

Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research

Barbara J. Risman
Carissa M. Froyum
William J. Scarborough *Editors*

Handbook of the Sociology of Gender

Second Edition

 Springer

Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research

Series editor

John DeLamater
University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, USA

Each of these Handbooks survey the field in a critical manner, evaluating theoretical models in light of the best available empirical evidence. Distinctively sociological approaches are highlighted by means of explicit comparison to perspectives characterizing related disciplines such as psychology, psychiatry, and anthropology. These seminal works seek to record where the field has been, to identify its current location and to plot its course for the future. If you are interested in submitting a proposal for this series, please contact senior editor, Esther Otten: esther.otten@springer.com

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/6055>

Barbara J. Risman · Carissa M. Froyum
William J. Scarborough
Editors

Handbook of the Sociology of Gender

Second Edition

 Springer

Editors

Barbara J. Risman
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, IL
USA

William J. Scarborough
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, IL
USA

Carissa M. Froyum
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, IA
USA

ISSN 1389-6903 ISSN 2542-839X (electronic)
Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research
ISBN 978-3-319-76332-3 ISBN 978-3-319-76333-0 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76333-0>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018934862

1st edition: © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2006

2nd edition: © Springer International Publishing AG, part of Springer Nature 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Contents

Unit on Gender Theory and Epistemology

Part I Theoretical and Epistemological Context

- 1 **Introduction: New Developments in Gender Research: Multidimensional Frameworks, Intersectionality, and Thinking Beyond the Binary** 3
William J. Scarborough
- 2 **Gender as a Social Structure** 19
Barbara J. Risman
- 3 **Feminist Epistemology, Feminist Methodology, and the Study of Gender** 45
Joey Sprague
- 4 **Gender Theory as Southern Theory** 57
Pallavi Banerjee and Raewyn Connell
- 5 **Intersectionality and Gender Theory** 69
Zandria F. Robinson

Unit on Theoretical Explorations of Levels of Analysis

Part II The Individual Level of Analysis in the Gender Structure

- 6 **Becoming Gendered** 83
Heidi M. Gansen and Karin A. Martin
- 7 **Gendered Embodiment** 95
Katherine Mason
- 8 **Does Biology Limit Equality?** 109
Shannon N. Davis and Alysia Blake
- 9 **Gender Identities** 119
Natalie N. Castañeda and Carla A. Pfeffer
- 10 **Mental Health: An Intersectional Approach** 131
Verna M. Keith and Diane R. Brown

- 11 Multiple Masculinities** 143
James W. Messerschmidt

Part III The Interactional Level of Analysis

- 12 Framing Gender** 157
Susan R. Fisk and Cecilia L. Ridgeway
- 13 Interactional Accountability** 173
Jocelyn A. Hollander
- 14 Racializing Gendered Interactions** 185
Koji Chavez and Adia Harvey Wingfield
- 15 Gendered Interactions in School** 199
Kristen Myers

Part IV The Macro Level of Analysis

- 16 Gender Ideologies** 217
Anna Chatillon, Maria Charles and Karen Bradley
- 17 Gender and Welfare States** 227
Marie Laperrrière and Ann Shola Orloff
- 18 Gender and Education** 245
Anne McDaniel and Erica Phillips
- 19 Gender Inequality and Workplace Organizations:
Understanding Reproduction and Change** 257
Alexandra Kalev and Gal Deutsch

Unit on Empirical Applications in Social Context

Part V Sexualities and the Body

- 20 Surgically Shaping Sex: A Gender Structure Analysis of the
Violation of Intersex People's Human Rights** 273
Georgiann Davis and Maddie Jo Evans
- 21 The Sexuality of Gender** 285
Virginia E. Rutter and Braxton Jones
- 22 Gender and Sexuality in High School** 301
C. J. Pascoe and Andrea P. Herrera
- 23 Gender and Hooking Up** 315
Arielle Kuperberg and Rachel Allison
- 24 Gender and Sexuality in Aging** 329
Pepper Schwartz and Nicholas Velotta

Part VI Families and Intimate Relationships

- 25 Gender Inequality in Families** 351
Michele Adams

26	Gender (Non) Conformity in the Family	365
	Katie L. Acosta and Veronica B. Salcedo	
27	The Gendered Division of Household Labor	377
	Oriel Sullivan	
28	Parenting and Gender	393
	Emily W. Kane	
29	Gender, Families, and Social Policy	405
	Jennifer Randles	
30	Gender and Emotion Management	417
	Carissa Froyum	
 Part VII Gendered Contexts in Social Institutions		
31	Contemporary Approaches to Gender and Religion	433
	Jennifer McMorris and Jennifer Glass	
32	Gender, Race, and Crime: The Evolution of a Feminist Research Agenda	449
	Kenly Brown and Nikki Jones	
33	Sociology of Gender and Sport	459
	Cheryl Cooky	
34	Caring as Work: Research and Theory	469
	Amy Armenia	
35	Scientific and Medical Careers: Gender and Diversity	479
	Laura E. Hirshfield and Emilie Glass	
36	Women on the Move: Stalled Gender Revolution in Global Migration	493
	Carolyn Choi, Maria Cecilia Hwang and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas	
 Part VIII Feminists Changing the Gender Structure		
37	Combating Gender Bias in Modern Workplaces	509
	Alison T. Wynn and Shelley J. Correll	
38	Gender and Human Rights	523
	Bandana Purkayastha	
39	Gender in Movements	537
	Jo Reger	
40	Feminists Reshaping Gender	549
	Alison Dahl Crossley and Laura K. Nelson	

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Barbara J. Risman is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She has developed a theory of gender not as only identity but rather as social structure with material and cultural aspects that has consequences for the individual, for interactional expectations, and for macro-social organization. Her latest book is titled *Where The Millennials Will Take Us: A New Generation Wrestles with the Gender Structure* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Other recent work includes a new edition of her textbook, *Families As They Really Are* (Norton 2015 co-edited with Virginia Rutter).

Carissa M. Froyum is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Northern Iowa. She is a former deputy editor of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, and co-editor of *Inside Social Life*, 7th edition, and *Creating and Contesting Social Inequalities*, both with Oxford University Press. Her research appears in *Qualitative Sociology*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Sexualities* among other places. Her work focuses on how emotions and identities reproduce inequalities.

William J. Scarborough is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His research examines the cultural and economic determinants of labor force gender inequality across the USA.

