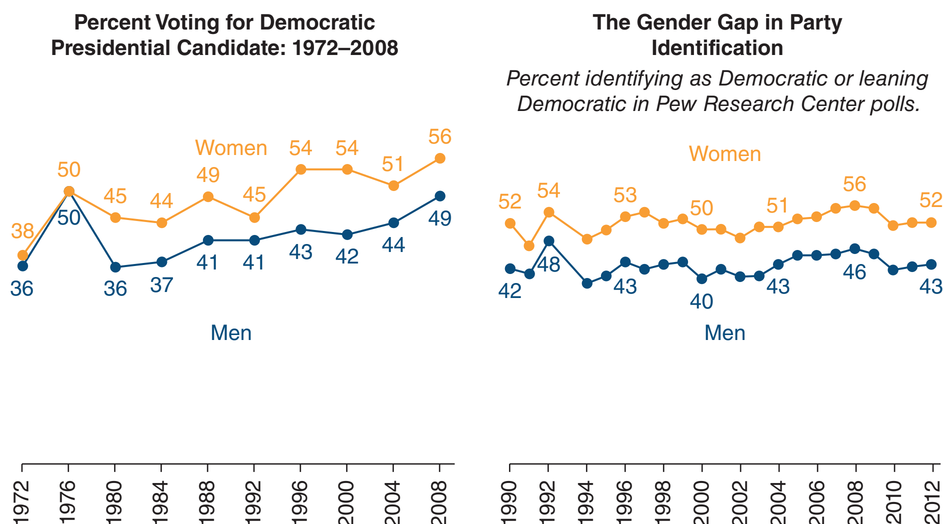

FIGURE 14.1

Gender Gap in Presidential Voting and Party Identification

Source: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. March 20, 2012. www.people-press.org/2012/03/29/the-gender-gap-three-decades-old-as-wide-as-ever/

Presidential Voting Patterns In 1988, George H. W. Bush received 50 percent of women's votes and 57 percent cast by men. The Republican Party clearly recognized the need to address a widening gender gap on issues identified with women's stronger support, such as parental leave, child care, educational equity, and women's employment. The military bravado of the Reagan years was substituted for rhetoric focusing on a domestic agenda in a "kinder, gentler" nation. A formable gender gap favoring Democrats persisted in every election since 1980 (Table 14.1).

Republicans, much more divided on gender-based issues, have been slower to respond to the split. Indicated too, by the Republican gender deficit in higher public office, the perception that the Republican Party is "antiwoman" needed to be addressed (Parker, 2009). Discussed later, Elections 2008 and 2012 were the unparalleled Republican strategies to do exactly that.

TABLE 14.1 Gender Gap in Presidential Elections, 1980–2012

Year	Presidential Candidates	Women	Men	Gender Gap (Percentage pts.)	Source
2012	Barack Obama (D) Mitt Romney (R)	55% 44%	45% 52%	10 pts.	Edison Research
2008	Barack Obama (D) John McCain (R)	56% 49%	43% 48%	7 pts.	Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International
2004	George W. Bush (R) John Kerry (D)	48% 55%	51% 41%	7 pts.	Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International
2000	George W. Bush (R) Al Gore (D) Ralph Nader (Green)	43% 54% 2%	53% 42% 3%	10 pts.	Voter News Service
1996	Bill Clinton (D) Bob Dole (R) Ross Perot (Reform)	54% 38% 7%	43% 44% 10%	11 pts.	Voter News Service
1992	Bill Clinton (D) George Bush (R) Ross Perot (Reform)	45% 37% 17%	41% 38% 21%	4 pts.	Voter News Service
1988	George H. W. Bush (R) Michael Dukakis (D)	50% 49%	57% 41%	7 pts.	CBS News/*New York Times*
1984	Ronald Reagan (R) Walter Mondale (D)	56% 44%	62% 37%	6 pts.	CBS News/*New York Times*
1980	Ronald Reagan (R) Jimmy Carter (D) John Anderson (I)	46% 45% 7%	54% 37% 7%	8 pts.	CBS News/*New York Times*

Source: Adapted from CAWP Fact Sheet. The Gender Gap: Voting Choices in Presidential Elections. Center for American Women and Politics, 2012. www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/voters/documents/GGPresVote.pdf

Gendered Issues The gender gap widens on issues that have a differential impact on women. Until the 1970s, except for women's higher opposition to war and capital punishment, it would have been difficult to separate the way men and women viewed social and political issues. Any gender gap before 1980 could be summed up with the phrase that "men were more likely to be hawks and women more likely to be doves." This statement holds today, but the gender gap has widened. A significant gap exists in a number of areas, including stronger support by women for women's rights (Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay, reproductive freedom), human compassion (assistance to the poor, minority and gay rights, child care, public options for health insurance), and policies to reduce violence and aggression (stricter gun control rehabilitation programs in prison) (Carroll, 2010; NORC, 2012).

Whether women vote as a block on any one issue is debatable. Age, SES, race, education, and religiosity may be as important as gender on some issues. There is less support among older women and religiously conservative men and women for reproductive rights and the Equal Rights Amendment; there is more support for both issues among younger men and women. Older African American women with higher levels of religiosity mirror conservative white women on some issues. Regardless of age and race, women are much more likely to support social programs that can have a direct impact on them, such as providing funding for day care, assisting in elder care, preserving Medicare, and increasing Social Security benefits.

Gender and Public Office

As expected, the gender gap in voting patterns of the electorate extends to voting patterns of officeholders. The gender gap may widen or narrow depending on certain factors.

Political Party Men and women are closing ranks on a number of issues that favor feminist attitudes. Although the gender gap is smallest at the municipal level and largest at the state level, women and men in public office and at all levels differ in attitudes within their own political parties. At the national level, in the George W. Bush administration, Republican women *appointees* were highly conservative, matching the levels of their male colleagues. But Republican women *elected* to state or national offices expressed more progressive attitudes than comparable Republican men—including on some issues that feminists support. With the notable exception of attitudes toward abortion rights, regardless of party, women tend to be more liberal than men. It can be speculated that conservative women officeholders become more sympathetic to feminist issues as they, too, confront the male stronghold of politics. By their gender alone, they find themselves hindered in political effectiveness.

With more coalition building, the gender gap may begin to close. Both political parties understand that women have the potential for voting as a bloc if the right mix of issues and circumstances are present. Women are not a homogeneous group, but mobilization around issues of gender may occur. Political strategists cannot afford to ignore existing gender differences and will attempt to leverage them to the benefit of their respective parties.

Women in Office To influence long-term gender equity, elected women must increase their numbers at all levels of government—municipal, state, and federal. Between 1979 and 2012, the number of women elected to state legislatures dramatically increased from 10 percent to 24 percent, with the fastest gains between 1980 and 1991 (CAWP, 2013). At the Congressional level, except for a slight decline in the 1960s, women have steadily increased their numbers (Table 14.2).