Contributors

- Katie L. Acosta** Georgia State University, Atlanta, USA
- Michele Adams** Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, USA
- Rachel Allison** Mississippi State University, Starkville, USA
- Amy Armenia** Rollins College, Winter Park, USA
- Pallavi Banerjee** University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada
- Alysia Blake** U.S. Census Bureau, Prince George's, USA
- Karen Bradley** Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, USA
- Diane R. Brown** Rutgers School of Public Health, Health Education and Behavioral Science, Piscataway, NJ, USA
- Kenly Brown** University of California, Berkeley, USA
- Natalie N. Castañeda** University of South Carolina, Columbia, USA
- Maria Charles** University of California, Santa Barbara, CA, USA
- Anna Chatillon** University of California, Santa Barbara, CA, USA
- Koji Chavez** Washington University in St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, USA
- Carolyn Choi** University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA
- Raewyn Connell** University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia
- Cheryl Cooky** Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, USA
- Shelley J. Correll** Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA
- Alison Dahl Crossley** Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA
- Georgiann Davis** University of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV, USA
- Shannon N. Davis** George Mason University, Fairfax, USA
- Gal Deutsch** Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel
- Maddie Jo Evans** University of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV, USA
- Susan R. Fisk** Kent State University, Kent, OH, USA
- Carissa Froyum** University of Northern Iowa, Iowa, USA
- Heidi M. Gansen** University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA
- Emilie Glass** University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
- Jennifer Glass** University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA
- Andrea P. Herrera** University of Oregon, Eugene, USA
- Laura E. Hirshfield** University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
- Jocelyn A. Hollander** University of Oregon, Eugene, OR, USA

- Maria Cecilia Hwang** Brown University, Providence, USA
- Braxton Jones** Boston University, Boston, USA
- Nikki Jones** University of California, Berkeley, USA
- Alexandra Kalev** Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel
- Emily W. Kane** Bates College, Lewiston, ME, USA
- Verna M. Keith** University of Alabama at Birmingham, Birmingham, AL, USA
- Arielle Kuperberg** The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, USA
- Marie Laperrière** Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, USA
- Karin A. Martin** University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA
- Katherine Mason** Wheaton College, Norton, MA, USA
- Anne McDaniel** The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, USA
- Jennifer McMorris** University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA
- James W. Messerschmidt** University of Southern Maine, Portland, USA
- Kristen Myers** Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, IL, USA
- Laura K. Nelson** Northeastern University, Boston, USA
- Ann Shola Orloff** Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, USA
- Rhacel Salazar Parreñas** University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA
- C. J. Pascoe** University of Oregon, Eugene, USA
- Carla A. Pfeffer** University of South Carolina, Columbia, USA
- Erica Phillips** The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, USA
- Bandana Purkayastha** University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA
- Jennifer Randles** California State University Fresno, Fresno, CA, USA
- Jo Reger** Oakland University, Rochester, MI, USA
- Cecilia L. Ridgeway** Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA
- Barbara J. Risman** University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, USA
- Zandria F. Robinson** Rhodes College, Memphis, TN, USA
- Virginia E. Rutter** Framingham State University, Framingham, USA
- Veronica B. Salcedo** Georgia State University, Atlanta, USA
- William J. Scarborough** University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, USA
- Pepper Schwartz** University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

Joey Sprague University of Kansas, Lawrence, USA

Oriel Sullivan University of Oxford, Oxford, UK

Nicholas Velotta University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

Adia Harvey Wingfield Washington University in St. Louis, St. Louis, MO,
USA

Alison T. Wynn Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA

Part I

**Theoretical and Epistemological
Context**



Introduction: New Developments in Gender Research: Multidimensional Frameworks, Intersectionality, and Thinking Beyond the Binary

William J. Scarborough

Abstract

In this chapter, I summarize the main contributions of this handbook. By comparing the chapters in this volume with those included in Chafetz's (1999) first edition of the *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, I highlight three areas where research on gender has developed considerably. First, it is now common practice for gender researchers to position their work as multidimensional across the individual, interactional, and macro areas of social life. Second, researchers have become increasingly adept at using intersectional theory to consider how multiple systems of inequality affect the opportunities, rewards, and disadvantages available to particular groups as well as how systems of inequality can be co-constitutive. Third, research on gender has devoted more attention to the lived experience of those who identify as trans and genderqueer, which has shed light on the problematic nature of considering gender a strict binary. Throughout this chapter, I also consider how these developments in gender research are shaped by the lineage of feminist scholarship as well as

social events that have occurred in recent history.

1 Introduction

Nearly twenty years ago, Janet Chafetz (1999) edited the first edition of the *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*. With 27 chapters, the volume provided the most comprehensive overview of sociological research on gender at the turn of the millennium. Editing the second edition of the handbook has required Barbara Risman, Carissa Froyum, and I to step into some very big shoes. We modeled this volume after Chafetz's first edition, with the goal of providing an expansive review of gender theory, epistemology, and research on a wide array of empirical topics. Yet, we soon found that the proliferation of research on gender, that started in the 1980s and has increased greatly since then, required us to expand the number of chapters to 40 to broaden our theoretical and empirical coverage. This is good news. There is more research on gender inequality now than there was at any point in history. Not only is there a larger quantity of research being produced, but, I would argue, it has also increased in quality by conceptualizing the complexity of gender and its relation with other systems of inequality.

When comparing this second edition of the handbook with the first edition edited by Chafetz

W. J. Scarborough (✉)
University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, USA
e-mail: wscarb2@uic.edu

in 1999, readers may find contemporary developments in three key areas that exemplify broader shifts in the sociological study of gender over the past 20 years. The first two developments were starting to take form in first edition of the handbook, while the third is relatively new to the scene. First, understanding gender as a multi-dimensional structure of inequality, with forces co/operating at the individual, interactional, and macro levels, has been adopted by all the contributors to this handbook and by gender scholars in general. This trend was certainly taking shape in the 1990s, when the first edition was being published, but advances in gender research and theory has allowed for a more useful understanding of the multi-dimensional structure of gender. Second, intersectionality—conceptualizing the interrelation of multiple system of inequality rather than gender or race alone—has been fully institutionalized in the study of gender. Rather than conceptualizing gender monolithically, contemporary scholars now understand gender as fundamentally intertwined and mutually constituted with other systems of inequality such as race, class, sexuality, and nation. The third theme to emerge in this second edition of the handbook is the increasing attention to gender non-conformity and transgender identity as an area of research that deals directly with contemporary notions of gender binaries and gender borders. Not only are scholars giving greater attention to the lived experience of trans and genderqueer people, but they are also further interrogating the social processes that reproduce the gender binary itself as a discursive category of identification.

In this introductory chapter, I review the three themes that emerged in this second edition of the *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*. Then, I briefly summarize the contents of each chapter in the volume. I close by commenting on potential future directions for gender scholarship and discussing the role of our research in contemporary society.

2 Multidimensional Understanding of Gender Structure

Feminist scholars have long been conceptualizing gender as a multi-dimensional structure of inequality (Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Rubin, 1975). In fact, a multi-level understanding of gender was present in many of the chapters included in Chafetz's first edition of the gender handbook. Lopata (1999), for example, provided a perspective on gender that emphasized how roles are not immutable characteristics of individuals, but rather contextually contingent on structural and interactional settings. A woman manager, for example, may take on a leadership role in the morning team-briefing where she assigned duties to subordinates, while acting deferential in the afternoon while sitting in attendance at a board meeting as the only female in the room. The expectations others have for her, as either the boss in the former example or the subordinate in the latter, along with the structural differences between a team meeting and a board meeting, illustrate how gender is constructed through contextual interactions and circumstances. Other authors in Chafetz's 1999 edition of the handbook also integrated a multi-dimensional understanding of gender by considering how broad cultural expectations interact with individual predispositions to create gendered patterns in behavior that translate to differences in opportunities and rewards (Bielby, 1999; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999).

By the 1990s, feminist scholars were well on their way to considering gender as a complex system with multiple dimensions. Connell's (1987) multi-level theory of gender highlighted the social processes of labor, power, and cathexis that operate within gender orders and regimes. Lorber's (1994) theory of gender as an institution provided a comprehensive overview of how gender is socially constructed through social structures, interactional processes, and patterns in the distribution of rewards and constraints. Other

multidimensional theories shared similar conceptualizations of gender that emphasized its ubiquity across social processes and areas of social life (Glenn, 1999; Martin, 2004).

The perspectives presented in this handbook build from the foundation of previous gender scholars to conceptualize gender as a system of inequality taking place at the individual, interactional, and macro dimensions of society. This approach, based on Risman's theory of gender as a social structure (2004, 2017a, 2018), synthesizes over a half-century's research on gender into three conceptual dimensions. At the individual dimension, the focus is on socialization (Bem, 1993; Gansen & Martin, 2018), the internalization of gendered identities (Cech, 2013; England, 2010; Castañeda & Pfeffer, 2018), and the role of physical bodies (Davis & Risman, 2015; Davis & Blake, 2018) in sustaining gender difference and inequality. At the level of social interaction, the focus is on how expectations and bias shape the way men and women interact with one another (Chavez & Wingfield, 2018; Fisk & Ridgeway, 2018; Hollander, 2018; Ridgeway, 2011; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Finally, at the macro level of society, gender structure theory accounts for the way institutional regulations, such as social policy (Mandel, 2009; Mandel & Semyonov, 2005; O'Connor, Orloff, & Shaver, 1999; Laperrière & Orloff, 2018; Randles, 2018) and the omnipresent influence of cultural ideology (Budig, Misra, & Boeckmann, 2012; Chatillon, Charles, & Bradley, 2018; Inglehart & Norris, 2003) affect patterns of gender inequality. Risman's gender structure theory frames this contemporary research because it was developed through synthesizing a diverse array of gender theories rather than rejecting some explanations in favor of others. Through integrating theories that focus on separate social dimensions, Risman's framework motivates researchers to examine the relationships between social forces taking place at various levels of society.

Our understanding of the individual, interactional, and macro dimensions of gender is illustrated in our organization of the chapters in this handbook as well as the way many authors have

framed their contributions to the volume. Clearly, Parts II, III, and IV of the handbook correspond to the individual, interactional, and macro dimensions, respectively. Chapters in each of those sections highlight the specific processes that occur within that level of society that affect gender inequality. The chapters in Parts V, VI, VII, and VIII that focus on empirical applications have each considered how various dimensions of the gender structure affect patterns in that particular empirical domain. Emily Kane, for example, has written about the way neoliberal social policy reform (macro level), personal anticipation of mother/fatherhood (individual level), and the dynamics between parents (interactional level) shape the way childcare is practiced and divided between women and men. Davis and Evans also use gender structure theory to frame their analysis of how doctors treat infants born with intersex traits. At the individual level, the liberty of intersex individuals to self-identity is taken from them at birth when doctors choose, often by arbitrary means, which sex the child will be for the rest of their lives. In interaction with the parents of a newborn, doctors frame the birth of an intersex infant as a "medical emergency" that necessitates immediate surgery. At the macro-level, Davis and Evans show how discourse in the medical profession operates with broad assumptions about sex and gender that are historically constructed and contradict contemporary medical and social science research.

While a number of authors in this handbook have explicitly used gender structure theory to frame their chapter, not all chapters do. Nonetheless, other approaches still conceptualize gender as multi-dimensional. Hollander (this volume), for example, corrects a common interpretation that West and Zimmerman's theory of doing gender (1987) focused solely on the interactional performance of gender. When read closely, and with help from subsequent work elaborating the theory (Fenstermaker & Budeska, 2015; Hollander, 2013), the doing of gender—while an interactional performance—depends upon the identity of individual actors and the environmental context in which the interaction takes place. Even biological theories outside the

purview of sociologists are starting to take a multi-dimensional approach to gender. As summarized by Davis and Blake (this volume), the emerging field of epigenetics draws attention to the way environmental factors affect the expression of genetic traits (see also Wade, 2013).

In short, one area of development in the sociological study of gender over the past twenty years has been the pronounced consensus in the field that gender is multi-dimensional. As a result, gender researchers commonly frame or position their work in relation to multi-dimensional theories of gender inequality. Gender structure theory (Risman, 2004, 2018) was used to frame the intellectual contents of this handbook. By synthesizing diverse approaches to the study of gender inequality into a cohesive framework, we can better identify the way complex, interrelated, and sometimes contradictory mechanisms coexist in the processes involved in contemporary patterns of gender inequality.

3 Intersectionality

Intersectional understandings of inequality have been around long before they became mainstream in sociology. In fact, as Robinson (2018) shows, the intersection of race, class, and gender was written about as early as the 19th century by formerly enslaved black women. Yet, sociologists, along with most social scientists, were comparatively slow to pick up this framework for understanding inequality (although see Cooper, 1998[1892]; DuBois, 1995[1899]; Fanon, 1967 [1952]; Wells-Barnett, 1991[1895] for early social science examples that were marginalized in the field). Intersectionality as a conceptual framework was introduced to mainstream social sciences in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Legal scholar Crenshaw (1989) coined the term “intersectionality” to describe how the forms of discrimination experienced by black women were not reducible to either gender or race discrimination, but of a different type characterized by their interrelation. For sociologists, however, the most influential introduction to

intersectionality was Patricia Hill Collins’s *Black Feminist Thought* originally published in 1990. In this book, Collins illustrated how the perspectives of black women have been shaped by their diverse positions at the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation. By virtue of experiencing multiple oppressions, a black feminist standpoint is able to observe how multiple systems of inequality, such as race and gender, constitute a matrix of domination. Within the matrix, inequalities are interrelated and co-construct one another to maintain broad patterns of opportunity and disadvantage.