Bill Clinton's 1992 election was heralded as the "Year of the Woman," with sharp increases in women being elected officials throughout the United States and leading to optimistic predictions about women's continued gains in elected national political slots. Note, too, that women who filled Congressional seats in the past were likely to have completed the unexpired terms of their late husbands. Recently elected senators and representatives are definitely a new breed of Congressional women who have carved out stellar professional and political careers in their own right. Because of the seniority system in Congress, however, it will be some time before this small group gains prominence on important committees and exerts the influence necessary to see their goals realized. This situation is worsened in states that impose term limits on elected officials. However, the political glass ceiling for women is slowly cracking. The current cohort of Congressional women can challenge the old boy network of "politics as usual."

TABLE 14.2 Women in U.S. Congress, Selected Years

	Senate	*House*	*Total*
1921–23	1	3	4
1941–43	1	9	10
1951–53	1	10	11
1961–63	2	18	20
1971–73	2	13	15
1981–83	2	21	23
1991–93	4	28	32
2001–03	13	59	73
2003–05	14	60	74
2005–07	14	68	82
2007–09	16	72	88
2009–11	17	73	90
2011–2013*	17	79	96
2013–2015*	20	82	102

*Includes delegates and vacancies filled by women

Source: Women in the United States Congress, 1917–2014. Congressional Research Service. February 18, 2014. www.senate.gov/CRSReports/crs-publish.cfm?pid=%270E%2C*PLS%3D%22%40%20%20%0A

Appointments The pattern of women's appointments to high administrative positions is inconsistent, indicating both gains and losses. Reagan was criticized for being the first president in a decade who failed to appoint more women to high-level federal posts than his immediate predecessor. Nonetheless, Reagan can be credited as the first president to appoint a woman, Sandra Day O'Connor, as a justice to the Supreme Court. Her appointment came long after the public was willing to accept a female in this position. Although female appointees under Republican presidents were fewer than under Democratic presidents, women's number of mid- to high-level appointments increased during the last three decades. Women who received political appointments during Republican administration were more likely to represent the New Right, often appointed to positions with little authority.

Compared to the terms in all Bush administrations, Clinton made auspicious moves in countering the tokenism that was the hallmark of presidential top-level appointees for women. He appointed four women to cabinet-level positions, including Attorney General Janet Reno and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, two of the most powerful posts in the nation. Perhaps more significant is that he appointed Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a longtime advocate for women's rights, to the Supreme Court. Jimmy Carter was the first president to stress diversity on the bench, with 34 percent of judicial appointees being women and minority males. Reflecting the belief that the federal judiciary should mirror the life experiences of a wide spectrum of society, Clinton surpassed Carter in such appointments. During the first year of the George W. Bush administration, of all potential appointees requiring Senate confirmation, 25 percent were women, down sharply from 37 percent in the first year of the Clinton administration. Bush's most prominent woman appointee was Condoleezza Rice, first as National Security Advisor and later as Secretary of State.

In his first term, Obama surpassed any president in history for 16 top-level appointments of women. These included four cabinet-level positions; the U.N. Ambassador; chairs of the powerful Council of Economic Advisers and Securities and Exchange Commission; and perhaps most important, two justices of the Supreme Court, Sonia Sotomayor, the Court's first Latino in 2009, and Elena Kagan in 2010. This pattern stalled in his second term. His inner circle of advisers and top-level appointees took a decidedly male shift with a smaller proportion of women in top positions than President Clinton appointed during his second term. Those in his administration, however, point to President Obama's track record and commitment to diversity in all its forms and gender equity that is unfolding in his second term. In addressing the issue at a press conference, the President commented, "We're not going backwards, we're going forward" (Lowrey, 2013). For example, in affirming his pledge to the LGBT community, in 2014 he signed an executive order banning discrimination on employment based on sexual orientation or gender identity among federal contractors. Religiously affiliated businesses are not exempt from the order. Women's advocacy organizations also continue to monitor all legislation and appointments. The appointment of Janet Yellen as the first female chair of the U.S. Federal Reserve, an extremely powerful position, may further indicate that commitment.

Barriers to Female Candidates

Public support for qualified women in public office at all levels has skyrocketed. Elected and appointed female officials are proven competent, decisive, and fair in how

they conduct their political roles and in the issues they confront in carrying out these roles. The top-level election of women and their appointments by both Republican and Democratic administrations ensured that women would no longer be relegated to behind-the-scenes positions. As clearly demonstrated in Elections 2008 and 2012, however, women face major hurdles when entering the political arena (Chapter 1).

Women in public service still may be defined as pioneers in terms of their achievement and leadership in areas traditionally assigned to men. They continue to face obstacles that are different from those encountered by men in politics. Once they attain office, women must do politics differently. According to Madeleine Kunin, the former Democratic Governor of Vermont, gender is a huge issue in how the rules are played and how power is distributed. Women endure the experience of being intimidated, being demeaned, and being ignored. She suggests that women office-holders must "invent" themselves continuously and must adjust to a male-defined space (Kunin, 2008). Leadership styles are defined by gender expectations. Women are criticized for being too strident or aggressive and for being too ambivalent or tentative (Bligh and Kohles, 2008). Political effectiveness for women in high political office is linked to successfully maneuvering the language barriers imposed by gender.

Socialization Factors Socialization into gender roles may impede political participation for women. If politics demands a self-serving style and a high degree of competitiveness to be effective, men have the advantage. Women in public office appear to be more public spirited and oriented to broader principles rather than to narrower issues. Although politicians are expected to have higher moral standards than those who elected them to public office, women are expected to be higher than men in this regard. Although both men and women must run a gauntlet to counter the rumors and smear campaigns now routinely associated with political life, women have a more difficult time overcoming the hurdles. Gender stereotypes may put women at an advantage or a disadvantage for public office. Female politicians often are viewed as interlopers in a political realm dominated by men. Others believe that women will be elected to public office because of disillusionment with morally corrupt male politicians (Smith and Fox, 2001). Although in the long run it works more to women's political disadvantage, the stereotype of the trustworthy woman may be used to gain political office. It is ironic that to be successful, strategies in masculine politics are less likely to serve broader public interest.

Beliefs about Women's Roles Another barrier to women in politics is beliefs about marriage and motherhood. Women must contend with potential disapproval if the public believes that children and husbands are being neglected in the quest for public office. This is consistent with the weighty research that gender equity in the workplace does not translate to gender equity in sharing domestic tasks (Chapter 7). Male candidates begin their political ascent sooner in their careers than women.

Motherhood and Husbands Even high-profile women often wait until their children are grown to reduce the risk of being labeled "neglectful mothers." In Election 2008, Hillary Clinton was absolved of the motherhood mandate in the media; Sarah Palin was not. By earnestly embarking on political careers later in life, women as a group have a difficult time catching up with men in seeking higher

public offices. A woman also must be mindful of the relationship with her husband, who may be unwilling or unprepared to deal with his wife's candidacy. Husbands play vital supportive roles in promoting their wives' campaigns, but cultural beliefs about masculinity and dominance may prevent men from enthusiastically carrying out such activities. Irrespective of political party, women must face questions about their appearance, marital status, and household responsibilities that are rarely asked of men. Reporters reinforce the notion that women are exceptions: How does she balance kids with Congress (Layton, 2007; Lawless and Fox, 2010)? As detailed in Chapter 1, media discourse in politics frames women as different beings than men.