Collins’s work was tremendously influential in the field of sociology and, in particular, research on gender by motivating scholars to consider the way gender inequality is experienced differently by women located in various social locations of race, class, sexuality, and nationality. This is very apparent throughout the first edition of the gender handbook edited by Chafetz (1999), where authors devoted significant attention to the way gender inequality plays out differently across race. Reskin and Padavic (1999) for example, provide a detailed review of how segregation and pay inequality, while at high levels for all women, is much worse for black women and Latinas.

Over the past twenty years, however, there has been significant theoretical advances in the sociological understanding of intersectionality. Scholars have developed different ways of doing intersectional analyses that have moved the field beyond the comparison of groups and towards a conceptualization of how multiple systems of inequality are interlocking and co-constitutive. Group-based approaches to intersectional analysis, for example, focus on a single demographic category and investigate the way multiple systems such as race, gender, class, and sexuality affect their daily lives (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Moore’s (2011) study of black lesbians in New York City is an ideal example of this approach. By examining how these women’s lives are shaped by normative conceptions of doing/portraying gender, everyday racial discrimination, and the solidarity of the black lesbian community in New York, Moore shows

how multiple social systems interrelate in unique ways to shape individuals' lives. Another way to conduct intersectional analysis is by taking an intercategorical approach (McCall, 2005) that focuses on differences between multiple analytic social groups to explicate intersecting social forces. McCall's (2001) analysis of how deindustrialization and labor casualization affects patterns of gender inequality across U.S. labor markets provides an example of this approach by highlighting how several economic shifts have been beneficial for college-educated white women while offering limited opportunities for women of color and those without a college degree.

When comparing the use of intersectionality twenty years ago with its use today, we find that feminist scholars are utilizing a multitude of conceptual tools to analyze not only the differences between social groups, but the interrelation of several systems of inequality. This is illustrated clearly in the chapters of this volume. In Acosta and Salcedo's (2018) chapter on gender (non)conformity in the family, for example, they note how the experience of racial discrimination shapes the expressions of masculinity among Latino fathers. Because Latino men are unable to reap all the benefits of gender privilege due to racial discrimination from whites, they develop a keen awareness of inequality that also translates to a feminist consciousness of gender. As a result, their expressions of masculinity are based less on male dominance and more on ethical values. In another example from this volume, Brown and Jones (2018) draw from Beth Richie's work (1996, 2012) to discuss the ways black women and girls living in poor areas are "compelled to crime." As African Americans, labor market discrimination and residential segregation limits black women's work opportunities. As women, this group is subject to exploitation from men. And as poor black women they are vulnerable to state surveillance through hyper-policing as well as state-neglect through the curtailing of social services. The combination of race, class, and gender, therefore, often provides few other options for survival than informal and/or illegal work.

In addition to using contemporary intersectional frameworks to make sense of inequality, chapters in this handbook also break new ground in theorizing on the relationship between multiple systems of inequality. In Chap. 14, "Racializing Gendered Interactions," Chavez and Wingfield highlight the conspicuous absence of race in the literature on how social interactions are framed by gendered expectations and cognitive frames (Eagly and Wood, 2012; Ridgeway, 2011; Wagner & Berger, 1997). Despite there being two well-developed bodies of literature that illustrate how people automatically categorize others according to gender (Ridgeway, 2011) or race (Ito & Urland, 2003) in social interaction, there is little research on how these two frames operate simultaneously. Shedding light on this gap in existing theoretical frameworks, Chavez and Wingfield introduce us to intersectional prototypicality theory (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013) as a framework for understanding the interrelation of gender and race frames for interaction. Gender frames are prototypically white, since whiteness is the hegemonic mode of racial inequality. As a result, women and men of color are perceived against standards of white "just right" in ways that resonate with racialization. Blacks are perceived as overly or dangerously masculinized while Asians are more readily framed as overly feminized. Seen from this perspective, we can comprehend how race and gender frames are never separate, but co-constructed from gendered and racialized systems of inequality. Furthermore, we also find that constraining frames of interaction are a consequence and a contributor to both race and gender inequality.

Another sign of the development of intersectional theory since the first edition of the gender handbook is the inclusion of a chapter devoted completely to intersectional theorizing. Robinson's chapter, "Intersectionality and Gender Theory," brings to light the long history of intersectional thought dating back to the American antebellum period and continuing today where it has been mainstreamed into feminist analyses of gender. One of Robinson's valuable contributions in this chapter is to show the

connection of intersectionality with activism by conveying the way black women organizers, from Sojourner Truth's statements on the raced and gendered tenets of slavery to contemporary organizing by Charlene Carruthers and Mariame Kaba against police brutality, shed light on how structures of inequality are simultaneously upheld by dynamic connections between race and gender oppression, among multiple axes of domination. This insight holds a valuable lesson for sociologists who are serious about investigating complex structures of inequality—some of the most valuable theoretical insight originates from those organizing social movements, protesting in the streets, and strategically working to deconstruct pillars of domination.

One other area where this handbook treads new ground beyond the Chafetz volume is by including a chapter on the way globalized relations of colonialism have shaped our understanding of gender. In "Gender Theory as Southern Theory," Pallavi Banerjee and Raewyn Connell (2018) work to "de-colonize" gender theory by examining how the history and continued effects of western colonialism have obscured knowledge produced in the global south and devalued the issues important to most of the world's population living outside Europe and North America. Paying attention to southern theory (theory and research originating from the global south) prompts us to recognize the role of colonization in gender inequality as well as the forms of masculinity and femininity that are developed among colonial populations in the course and legacy of imperial expansion (Morrell, 2001). Not only does the gendered violence of colonialism affect native populations long after conquest and official de-colonization, but modern forms of gender inequality found in post-colonial states across Africa and South America have been traced to the cultural influence of European powers. Southern theory also illustrates how the history and continued legacy of colonialism plays a large role in the development of gender regimes in the global north to the extent that they are made possible through global systems of inequality, domination, and flows of capital (Harding, 1998; Parreñas, 2015).

Unfortunately, gender theory originating from the global south has not yet been successfully integrated into the sociological study of gender in the global north, and our handbook reflects this deficiency. Moving forward, feminist scholars can gain traction from Banerjee and Connell's work presented here, as well as other contemporary feminist literature on, and originating from, the global south (Agarwal, 2010; Lowe, 2015; Mohanty, 2003; Morrell, 2001) to de-colonize gender theory and, ultimately, expand our analysis of gender inequality to consider the role of colonization and global systems of inequality between countries.

4 Beyond the Binary: Thinking with Trans

The last area where there are thematic differences between the first and second edition of the gender handbook is in the increased attention directed towards transgender and gender non-conformity. In the 1990s, few sociological studies of gender focused on, or even considered, the experiences of trans and gender non-conforming people. The feminist scholars who were doing this work often used postmodern and queer theory to deconstruct not only the use of categories to define gender, but the broad use of categories across all social analyses (Butler, 1990, 1993). Since then, the visibility of trans and gender non-conforming people has grown tremendously. While still subject to violence, censure, and marginalization, these identities have, at the very least, achieved widespread recognition through the attention devoted to famous individuals who have transitioned (e.g. Caitlin Jenner) and efforts to provide protections for trans and gender non-conforming people against discrimination. Increased social awareness of the issues facing those who are trans and gender non-conforming has been mirrored by trends in sociological research on gender, as illustrated throughout several chapters in this handbook. Rutter and Jones's (2018) chapter, "The Sexuality of Gender," for example, does not start from the assumption of a gender binary. Instead, the authors illustrate how

structures of heterosexuality and structures of gender mutually construct one another to constitute the taken-for-granted culturally hegemonic binary of heterosexual women and men. The relationship between sexuality and gender is illustrated in Acosta and Salcedo's (2018) chapter, "Gender (Non) Conformity in the Family," where they review the ways parents assume their children's sexual orientation based on the degree to which they conform (or not) to familiar gender norms and identifications. Messerschmidt's (2018) chapter on "Multiple Masculinities" also thinks outside the gender binary by considering how masculinity can be constrained for individuals' assigned as female at birth. While transmen identify as men, the development of breasts and the onset of menstruation makes for a disembodied masculinity, prompting these individuals to undertake discursive practices that define gender on their own cultural terms, apart from physiological determinations.

The increased attention towards trans and gender non-conformity has led sociologists to further interrogate and deconstruct notions of the immutable gender binary. While there are certainly physiological differences between females and males, physiology itself does not always operate within a gender binary. As Davis and Evans (2018) discuss in their chapter on intersex, when infants are born with sex organs that are not readily identified as either male or female, medical doctors undertake invasive and unnecessary surgical procedures to restore a binary physiological division. Such extensive efforts to maintain strict physical distinctions between women and men indicate that biological notions of the gender binary are also influenced by social constructions just as gendered expectations and identities are.

Research on transgender and gender non-conforming persons and research that deconstructs the gender binary is present throughout this volume. However, there is ample opportunity to expand on this subject. Many authors in the handbook have mentioned the lack of research on trans people across a wide array of research. Kuperberg and Allison's (2018) chapter on hooking up, for example, highlights the

absence of research on transgender hookups and notes the difficulty of studying this group, where self-identification can come at the expense of one's personal safety. Emily Kane's (2018) chapter on parenting also mentions the absence of research on patterns of childcare for transgender parents. In both of these instances, studying the experience of transgender individuals provides an opportunity to interrogate the assumption of the gender binary that may implicitly frame our analyses of hooking up or parenting. The same could be said for the study of genderqueer or gender non-conforming people across these social domains. Identifying as a gender that is beyond a man or a woman, or rejecting gender categories all together, throws into question the gender routines that often provide the script for dating, hooking up, parenting, and numerous other activities that we engage in on a regular basis. While the amount of research on trans and gender non-conforming people's experiences remains limited, it has garnered more attention in recent years. If current trends continue, this avenue of research promises to shed new light on the dynamics of gender identities and the processes involved in determinations of gender.

By questioning the substance behind sex/gender binaries, feminist researchers are not only thinking about trans identities, but they are increasingly thinking *with trans* (Brubaker, 2016)—examining the instability of gender categories and the various ways people define, play with, affirm, and challenge gender by drawing on contemporary cultural discourse. Feminist scholars have long defined gender as a social construct (Lorber, 1994; Rubin, 1975), but that doesn't mean that the gender binary is any less real or influential. Today, binary thinking about gender continues to shape all facets of our social life. Yet, a small and influential group of individuals are reacting against the gender structure. These "gender rebels" (Risman, 2018) are not just rejecting the gender associated with the sex they were born with, they are rejecting any type of gender categorization. Some of them, like Hari Nef, a transwoman and model featured in a recent National Geographic Film, *Gender*

Revolution: A Journey with Katie Couric, argue that “gender is a fetish” that people are irrationally obsessed with at their own expense (Risman, 2017b). In light of the evidence presented in this handbook, along with the vast amount of research on gender, I am inclined to agree—gender does, indeed, appear to be quite an unhealthy social fetish.

Overcoming gender inequality will require a complex intervention targeted at the individual, interactional, and macro dimensions of the gender structure that also pays attention to the way other systems of inequality, such as race, class, and sexuality are interrelated and considers the unique experiences of trans, genderqueer, and gender non-conforming people. This is certainly a tall order, but one that the contributors to this handbook are well positioned to pursue.

5 Organization of the Handbook

The three themes highlighted above can be found throughout each chapter of the handbook. Yet, each chapter also contains a unique contribution to a particular sub-field of gender. As the editors, we have organized the chapters into three different units to aid readers whose focus is more specific. Before concluding this introductory chapter, I will briefly review each section of the handbook and the contents of each chapter.

We open the handbook with a unit on *Gender Theory and Epistemology* which contains five chapters organized as *Part I: Theoretical and Epistemological Context*. Following this introduction, Barbara J. Risman’s chapter, “Gender as a Social Structure,” provides a historical overview of gender theory, leading into a discussion of gender as a social structure which integrates previous understandings of gender into a multi-level framework. In Chap. 3, “Feminist Epistemology, Feminist Methodology, and the Study of Gender,” Joey Sprague reviews four different epistemologies (ways of knowing) and the debates between them. Sprague argues that an integration of Standpoint and Critical Realist epistemologies may offer the greatest advantage in building knowledge to advance society. The

fourth chapter in this section, “Gender Theory as Southern Theory” by Pallavi Banerjee and Raewyn Connell, takes a global perspective on the history of gender scholarship—showing how much of what we consider to be gender theory today originated in the global north. By reviewing theories of gender produced outside of North America and Western Europe, Banerjee and Connell argue that frameworks originating from the global south highlight the role of colonization, land, hunger, and globalization in contemporary gender inequality. In the last chapter of Part I, “Intersectionality and Gender Theory,” Zandria Robinson charts the historical lineage of intersectional theorizing from its origins in the late 19th century. In this chapter, Robinson also reviews contemporary theories of intersectionality, highlighting current debates over whether intersectionality has lost its critical edge since becoming “mainstreamed” in sociological literature.