After Sarah Palin was chosen by John McCain as his running mate, a headline in a major newspaper read, "McCain, new sidekick, a hit" (Schlinkmann and Munz, 2008). Never would a man picked to run for any office, much less the office of Vice President, be labeled a "sidekick." When Bill Clinton was attempting to gain support for his first two female candidates for Attorney General, the defining qualification for these women became how they arranged and paid for child care and household help. Elizabeth Warren's Senate campaign in Massachusetts was mired with comments about her suitability for doing laundry. Male nominees may capitalize on such gaffs, but they are not subjected to such questions. The generation of women seeking office today, have pioneers who helped pave their way. Marginality can be emotionally debilitating, but activist women have honed their psychological skills in confronting their own professional careers; so the jump into the political arena may be less stressful. Socialization into the female gender role may initially be an inhibiting factor for women entering politics, but it can be efficiently navigated to achieve political success.

Structural Barriers Educational barriers have all but disappeared in women's quest for public office. Women in office have the same, (or slightly higher) educational credentials as men. Limits imposed by age, social class, and occupation, however, remain formidable. Age is a factor because, as mentioned earlier, women's political careers start later than men's. Compared to men, women also are less likely to have the personal money and financial support from backers needed to run for public office. Women are often denied even the foot in the door expected of realistic and eligible candidates. Male candidates not only have more money, but also are much more likely to be bankrolled in campaigns by affluent wives. Celebrities in the fields of sports (Senator Bill Bradley, Governor Jesse Ventura) and entertainment (President Ronald Reagan, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger) have certainly risen to high political offices. Such occupations offer visibility, flexibility, opportunities for developing communication skills, and substantial income, thus serving as training grounds for future politicians. We have seen the financial and social liabilities of occupational segregation on women. Politically, such segregation hampers women from being recruited as candidates. On the positive side, women have made significant progress in professions related to journalism, law, and educational administration, key sources of political eligibility.

Elections 2008 and 2012: The Pivotal Intersections

The 2008 and 2012 Presidential elections offer important insights regarding the powerful intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, and class that will influence politics for the foreseeable future. The elections allowed a rare view of how these

intersections unfolded during the campaigns. This view provides clues in predicting the success of women candidates for high public office.

Election 2008 Spotlighting gender and race, media's already powerful influence in the political process was magnified during this remarkable election (Chapter 1). Throughout the campaign, media pundits talked to one another about representations of the candidates; scholars and specialists who study how media frame race and gender content were largely absent from the discourse (Monaghan, 2008). Hillary Clinton's post-primary support of Barack Obama again catapulted her (and Bill Clinton) into the election spotlight. While purporting to be color-blind and gender-blind, research suggests that media continued to overrepresent gender and race characteristics related to Clinton, Palin, and Obama; McCain's white, Irish ancestry was ignored. For the fundamental race and gender profile, John McCain was the presumed "natural" candidate (Coates, 2008; Major and Coleman, 2008).

In line with social constructionism, news media reinforced normative, cultural representations about race and gender by which the candidates were judged. Obama was on par with—or above—white candidates of the past (Walker, 2008). Even as an insurgent, however, Obama was recast to fit the media mold that allowed beliefs about white, masculine domination of politics to remain unchallenged. In this sense, race was nullified and Obama slipped into the "natural" candidate category (Eargle et al., 2008; Walsh, 2009). In another twist, Obama was (and is) always referred to in the media as African American rather than "biracial," even if the latter label may have speeded up the recasting to benefit his campaign.

The Primary Election Demographic variables are powerful predictors of voting behavior. Despite the ongoing gender gap in politics, in the multiple identities of voters (including age and SES), race generally trumped other categories as most salient in the primary battle between Obama and Clinton. Exit polls of Democrats showed that Clinton was more favorable for white, female, older voters (age 65 and older); Obama was more favorable for African American women and older African Americans regardless of gender. Most important, he also had more support from both African American and white men, young adults, and people under age 65 who voted in historically high numbers. In the absence of specific information, people vote for those they see as similar to themselves (Abramson et al., 2007). In this sense, race was highly salient for African Americans but less salient for whites. In the primary election, race could be recast in a manner that advantaged Obama; gender could not be recast and worked to the disadvantage of Clinton.

The General Election Whereas race was the salient issue in the primary election, gender was the salient issue in the general election. As the only other woman ever to run for Vice President on a major ticket, Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 paved the way for Sarah Palin in 2008. Sarah Palin's choice as vice presidential nominee was founded on two strategies: to bolster support from the conservative base of the Republican Party and to gain votes from disaffected women who supported Hillary Clinton. For the first strategy, Palin received mixed support from conservative

women. She represented their views on issues such as support for abstinence-based sex education and opposition to abortion rights, gun control, same-sex marriage, and the withdrawal from Iraq. On the other hand, conservative women criticized Palin for stepping outside traditional roles expected of women. She was first and foremost a mother, and however admirable public service might be, it could wait until after her children were grown. With traditional gender roles as a backdrop, the McCain–Palin ticket lost votes from the conservative women they reached out to.

The second strategy to gain votes from disaffected women who supported Clinton in the primary was a considerable failure. It is astonishing that the McCain–Palin strategists failed to review the hefty research on gender and politics suggesting that women vote on shared issues rather than on gender per se; they will not vote for any candidate whose policies diminish gender equity and gender justice. Although less articulated among conservatives, this pattern holds for women in both the conservative and progressive camps (Calmes, 2008; Chozick, 2008; Jack, 2008). Views of the progressive Democratic women who supported Clinton were diametrically opposed to views of conservative Republican men and women represented by the McCain–Palin ticket. To the contrary of media propaganda, few Clinton supporters retreated to the Republican ticket. We have seen that women have more liberal gender role and political attitudes. Obama gained votes from moderate Republican women disillusioned with Palin's apparent obsolete messages to women and about women. These women criticized McCain for ignoring an array of potential respected conservative female politicians with more substance and more experience. The choice of Sarah Palin to redress the "antiwoman" bias in the Republican Party failed.

Election 2012 Whereas Election 2008 highlighted the gender-race intersection, Election 2012 became a referendum on "women's issues." Although both parties campaigned aggressively for women's votes, as reflected in their platforms, their strategies differed greatly (Table 14.3). The election was highlighted by a social issues discourse that often overshadowed an economic discourse to which it was intimately connected.

Republican Messages to Women It is difficult to find a specific strategy that Republicans used to persuade women voters to embrace their platform. Republican messages to women were not uniformly different from those to the general population, especially highlighting a systematic withdrawal or reversal of programs that women disproportionally depend on, such as child care subsidies and equal pay initiatives. Issues were presented in steeped religious and morality language. The word *God* appears ten times in the Republican Party platform, for example. Republicans also maintained, and to a large extent doubled down on, their long-standing beliefs about "controls" to women's sexuality.

These beliefs played out dramatically in the campaign. Women were prevented from testifying on hearings about contraceptive coverage required by the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Oversight Committee Chair Rep. Darrell Issa (R-CA) argued that the hearing was not about reproductive rights and contraception; instead, it was about the Administration's actions as they relate to freedom of religion and conscience. Law student Sandra Fluke, referred to as a prostitute and a slut by

TABLE 14.3 Election 2012: Republican and Democratic Platforms, Selected Issues

	Republican Platform	Democratic Platform
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY	Support a Constitutional amendment defining marriage as a union of one man and one women; support rights of states not to recognize same-sex marriage in other jurisdictions under the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)	Support marriage equality and efforts to secure equal treatment for same-sex couples under Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA); people should not be fired based on their sexual orientation or gender identity
	Children raised in intact marriages are better off; marriage should be upheld as the national standard	Expand Child Tax Credit and Earned Income Tax Credit; broaden Family and Medical Leave Act; work toward paid maternity leave
	Reform all welfare programs; expand work requirements for recipients	
HEALTH CARE	Repeal Obamacare (Affordable Care Act); act is invalid in its entirety; support all organizations to offer health care coverage based on their religious and moral convictions; modernize Medicare; transition it to a premium-support model (vouchers); add free-market options and competition as in other sectors	ACA ensures that women have access to contraction in their health insurance plans; oppose all efforts to privatize or set up vouchers for Medicare
ABORTION	Unborn child has individual right to life without exception; overturn *Roe v. Wade*; support a human life amendment to the Constitution; no abortions under any circumstances; no public funds provided for organizations that perform or advocate abortion; no subsidy for a health care plan that includes abortion coverage or counseling; defund Planned Parenthood	Strongly support *Roe v. Wade* and women's right to make decisions about pregnancy, including a safe and legal abortion, regardless of ability to pay; support access to family planning services including Planned Parenthood health centers
EDUCATION	Replace family planning programs for teens with abstinence-based sex education	Support evidence-based and age-appropriate sex education
	Promote school choice/vouchers and homeschooling; support voluntary student-supported prayer in school; support single-sex classes	Oppose vouchers; reform student loan program by removing banks as middleman; increase Pell Grant scholarships; create tax credit worth up to $10,000 for four years in college
	Remove the federal government from student loans; federal government should be guarantor to private sector loans for students	

Source: Compiled from 2012 Republican Platform, www.gop.com/2012-republican-platform_home/, and 2012 Democratic National Platform, www.democrats.org/democratic-national-platform

radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh for talking about the cost of contraceptives for students, was not considered an "appropriate" witness. Only male conservative religious leaders were permitted to testify on the initial panel.

Perhaps more damaging to Republicans seeking women's votes was the fallout from comments about abortion, contraception, and pregnancy from Republican candidates running for national offices. The now infamous statement from Todd Aiken, candidate for the Senate from Missouri, who remarked that pregnancy rarely results from rape because "if it's a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut the whole thing down." Even as the furor generated by Aiken's comments had not dissipated, Richard Mourdock, Tea Party–backed U.S. Senate candidate from Indiana, declared that he opposed aborting pregnancies conceived in rape because "it is something that God intended to happen." Calls for Aiken's withdrawal from the race and censure of Mourduck by Republicans and conservative media were soon muted. Even with arguably outrageous and ludicrous comments, Republicans believed it was better to have *any* Republican in the Senate seats than lose them entirely. Concerns for how these senators would then represent the party were not expressed.

To combat the social issue firestorms, the Romney campaign generally adopted an "out of sight, out of mind" strategy. He warned voters not be "distracted" by these issues, but to concentrate on the far more critical economic concerns threatening the livelihoods of all Americans. Women heard many messages about their bodies, but ironically also "heard the dead silence" about what they could expect from Republicans about a safety net bolstering their families once in office. By refusing to dialogue meaningfully on important social issues, Republicans were deemed insensitive or, at worst, hostile to specific concerns of women (Baker, 2012; Parker, 2012). Republicans failed to link social issues with the programs that make all workers, including women, successful employees and productive citizens. Ignoring the pivotal role of intersectionality, they in turn lost an opportunity to garner more support from women.

Democratic Messages to Women Astutely aware of their historically favorable gender gap, like Republicans, Democrats campaigned with their own long-standing beliefs and policies related to social issues and the economy. Unlike Republicans, it was easier to demonstrate specific policies and programs that benefit women and children. As Table 14.3 suggests, they argued with justification that these programs would be jeopardized or cut entirely by a Republican-dominated Congress. Although messages were specifically targeted to women, Democrats based their successful strategies on two facts that Republicans apparently ignored. First, Democrats had at least a modicum of understanding that social and economic issues are intimately linked. Second, they understood the power of intersectionality. As indicated by the following statistics, women's votes were segmented in a variety of ways, especially by ethnicity, race, and social class (Kristoff, 2012; Guttmacher Institute, 2013, 2014b; NLIRH, 2014).

- Cost of birth control for poor women is associated with more than three times the likelihood to become pregnant compared to middle-class women.
- Factoring in ethnicity and race, 74 percent of Latino registered voters support a woman's right to make personal decisions related to abortion and their own bodies without politicians interfering.
- Latinas, who are disproportionally working class, support the ACA and the contraceptive coverage expected to come with it. On average, they pay $600 a year for contraception.

- Poor and working-class women believe publically funded family planning services provide a critical safety net. Such services helped women avoid over 2 million unintended pregnancies, likely resulting in over 1 million unintended births and 760,000 abortions.
- For every public dollar spent on family planning, Medicaid is reduced by $3.74.

Unlike Republicans who remained silent on support for a newborn child, the safety net under the Democrats was to be held tight. Given the Tea Party's increasing influence, Republicans steadily moved to even more conservative views on sexuality-related issues, specifically on abortion and contraception. Democrats not only capitalized on Republican gaffs by major candidates, but also defended Democrat views without apology or hesitation (Goldberg, 2012). Compared to elections before 1992, it cannot be said that the Democrats outlined a substantially more liberal agenda. The Democratic Party, like much of the U.S. electorate, also has moved to the right on economic issues, including privatization of government services and a stronger neoliberal agenda on other issues. The gains of Democrats among women as well as the LGBQ communities, however, have to do more with their continuing strong support for policies related to social issues.

The Result Candidates tweaked their party platforms according to their own consistencies and chose to ignore, highlight, reinforce, distance themselves from, or embrace parts of their party's agendas. In the end, the largest contingent of women candidates in history ran at all levels and were elected in unprecedented numbers. Democrats were able to win women and young voters in swing states that propelled Obama to a second term. Republican messages to women continued to be construed as a "Republican war on women" by a large swathe of the American public. Emerging by the 1980s, this narrative is not new (Melich, 1996). As the following results suggest, however, Republicans can no longer ignore the power of the narrative, however symbolic it might be.

- White men constitute 53 percent Democrats and 86 percent Republicans.
- White men are now a minority in the Democratic Caucus.
- A record 28 women of color are in Congress.
- New Hampshire has the first all-female Congressional delegation; all female senators up for reelection won their races.
- Republican men with extreme views on abortion lost their elections.
- 78 women (24.3 percent of 320) hold statewide elective office; 38 are Democrats; 38 are Republicans; 5 governors are women; Maggie Hassan (New Hampshire) was the only Democrat female governor in 2013.
- Of the 100 largest cities, 12 have women mayors.