After reviewing the theoretical and epistemological background of gender research in the first unit, the second unit, *Theoretical Explorations of Levels of Analysis*, explores the frameworks that have been used to study gender at multiple levels of society. This unit contains three parts (Part II, Part III, and Part IV), each of which correspond to a different level of analysis detailed in gender structure theory (see Chap. 2). Part II, *The Individual Level of Analysis in the Gender Structure*, contains six chapters that each provide different ways of understanding how inequality is reproduced through processes that shape individuals. In Chap. 6, “Becoming Gendered,” Heidi M. Gansen and Karin A. Martin review the social practices through which children come to understand gender and gender identity from infancy through elementary school. Parents begin gendering their child before birth (baby showers) and messages about what it means to be a girl or a boy continue through childhood and are only further affirmed through children’s interactions with peers, teachers, and media. In the next chapter, “Gendered Embodiment,” Katherine Mason shows how the gendered messages we receive from childhood through adulthood are imprinted on our bodies and scripted in our

movements—a process called embodiment which often results in men using their bodies in more active ways that take up greater space while women tend to perform passive, self-conscious movements. In Chap. 8, “Does Biology Limit Equality?” Shannon N. Davis and Alysia Blake also write about the body, but focus on how hormones and genetics influence gendered behaviors and preferences throughout the life course. They find strong evidence that gender difference is not biologically hardwired. Instead, both social and biological forces are complexly interrelated in the formation of gendered selves. Providing an overview of biological, psychological, and sociocultural approaches to gender identity formation, Castañeda and Pfeffer’s chapter, “Gender Identities,” discusses how multiple mechanisms interact across social contexts in the formation of individuals’ gendered selves. These authors also review how contemporary gender identity theories consider gender fluidity. Moving away from the determinants of gender to its consequences, Verna M. Keith and Diane R. Brown’s chapter, “Mental Health: An Intersectional Approach,” highlights gender and race differences in mental health. In general, women are more distressed and have higher rates of depression than men, while men are more prone to substance abuse. Yet, racial differences reveal that mental illness is lower among blacks than whites. Part II concludes with Chap. 11, “Multiple Masculinities,” where James W. Messerschmidt reviews the concept of hegemonic masculinity for understanding the way men come to understand their identity and position within gendered power structures that include ascendant and subjugated masculinities.

The next section of unit two focuses on *The Interactional Level of Analysis*. Four chapters in this section examine the way gender is reproduced in the processes that take place when people interact with one another. Chapter 12, “Framing Gender,” by Susan R. Fisk and Cecilia Ridgeway, discusses the social-psychological mechanisms that reproduce gender inequality. When people interact with one another, they instantaneously and subconsciously sex categorize each other, causing them to associate one

another with cultural sex stereotypes that frame women as nurturant and men as agentic. The next chapter in this section, “Interactional Accountability,” by Jocelyn A. Hollander, focuses on the way gender is actively performed when people interact with one another because each person holds the other (and themselves) accountable to performing in gender-appropriate ways. Failure to perform gender appropriately may lead to a negative reaction by the persons we interact with, or embarrassment by ourselves. But gender is not the only social process taking place during interaction. In Chap. 14, “Racializing Gendered Interactions,” Koji Chavez and Adia Harvey Wingfield review how both gender and racial inequality are reproduced through interactional processes. Stereotypes that frame white masculinity and femininity as normative create the basis for marginalizing other race groups, while at the same time maintaining inequality between women and men. In the last chapter of this section, “Gendered Interactions in School,” Kristen Myers examines how children learn about gender at school through both formal and informal lessons. Yet, when children interact with one another they do not simply conform to the gendered lessons they’ve received. Instead, they negotiate interactions in creative ways that sometimes reinforce and other times challenge existing gender norms.

The last section in this unit on *Theoretical Explorations of Levels of Analysis* focuses on the social processes taking place at the macro-dimension of society. These are the mechanisms operating “above the individual” that shape the opportunities, rewards, and constraints people navigate in their daily lives. In the first chapter of this section, “Gendered Ideologies,” Anna Chatillon, Maria Charles, and Karen Bradley examine the way widespread cultural beliefs about gender foster an environment conducive to inequality. Besides culture, material elements also operate at the macro level, and are focused on in Marie Laperrière and Ann Shola Orloff’s chapter, “Gender and Welfare States.” Laperrière and Orloff illustrate how state policies, ranging from parental leave to welfare programs like TANF, have broad consequences

on gender relations in various social domains such as the family and labor force. Also included in this section is a chapter titled “Gender and Education” where Anne McDaniel and Erica Phillips review the dramatic transformation we’ve seen over the past 50 years in women’s educational attainment as well as the persistence of gender segregation in field of study. The last chapter in this section focuses on the way organizational structures and contexts shape patterns of gender inequality. In “Gender Inequality and Workplace Organizations: Understanding Reproduction and Change,” Alexandra Kalev and Gal Deutsch discuss how some organizations are designed in ways that reproduce inequality, while others have taken steps to improve workplace equity through intentional programs and initiatives.

While the front half of the handbook provides an overview of several theoretical approaches to the study of gender, the second half focuses on empirical applications by reviewing gender inequality across a variety of social domains. Part V includes five chapters based on the theme *Sexualities and the Body*. In Chap. 20, “Surgically Shaping Sex: A Gender Structure Analysis of the Violation of Intersex People’s Human Rights,” Georgiann Davis and Maddie Jo Evans use gender structure theory to examine the way binary understandings of sex and gender negatively affect intersex people. The framing of a baby born with intersex traits as a medical emergency, the unnecessary surgery on these newborns to force their bodies into a strict binary sex category, and the disregard of intersex individuals’ bodily autonomy contribute to the marginalization of this group of people who do not fit neatly into sex/gender binaries. In Chap. 21, “The Sexuality of Gender,” Virginia E. Rutter and Braxton Jones review the interrelated ways that gender and sexuality are socially constructed at multiple levels of society. By illustrating the relationship between gender and sexuality, along with other systems of inequality, Rutter and Jones also start a discussion of how best to address complex and co-constructive systems of power. The next chapter in this section sheds light on how gender

and sexuality are reproduced in a certain social context. In “Gender and Sexuality in High School,” C. J. Pascoe and Andrea P. Herrera examine how school-sponsored practices and rituals reinforce normative meanings of gender and sexuality. Within this context, students’ interactions with one another further emphasize heteronormative masculinities and femininities that maintain gender inequality and the marginalization of non-hetero sexualities. One social interaction where gendered patterns are highly salient and intersect with race, class, and sexual orientation is in patterns of hooking up—a topic explored by Arielle Kuperberg and Rachel Allison in Chap. 23. Reviewing research on this topic, these scholars find that the sexual double standard continues to persist, where women are judged more harshly than men for hookups. In the last chapter of this section, Pepper Schwartz and Nicholas Velotta discuss women and men’s sexuality as they age beyond 50 years in their chapter, “Gender and Sexuality in Aging.” Not only do bodies change as they age, but Schwartz and Velotta also highlight the way personal attitudes and behaviors shift in the later years of life.