Reflecting on Election 2012 and the largest gender gap in history, a Republican (male) leader of the American Conservative Union commented:

Our party needs to realize that it's too old, too white and too male and it needs to figure out how to *catch up with the demographic* of the country before it's too late. . . . Our party needs a lot of work to do if we expect to be competitive in the near future." (Martin, 2012) (Emphasis added)

Although this statement does demonstrate a better understanding of at least additive political effects related to American diversity, especially rapidly changing gender roles, both parties must recognize that winning means more than simply "catching up with a demographic." Demographic categories are associated with highly salient differences on political and social issues. To address the growing gender gap, policies should seriously address the concerns of the "demographic." If Republicans retreat from policies they say emerged from extremists in their ranks, views that they waged a war on women may be more muted. If not, the gender gap harmful to their party is unlikely to be reduced.

HRC: The Hillary Factor With Eleanor Roosevelt as the pioneer, Hillary Rodham Clinton (HRC) was the first contemporary First Lady to break the mold of expected roles of women in this position. She continued to ascend politically as Senator from New York, presidential contender, and Secretary of State. Although presidential wives exert a great deal of behind-the-scenes influence, she assumed an unprecedented leadership role in the Bill Clinton administration. She spoke frequently to young women, challenging them to shun gender role stereotypes, aspire to political heights, and become activists. She advocated for poor women globally and sought legislation to benefit women in their career and family roles. Her confidence and ability won her not only high praise, but also severe, relentless criticism about the "proper place" of the First Lady. During the media feeding frenzy concerning her husband's affair, she was accused of keeping too silent (showing her support for him) and speaking too much (showing her lack of support for him). As honorary head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference on Women, she received high marks for criticizing China's record on human rights on its own turf in Beijing (Chapter 6).

Clinton's political ascension indicates much more positive public reaction today than only a generation ago. When Clinton graduated from Wellesley College in 1969, just over half of the public said they would support a woman for president; today that number is over 90 percent On the other hand, progressive attitudes do not fully translate to voting behavior. On advice from aides during her run for president, Clinton accommodated gender role norms by "softening" her image. At the same time, she challenged gender stereotypes, forging new definitions of women in the political sphere. The closer she got to the nomination goal, the stronger were the attacks—for her gender as much as for her politics. She was criticized for using her position as senator to poise for the campaign. Critics ignored the fact that this is the common, acceptable, and expected pattern for forging ahead in public office—apparently for men but not for women. HRC carved the path for women aspiring to climb the political ladder and continues as a model for the next generation of politically ambitious women.

The Equal Rights Amendment

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution was first introduced in Congress in 1923 and proposed yearly after that. After passage by Congress almost half a century later, it was sent to the states for ratification by 1972. Its

deceptively simple language shrouds the complexity of issues surrounding the ERA. The complete text of the **Equal Rights Amendment** is as follows:

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

Once ratified, it will become the Twenty-Seventh Amendment to the Constitution. It remains unclear, however, if the text will be modified so that the word *gender* replaces the word *sex* in the final version.

Support for the ERA is wide. Over 90 percent of Americans believe men and women should have constitutionally affirmed equal rights, a figure that cuts across race, ethnicity, religion, education, and region. Republicans and Democrats and Presidents as diverse as Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon have supported ERA. There is recognition that an ERA is needed because the Constitution does not guarantee that rights are held equally without regard to sex. The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal protection but not equal rights. ERA offers a clear, strict judicial standard for cases of sex discrimination that protects both women and men. Most important, without Constitutional protection, a simple majority vote in Congress can nullify legal rights previously granted to women.

Ratification's Rocky Path

In 1972, the Ninety-Second Congress submitted the ERA to state legislatures for the three-fourths vote needed for ratification. The original deadline for ratification was 1979, but ERA proponents mustered support to extend it until 1982. Despite ratification by 38 states, three additional votes were needed before the 1982 deadline. During the ten-year ratification process, a number of factors combined to defeat ERA ratification. It is not simply a matter of saying who is in favor of equality and who is not. Few would argue against the principle of equality, but many are suspicious of how equality is to be implemented. Ratification failure was related to two other key changes occurring in American political attitudes: increased legislative skepticism concerning the U.S. Supreme Court's authority to review legislation and fear that the Supreme Court would unduly interfere in state efforts to implement it.

The New Christian Right The perception that the ERA would interfere with state rights was a rallying cry that fueled the power and organization of the political New Right and its allies in the Christian Coalition. Strong beliefs about supporting and maintaining women's traditional role and status in the patriarchal family are at the nucleus of the *New Christian Right* (NCR) political platform. Similar to fundamentalists worldwide, NCR focuses on the traditional role of women, believing that women's emancipation is a hallmark of modernity and secularization harmful to everyone (Bendroth, 1999; Wilcox and Robinson, 2011).

Personal issues related to family, children, sexuality, religion, and women's roles coalesced with a political agenda that resonated with many conservative Americans. Aligned with fundamentalist churches, conservative politicians highlighted rhetoric making traditional homemakers sympathetic to the anti-ERA cause. ERA opponents such as Phyllis Schlafly fueled "nonissues" (nonsense issues) such as unisex bathrooms, men being absolved from sex crimes, and an end to alimony. Debate on substantive issues, such as the rapid rise in women's poverty, was curtailed.

Issues of Interpretation

The ratification process generated much confusion over what ERA would actually change, augment, or accomplish. Anti-ERA groups capitalized on this lack of understanding to help sow the seeds for its defeat, and interpretations among supporters were often inconsistent. What would a Constitutional ERA mean for 22 states that already have equal rights guarantees in their constitutions? For example, although both parents are required in Texas to provide child support, the services of a housewife [*sic*] are counted in kind. Texas recognizes the value of a mother's services not just in terms of financial contributions. Pennsylvania has a similar specification under its equal rights amendment, interpreted so that a divorced mother is not required to work outside the home because her value as a homemaker is recognized. Today there is much better understanding of probable legal interpretations when ERA is ratified (McGowan, 2012; NCWO, 2013; ERA 2014). These include the following:

1. Women will not be deprived of alimony, child custody, or child support. Men will be eligible for alimony and child custody under the same conditions as women, as they are already in most states.
2. Individual circumstances and need will determine domestic relations and community property. ERA does not require both spouses to equally contribute money to the marriage. The law will recognize a homemaker's contribution to the support of the family, whether the homemaker is a man or a woman.
3. ERA will fit into existing constitutional structures regarding privacy. The sexes will continue to be segregated in public restrooms, sleeping quarters at coeducational colleges, prison dormitories, and military barracks.
4. It will be illegal to enact "protective" labor regulations, such as limiting work hours for one sex or the other.
5. ERA will allow meaningful choices to men and women in terms of family and careers. Those who choose to be homemakers will not be economically deprived for this choice.
6. ERA will not invalidate state laws on abortions that are otherwise constitutional.
7. ERA will require that all benefits of publicly supported education be available to women and men on an equal basis.

Military Service A critical issue for the failed effort to ratify ERA had to do with military service and the draft, at a time when the Vietnam War remained as a painful public specter. Much has changed since. In 2013, the vast majority of

combat positions opened for women who volunteer for them. ERA would eliminate remaining barriers to women's full participation in the armed services, including assignments and promotions, and women would be entitled to the same benefits as men, such as education and health care, when they left active duty. Military service remains voluntary for both men and women, and today women represent over 15 percent of U.S. military personnel. Congress already has the power to draft women and historically has been prepared to do so, such as the nurse draft during World War II that was halted when the tide turned in the war. The nature of war has changed dramatically, and military personnel are more likely to be used for domestic emergencies such as natural disasters than for foreign wars. Nonetheless, the issue is a key point in the ratification campaign. If a male-only reactivated draft occurred, it would likely be found unconstitutional, with or without an ERA. Exempting women from a potential draft also exempts them from equal rights in the Constitution (ERA, 2014). As one columnist thoughtfully notes, "It is high time our government declare gender discrimination unconstitutional as it has nobly done with race" (Cook, 2009). Sending a clear message that the United States stands for full equality for *all* its citizens, ERA invests in women's progress and the nation's progress.

ERA Campaign Network A renewed ERA campaign has been launched (ERA, 2015). The ERA was ratified with 35 of the necessary 38 states. The new campaign is using two strategies to achieve ratification: focusing on 3 of the remaining 15 states that offer the best chance for ratification and using constitutional justification for nullifying deadlines that require new referendums from states that already ratified the ERA. Representing a spectrum of NGO networks with thousands of organizations and millions of individuals, the campaign capitalizes on political lessons learned in the first campaign. It highlights the wage gap and the issues employed mothers face, with NOW's slogan "every mother is a working mother," an affirmation of the valuable work all women perform, whether as homemakers or employed outside the home. The new campaigners are acutely aware that the opposition may match their political learning curve. These include the Christian Right, which has coalesced with the Tea Party movement to join forces against both gay marriage and the ERA. ERA supporters, however, represent a much wider spectrum of women and men that is unmatched by opponents (Gelletly, 2013; Stasson, 2014). The unprecedented number of women and men who supported a pro-women platform in Elections 2008 and 2012 suggests that opposition to ERA continues to decline. The scars from the earlier ratification battle enhance their political sophistication in dealing with the forces that challenge it today.

Feminism in the Twenty-First Century

NCR hailed the defeat of the ERA as a defeat for feminism, a morality lesson to women admonishing them about their proper place free of the trials and tribulations of the world of men. The inability to garner enough support in the last three states pointed to NCR's power but also to internal problems hampering

the feminist movement. The movement of the 1960s and 1970s focused on the root causes of gender inequality, yet in doing so, issues surrounding motherhood and family were given less priority. Many women of color felt overlooked in the quest for economic parity with men and the lack of diversity in the movement's leadership. Women who wanted to escape the shackles of the feminine mystique and gain a new sense of independence spawned the movement itself. To a great extent, this has been accomplished. The challenge ahead is to integrate this independence with meaningful intersectional strategies and goals. These goals must recognize issues related to marriage, motherhood, parenting, and employment. The early movement was most vulnerable on the family issue and the failure to account for the multiple challenges women face because of class, color, ethnicity, disability, age, or sexual orientation. Feminists in the new ERA campaign and in the movement at large are taking new messages to the media and to legislators at all government levels. As we have seen throughout this text, key issues related to employment and family shape women's experiences. These are at the forefront of a broad feminist agenda in the twenty-first century. There is no one agenda, and what does exist is ever evolving. It is, however, one of inclusiveness and embraces the politics of accommodation and intersectionality, which are starkly different from the former politics of separatism.

The movement clearly understands that women do not have to be in full agreement with one another to work for feminist goals. Feminism exists among thousands of overlapping organizations. General feminist principles are accepted, but in a decentralized arena. Local feminist groups target issues most relevant for their communities. They lobby businesses for maternity leave or day care for employees; they testify for smoking bans and healthy, safe workplaces where large numbers of young women are employed; they do media campaigns spotlighting domestic violence and the need for safe houses and shelters for abused and homeless women and their children. They work with men on violence prevention. The movement today is more politically savvy in dealing with diverse constituencies and is more technologically savvy in media and online communication to the broader public. The backlash to feminism at the end of the twentieth century attempted to thwart the concerns of women by calling for outdated solutions that separate the home from outside the home that cannot possibly work today. The winds of political change have again shifted toward a more favorable outlook for a feminist agenda. The success of the women's movement suggests that this agenda has widespread support. People no longer question the right of women to achieve their fullest individual potential, whether inside or outside the home. The earlier movement was characterized by mass mobilization and confrontation. The current movement is less visible but more powerful.

Feminism today is diverse in programs, tactics, and goals. Second and third wave feminists who "agree to disagree" may embrace different tactics but common goals (Chapters 1 and 5). The United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing was a watershed for women. By encouraging open dialogue, inclusiveness, and consensus building, it attested to the ability of women to work toward goals of sisterhood, female empowerment, and partnering with men. With a heightened degree of political sophistication, that very diversity will contribute to the strength of the movement in the United States and globally.

Summary

1. Assumptions about gender in the law include the following: Women need protection, men are protectors, spouses are treated as “one” under the husband, and biological differences between men and women justify different legal standards.
2. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act can only be circumvented by claiming a BFOQ. Regardless of the Equal Pay Act, a gender wage gap exists. Comparable worth strategies to deal with the gap are difficult to measure but call attention to lost market productivity. Originally designed to promote the status of African American men, women have been helped by affirmative action. The media inaccurately portrayed it as reverse discrimination, but the more the public understands the policy, the more they support it. The EEOC enforces Title VII, but its strength under Clinton were reduced under the Bush administration.
3. Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in schools receiving federal funds. It has been most successful for gender equity in athletic programs, such as offering athletic scholarships for females. Backlash, conservative politics, and inconsistent court rulings hurt its enforcement.
4. Sexual harassment is prohibited under Title VII. Anita Hill’s testimony of sexual harassment leveled at Clarence Thomas during his confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice opened the issue to the public, showing its extent and negative effects. Symbolic interaction highlights how sexual harassment has been reconstructed from acceptable to unacceptable; however, it is still seen as a fact of social life.
5. Marital roles are based on three legal models: unity—husband is dominant; separate but equal based on breadwinning and nurturing roles; shared partnership—spouses have equal rights and responsibilities.
6. In a divorce, state law determines property divisors: In community property states, spouses jointly own property; in common law states, property belongs to the spouse in whose name it is held. To deal with inequities, other factors such as length of marriage, age, health, and earning abilities are now considered. Social Security rules have hurt homemakers in a divorce. The 1984 Retirement Equity Act was passed to make pensions fairer to women.
7. Many judges do not implement newer legislation designed to protect battered women. Enforcement is hampered when judges maintain a stereotyped traditional image of a husband–wife relationship.
8. Until the nineteenth century, women had a general right to an abortion. In 1973 with *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Dalton*, women again obtained this right under certain conditions. Level of religiosity separates pro-life and pro-choice groups. Challenges to abortion rights led by the pro-life groups have taken an extreme turn with murders of abortion providers. Pro-choice activists cite maternal health, women’s rights to control their bodies, and support from a spectrum of people for abortion rights. Under certain conditions, most people believe that abortion should be legal and safe.
9. About 90 percent of serious crimes are committed by men. Socialization allowing more aggression for boys and more dependence for girls helps explains the gender gap in crime. Feminist researchers explain the gap according to women’s lower SES and need for money. The chivalry hypothesis that treats women less harshly than men in criminal justice is strengthening. Prostitution reflects all of

these explanations. Debate continues on whether sex work should be legalized, but sex trafficking of children is condemned.