Part VI in the handbook includes six chapters covering a variety of topics related to *Families and Intimate Relationships*. In the first chapter of this section, “Gender Inequality in Families,” Michele Adams reviews the multiple theoretical approaches used to study gender inequality in families and offers a new perspective using gender structure theory to conceptualize the dynamic and multi-layered social processes that reproduce family inequality. Katie L. Acosta and Veronica B. Salcedo’s chapter, “Gender (Non) Conformity in Families,” focuses specifically on how families reinforce and respond to gender conforming or non-conforming masculinities and femininities. Incorporating a variety of previous research, they show how gender norms within families differ by social context and across race, class, and sexuality. Exploring gendered patterns in how household tasks are divided between women and men, Oriell Sullivan’s chapter, “The Gendered Division of Household Labor,” reviews trends in women’s and men’s domestic

contributions over the past several decades. Sullivan also analyzes the social factors contributing to gendered divisions of labor that take place across multiple levels of society to highlight the barriers to equitable divisions of household labor and outline recommendations for improving family equality. In Chap. 28, “Parenting and Gender,” Emily Kane explores the ways that gender is performed, reproduced, and sometimes challenged through parenting. She illustrates how the structure and cultural expectations for parenting create different patterns of behavior for mothers and fathers, as well as in the parenting of sons and daughters. Gender inequality in parenting thrives, however, in a policy environment that assumes husbands work and wives are caregivers—a topic covered in Jennifer Randles’s chapter, “Gender, Families, and Social Policy.” Reviewing literature on family inequality and social policy, Randles shows the many ways that public policies in the U.S., such as FMLA (Family and Medical Leave Act), assume that mothers have working spouses that can support them during weeks of unpaid leave. By highlighting the gendered logic in the design of these policies, Randles illustrates how they are rooted in traditional gender norms and contribute to ongoing inequality in the family. The last chapter in this section, “Gender and Emotion Management,” by Carissa Froyum, examines the way individuals perform emotions in gendered ways across a variety of contexts. Women are expected to be expressive with their emotions, while men are seen as either emotionless or aggressive. These emotional patterns manifest in the family as parents differ in how they care for children, as well as a variety of other contexts such as work and school. Although, Froyum also notes the many ways that emotional expectations for women and men differ across race groups.

After covering families and intimate relationships, there are six chapters in Part VII that examine *Gendered Contexts in Social Institutions*. In the first chapter of this section, “Contemporary Approaches to Gender and Religion,” Jennifer McMorris and Jennifer Glass highlight the paradox that there are more women than men

involved in religion, but a great deal of research has shown that religious institutions are patriarchal and reinforce notions of women’s subordination. The next chapter in this section examines how the institution of the criminal justice system shapes gender inequality. In “Gender, Race, and Crime: The Evolution of a Feminist Research Agenda,” Kenly Brown and Nikki Jones discuss the ways gender and race inequality are implicated in patterns of crime and victimization as well as how these systems of inequality operate within the institutions of criminal justice to make women (particularly women of color) susceptible to increased punishment and compel vulnerable groups to commit crime. Another institution of great cultural significance is examined by Cheryl Cooky in Chap. 33, “Sociology of Gender and Sport.” In this chapter, Cooky reviews existing sociological literature on gender and sport that highlights the way sport is often a site of male domination where masculine ideals of strength and aggression are rewarded and women’s presence marginalized. Yet, recent research on this topic has shown areas where sport is transforming, as women have made major inroads in some collegiate and professional sports. If sport is an institution associated with masculinity, Amy Armenia shows how care work is an institution associated with femininity in Chap. 34, “Caring as Work: Research and Theory.” Care work—the activities people do to support one another, is underpaid, undervalued, and often unnoticed. Care work is also performed mostly by women. Reviewing previous research on this topic, Armenia examines the development of theories around care work while also incorporating research on the role of care work in women’s lives and gender inequality more broadly. While care work remains undervalued, scientific and medical work continue to hold high esteem in our society. In Chap. 35, “Scientific and Medical Careers: Gender and Diversity,” Laura E. Hirschfield and Emilie Glass explore trends in women’s representation in science and medical fields, showing how women’s underrepresentation is linked to the “chilly” interactions they have with male colleagues, the isolation they experience as numerical minorities, and the

“leaky pipeline” where women exit science and math fields due to gender bias in evaluations and/or personal preferences. The final chapter in Part VII examines how gender shapes and is impacted by patterns of migration. In “Women on the Move: Stalled Gender Revolution in Migration,” Carolyn Choi, Maria Cecilia Hwang, and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas examine the gendered cultural and economic factors contributing to women’s migration and its impact on gender inequality in transnational households.

The last section in the volume focuses on the many ways gender inequality is being challenged. Part VIII, *Feminists Changing the Gender Structure*, includes four chapters examining gender change and progress. In Chap. 37, “Combating Gender Bias in Modern Workplaces,” Alison T. Wynn and Shelley J. Correll discuss the ways gender bias and stereotypes negatively affect women’s advancement at work. New research on gender inequality in the workplace offers valuable suggestions for programs that can reduce the negative impact of gender bias, but Wynn and Correll argue that gender scholars should direct more attention to uncovering effective strategies workplaces and organizations may use to promote equity within their ranks. The remaining three chapters in this section focus on the role of activism. In Chap. 38, “Gender and Human Rights,” Bandana Purkayastha highlights how feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial activism has shaped the current global discourse on human rights. Purkayastha draws from several fields of literature to illustrate the centrality of violence and anti-violence activism in gender and human rights. Jo Reger’s chapter, “Gender in Movements,” also focuses on activism, examining the way gender shapes individuals’ participation within social movements, the way movement organizations strategize and frame their goals, and the opportunities for social movement activism within the broader cultural environment. The volume concludes with Alison Dahl Crossley and Laura K. Nelson’s chapter, “Feminists Reshaping Gender,” that

focuses on the feminist movement in the U.S., highlighting the major ways American feminism has improved gender equality over the past century. Their chapter offers insight on the potential for future change that contemporary feminist movements may create.

Our organization of 40 chapters into three units was intended to guide readers who are interested in specific aspects of gender inequality. There is no need to read the handbook from cover to cover—each chapter may stand alone. Yet, those who do make it through all the pages will benefit from the comprehensive breadth of topics included in the volume, the depth provided in each individual chapter, and the contemporary theoretical and empirical applications woven throughout.