10. The number of women in office continues to increase, but more rapidly at the state level. Top-level female appointments under Clinton were followed with a sharp decrease under Bush. Obama already has appointed more women in top positions than any other President in history, but the pattern stalled in his second term. Support to elect women is strong but is impeded by traditional beliefs about women's roles and women entering politics later than men.
11. The gender gap in political attitudes and behavior shows more women identifying as Democrats than Republicans. Compared to men, women have more support for issues related to assistance for women and children and less support for capital punishment and war.
12. Support for the ERA is favored by a majority of men and women. Opposition from the New Christian Right and confusion over its provisions hampered ratification. The current ERA campaign is much more politically astute.
13. Election 2008 provides insights about the intersection of gender and race. Media overrepresented gender and race characteristics related to Clinton, Obama, and Palin. Social constructionism suggests that Obama was recast to minimize race; Clinton and Palin could not be recast to counter gender stereotypes. Palin received few votes from women who otherwise would have voted for Clinton in the primary. Hillary Clinton continues to be a role model for women aspiring to high public office.
14. Feminism in the twenty-first century capitalizes on consensus building among diverse groups of women and men, a greater understanding of the family–employment dilemma, and greater political skill.

Key Terms

Bona Fide Occupational Qualification (BFOQ)
Common law
Community property
Domestic terrorism
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)
Equal Pay Act (EPA)
Equal Rights Amendment
Gender gap
Medicaid
Retirement Equity Act (REA)
Roe v. Wade
Sex trafficking

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Provide evidence for the gender inequity that persists in the legal and criminal justice systems and evaluate the negative differential gender consequences that result. Suggest specific alternatives to make making these systems more just related to gender. Can a system be gender-just if it is not gender-equitable?
2. Given the increasing number of women officeholders and the concern politicians are expressing related to a gender gap in politics, how public policy will be altered to account for these realities over the next decade?
3. Based on your understanding of gender in the political process, what strategies can feminists use to maximize success in campaigns related to gender equity in employment and education and to garner support for reproductive rights and ratification of the ERA?

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GLOSSARY

affirmative action policies of preferential treatment for women and minorities underrepresented in certain job categories

agency the power to adapt and sometimes to thrive in difficult situations

agents of socialization the people, groups, and social institutions that provide information for children to become functioning members of society

androcentrism male-centered norms operating throughout all social institutions that become the standard to which all persons adhere

androgyny the integration of traits considered to be feminine with those considered to be masculine

assortive mating coupling based on similarity

battered women's syndrome the powerless, dependence, and poor self-image of abused women associated with the belief that they are responsible for the violence against them

blended family children from remarriages and parents' prior relationships who are brought together in a new family

body studies in a sociological context includes cultural meanings attached to bodies and to the way that bodies shape and are shaped by society

bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) legally allows for hiring an employee on the basis of one's sex under very specific circumstances

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) includes NGOs and a wide array of groups, such as labor unions, professional associations, teacher and scholar networks, community groups, foundations, and faith-based activists

civil union a legal classification entitling same-sex couples to most of the rights and responsibilities available to married partners

common law those states where property belongs to the spouse in whose name it is held

community property those states where all property acquired during the marriage is jointly owned by the spouses

companionate marriage marriage based on romantic love and an emphasis on balancing individual needs with family needs

comparable worth policies designed to upgrade the wages for jobs that employ large numbers of women

compensatory history chronicles the lives of exceptional women

computer-mediated communication (CMC) human communication through computerized technology occurring on a variety of electronic devices

continuing socialization ongoing learning that provides the basis for the varied roles an individual will fill throughout life

contribution history chronicles women's contributions to specific social movements

countermodernization a social movement that either resists modernization or promotes ways to neutralize its effects

culture a society's total way of life that provides social heritage and guidelines for appropriate behavior

developing nations countries and regions with poverty level incomes per capita; also referred to as the developing world

development programs designed to upgrade the standard of living of the world's poor in ways that allow them to sustain themselves

doing gender the notion that gender emerges not as an individual attribute, but something that is accomplished through interaction with others

dominance model argues that gendered language is a reflection of women's subordinate status

double standard the idea that men are allowed to express themselves sexually and women are not

dramaturgical approach viewing social interaction as if it were an enactment in a theatrical performance

dual-culture model argues that the interactional styles of males and females are separate but equal

egalitarian marriage a marriage in which spouses share decision making and assign family roles based on talent and choice rather than on traditional beliefs about gender

emotional labor describes work that requires providing emotional support to the people the occupation serves, such as nurse's aides and day care and eldercare workers

empowerment the ability of women to control their own destinies

end point fallacy the negotiation of social reality is an ongoing process where new definitions produce new behavior in a never-ending cycle

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) a federal agency created to ensure that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is carried out

Equal Pay Act (EPA) a 1963 federal law requiring females and males to receive the same pay for the same job

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) proposed constitutional amendment stating that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex **essentialism** the belief that males and females are inherently different because of their biology and genes

expressive role associated with the expectation that the wife–mother maintains the family through child rearing and nurturing

familism a Latino cultural value emphasizing the family and its collective needs over personal and individual needs

Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) federal policy allowing eligible employees to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth and care of child, spouse, or parent

family of orientation the family in which one grows up

family of procreation the family established when one marries or establishes a long-term partnership

female genital mutilation (FGM) a variety of genital operations designed to reduce or eliminate a girl's sexual pleasure and ensure her virginity; also referred to as female genital cutting

feminism an inclusive worldwide movement to end sexism and sexist oppression by empowering women

feminist theology draws on women's experience as a basic source of content previously shut out of theological reflection

feminization of aging the global pattern of women outliving men and the steady increase of women in the ranks of the elderly

feminization of poverty a global trend showing increase in the percentage of women in the poverty population

fictive kin networks among African Americans that absorb friends into kin structures

first wave feminism suggests that there is no universal feminism and women define for themselves what it is and what it can become

friends with benefits relationships (FWBR) sexual encounters without commitment, usually recurring with the same partner, and now normative among young adults

gender social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females that define them as masculine or feminine

gender gap in a political context, male–female differences in political choices, including vote choice, policy, and party preferences

gender history historical approach focusing on the power relations between men and women

gender identity an awareness that there are two sexes who behave differently according to prescribed gender roles

gender roles the expected attitudes and behaviors a society associates with each sex

gender socialization the process by which individuals learn the cultural behavior of femininity or masculinity that is associated with the biological sex of female or male

gender-typing expectation for less pay and prestige when the majority of the occupation is that of one gender, usually female

glass ceiling describes women's failure to rise to senior-level positions because of invisible and artificial barriers constructed by male management

GLBT (see LGBT)

globalization removal of barriers to increase the flow of capital between and within nations

gynocentrism an emphasis on female and feminine interests

hegemonic masculinity asserts that there are a number of competing masculinities that are enacted according to particular places and times

hermaphrodites infants born with both male and female sex organs or who have ambiguous genitals; also referred to as intersexed

heterosexism viewing the world only in heterosexual terms, thus denigrating other sexual orientations

hidden curriculum the informal and unwritten norms that serve to control students, including expectations about gender

homemaker the person responsible for "the making of a home," usually a full-time person, mostly women but increasingly men

homogamy becoming attracted to and marrying someone similar to yourself

homophobia the fear and intolerance of homosexuals (gay men and lesbians) and homosexuality

household a person or group of people occupying a housing unit

human capital model explains the gender wage gap as due to personal choices in matters of education, childbirth, child rearing, and occupation

informal sector the usually undocumented economic activities of people who work as subsistence farmers, landless agricultural laborers, street vendors, or day workers

instrumental role associated with the expectation that the husband–father maintains the family through earning income

intersectionality describes the process that combines risks from multiple statuses associated with disadvantage resulting in a matrix of domination and oppression

intersex infants born with both male and female sex organs or who have ambiguous genitals; also referred to as hermaphrodites

Islamization a religious fundamentalist movement seeking a return to an idealized version of Islam as a remedy against corrupt Western values

kibbutz an Israeli agricultural collective originally organized by gender egalitarian principles to allow all members to be full participants in the community without regard to gender roles

Knights of Labor first major union opened for women and African Americans calling for equal pay for equal work

LGBT an inclusive term for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people who show a wide range of attitudes and behaviors related to sexual orientation and gender identity

liberation theology calls for redistribution of wealth and economic equality grounded in biblical messages about God's concern for the poor and oppressed

life course the roles people play over a lifetime and the ages associated with those roles

machismo among Latinos, associating the male role with virility, sexual prowess, and the physical and ideological control of women

marianismo among Latinos, associating the female role with female over male spiritual and moral superiority and glorification of motherhood

marriage gradient a pattern in which women tend to marry men of higher socioeconomic status

marriage squeeze an unbalanced ratio of marriage-age women to marriage-age men that limits the pool of potential marriage partners

Medicaid public health insurance program for those unable to pay medical expenses; women and children are the majority of recipients

microcredit a system providing small loans to a group of very poor borrowers to start small businesses and open their first savings accounts; also called microenterprise lending

microenterprise programs provides for income-earning manufacturing or agricultural activities located in or around the households of very poor people

misogyny the disdain and hatred of women

morbidity rate the amount of disease or illness in a population in a given time period

mortality rate the total number of deaths in a population in a given time period **motherhood mandate** the belief that motherhood demands selfless devotion to children and a subordination of a mother's life to the needs of children and family

National American Women's Suffrage Association organization working for women's political rights formed in 1890 with the merger of two suffrage groups

National Organization for Women organization formed in 1966 heralding the return of feminism in the United States

National Organization of Men Against Sexism a male liberation group working to reduce the negative effects of power and unyielding masculinity

neoliberal globalization (NLG) global economic system based on deregulation and privatization with unfettered trade openness and market liberalization

New Christian Right (NCR) a fundamentalist political movement of conservative Protestant groups that promotes morality based on the Bible and God's will as the ultimate source for political and social life

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) privately funded nonprofit groups concerned with relief and development and advocacy for the poor

nonverbal communication using bodily and situational features in communication, such as posture, eye contact, touching, and personal space

norms shared rules that guide people's behavior in specific situations

nuclear family consists of wife, husband, and their dependent children who live apart from other relatives in their own residence

one-child policy allowing only one child per couple in China, with severe penalties for violation; associated with negative consequences for girls

pater familias the absolute power over all family members granted to the eldest man in the family in ancient Rome

patriarchy male-dominated social structures leading to the oppression of women

pink-collar jobs lower-level white-collar jobs held by women associated with low pay and few opportunities for advancement

primary socialization begins in the family and allows the child to acquire necessary skills to fit into society, especially language learning and acceptable behavior to function effectively in a variety of social situations

queer theory examines how sexuality and sexual identity in all its forms—from sexual orientation to sexual behavior—is socially constructed

register sociolinguistic term for a variety of language defined by its use in social situations, such as female register and male register

Retirement Equity Act (REA) requires employers to get spouse's approval before an employee waives spousal benefits offered through the employer, such as pensions or health insurance

Roe v. Wade landmark 1973 Supreme Court case establishing the legal right to an abortion

role the expected behavior associated with a status

rule of thumb an English Common Law provision once allowing a husband to beat his wife with a stick no bigger than his thumb

sandwich generation women caught between caring for the older and younger generations at the same time

sati a Hindu widow who until the twentieth century was frequently expected to be buried alive or self-immolated with her dead husband on his funeral pyre

schemas cognitive structures used to understand the world, interpret perception, and process new information

second shift the shift of unpaid work in the home for women who are also employed full-time for pay

second wave feminism phase of the women's movement (1960s–1980s) seeking to raise the consciousness of women about sexist oppression in the power structure and using political means to eradicate it

self the unique and highly valued sense of identity that distinguishes each individual from all other individuals

Seneca Falls Convention 1848 convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, hailed as the birth of the women's movement in the United States

serial monogamy a pattern of marriage–divorce–remarriage

sex the biological characteristics distinguishing male and female

sex ratio at birth (SRB) the number of boys born for every hundred girls

sex trafficking the trade in humans, most commonly for sexual slavery and forced labor

sexism the belief that the status of female is inferior to the status of male

sexual dimorphism the separation of the sexes into two distinct groups

sexual harassment legally includes physical or verbal conduct that is sexual in nature, is unwanted, and creates a hostile environment that interferes with school or work activities

sexual orientation a preference for sexual partners of one gender (sex) or the other

sexual scripts shared beliefs concerning what society defines as acceptable sexual thoughts, feelings, and behaviors for each gender

social capital networks of relationships and resources that are beneficial and advantageous to a person and to society

social construction of reality the shaping of perception of reality by the subjective meanings brought to any experience or social interaction

social control measures a society uses to ensure that people generally conform to norms, including those related to gender

social history studies the lives and experiences of ordinary people of which women are its largest category

social institutions organizational structures that ensure the basic needs of society are met in established, predictable ways

social stratification the way a society divides people into ranked categories or statuses (social positions)

socialization the lifelong process by which we learn culture, develop a sense of self, and become functioning members of society

sociobiology a field using evolutionary theory to examine the biological roots of social behavior

status a category or position a person occupies, such as gender, that is a significant determinant of how she or he will be defined and treated

status set statuses that are occupied simultaneously

stereotype oversimplified conception that people who occupy the same status share certain traits in common

subcultures segments of a culture that share characteristics distinguishing it from the broader culture

Texts of Terror parts of four books of the Torah that include the Old Testament of the Christian Bible documenting abuse and sexual violence against women often used as justifications for restricting women

theory an explanation that guides the research process and provides a means for interpreting the data

third shift caregiving by employed women who simultaneously care for their children and frail parents, grandparents, or other friends and relatives

third wave feminism emerging in the 1990s—with attention to linking race, class, gender, and sexuality—it suggests there is no universal feminism and women define for themselves what it is and what it can become

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act makes job discrimination and occupational segregation of women illegal

Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment Act prohibits sex (gender) discrimination in any school receiving federal assistance

transgender umbrella term describing people who do not conform to culturally defined traditional gender roles associated with their sex

transsexuals genetic males or females who psychologically believe they are members of the other gender

True Womanhood the Victorian standard for women to subscribe to the virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity

work–family spillover attitudes and behaviors that carry over from roles in both these social institutions

CREDITS

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