6 Moving Forward

By comparing this handbook to its first edition published in 1999, I’ve highlighted three key advances in gender research. First, a multi-dimensional understanding of gender has become the norm in sociology. It is very rare for researchers to privilege a single process or dimension of society to explain the existence of gender inequality. Instead, gender researchers today position their work within multi-dimensional gender structures. Second, sociologists have embraced intersectionality as a framework for understanding the interrelation of gender inequality with other systems of stratification. Scholars frequently consider how gendered processes work differently across race, class, and sexuality, in addition to examining the dynamic ways that gender and racial inequality co-construct one another. Third, gender scholarship has started to give greater attention to the experience of people who are transgender and gender non-conforming. Not only does this expand our understanding of gender inequality, but the experience of this group of people helps us to recognize how gender is not only socially-constructed, but also contingent on

social context as people draw upon competing notions of gender that are available in cultural discourse.

The authors in this handbook stand on the shoulders of giants. The theories, frameworks, and understandings of gender inequality found throughout these chapters have built upon the foundation laid in the rich history of feminist scholarship. The common thread throughout feminist research and literature has been an emphasis on examining, deconstructing, and challenging inequality. From Gilman (1898) to Rubin (1975) to the authors featured in his handbook, feminist scholars have spoken from a standpoint that is vested in understanding the determinants of gender inequality and improving the lives of women. Yet, feminist scholars are not immune from folly. Just as there are no pure victims or pure oppressors (Collins, 2000), feminist scholars have sometimes embodied the processes involved in the oppression of poor, non-white, or sexual minority women. By neglecting the experience of women of color, some early feminist writings were complicit in racial inequality. A feminism that is not sensitive to race will only uplift white women, while keeping racial hierarchy in place. One of intersectionality's greatest interventions was to reveal structures of racism in social science and to push scholars to build an understanding of gender equality that would apply to women of all races. Modern feminism and gender research has also developed from internal critiques offered by sexual minority women who shed light on the heteronormative assumptions implicit in previous work on gender (Butler, 1990; Ingraham, 1994). The influence of queer theory, the framework developed to challenge normative heterosexuality in feminism and gender research, is found throughout this handbook as feminist scholars have devoted significant attention to the experience of LGBT and genderqueer individuals. By observing the way people traverse, redefine, and/or reject categories of gender and sexuality, this growing body of research expands on queer theory's early critiques by focusing on the way socially constructed categories are restrictive, but also how they provide the context through which

people define their identities, enact behavior, and create social change.

Just as the chapters in this volume were shaped by the history of feminist research, our work has also been dramatically influenced by contemporary social events. The election of Donald Trump to the U.S. Presidency, which took place during the writing of this volume, reminded us that the processes involved in inequality remain tremendously strong. By drawing on white Americans' xenophobic, racist, and sexist sentiments, Trump garnered enough support to achieve an electoral (but not the popular-vote) victory. Worse yet, Trump won the election over Hilary Clinton, the first female presidential candidate of a major party and whose election was based on the feminist ideals of addressing race, gender, and class inequality. Despite Trump's election, however, 2016 did show promise for our future. First of all, more people voted for Clinton than Trump. Put another way, more American voters wanted to elect a feminist than a misogynist. Furthermore, Trump's electoral college victory stimulated feminist activism—uniting multiple interest groups under the shared goal of preserving human rights under the Trump administration. The day after Trump's inauguration, between 3 and 6 million people participated in “Women's Marches” in cities across the U.S. in a sign of opposition to the Trump's rhetoric and in support of women, racial minorities, and immigrants who were made extremely vulnerable after Trump's election.

We are in an era of contestation. There are signs of despair, with the election of Trump, the ongoing occurrence of police brutality, and the constant violence along our nation's borders and in conflict areas around the world. But there is also tremendous activism, with more people than ever before mobilizing in women's marches, protesting with the Black Lives Matter movement, fighting for livable wages, demanding family leave, and getting involved in the preservation of human rights. Things are moving quickly. Let us hope the sociological study of gender will play a role in informing the direction we are heading, just as it has influenced

(and been shaped) by where we came from. The chapters in this volume represent a comprehensive review of contemporary research and theory on gender. It is our hope that it will serve as a resource to those making efforts to promote gender equality in the years to come.

References

- Acosta, K. L., & Salcedo, V. B. (2018). Gender (Non)conformity in the family. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Agarwal, B. (2010). *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Banerjee, P., & Connell, R. (2018). Gender theory as southern theory. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Bem, S. L. (1993). *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
- Bielby, D. D. (1999). Gender and family relations. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 391–406). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Brown, K., & Jones, N. (2018). Gender, race, and crime: The evolution of a feminist research agenda. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Brubaker, R. (2016). *Trans: Gender and race in an age of unsettled identities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Budig, M. J., Misra, J., & Boeckmann, I. (2012). The motherhood penalty in cross-national perspective: The importance of work-family policies and cultural attitudes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 19, 163–193.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Castañeda, N. N., & Pfeffer, C. A. (2018). Gender identities. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Cech, E. A. (2013). The self-expressive edge of occupational sex segregation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119(3), 747–789.
- Chafetz, J. S. (1999). *Handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Chatillon, A. H., Charles, M., & Bradley, K. (2018). Gender ideologies. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender, second edition*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Chavez, K., & Wingfield, A. H. (2018). Racializing gendered interactions. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. 2010 *Sociological Theory*, 23(2), 129–149.
- Collins, P. H. (2000 [1990]). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Cooper, A. J. (1998 [1892]). *A voice from the south by a black woman of the south*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–167.
- Davis, S., & Blake, A. (2018). Does biology limit equality? In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Davis, G., & Evans, M. J. (2018). Surgically shaping sex: A gender structure analysis of the violation of intersex people's human rights. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Davis, S., & Risman, B. J. (2015). Feminists wrestle with testosterone: Hormones, socialization and cultural interactionism as predictors of women's gendered selves. *Social Science Research*, 49, 110–125.
- DuBois, W. E. B. (1995 [1899]). *The Philadelphia negro: A social study*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social role theory. *Handbook of theories in social psychology*, In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories in social psychology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 149–166.
- Fanon, F. (1967 [1952]). *Black skin white masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Fenstermaker, S., & Budeska, J. (2015). Doing gender. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*. London: Blackwell.
- Fisk, S. R., & Ridgeway, C. L. (2018). Framing Gender. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough

- (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Gansen, H., & Martin, K. (2018). Becoming gendered. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Gilman, C. P. (1998 [1898]). *Women and economics*. Mineola, NY: Dover.
- Glenn, E. N. (1999). The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race. In M. M. Ferree, J. Lorber, & B. B. Hess (Eds.), *Revisioning gender* (pp. 3–43). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Harding, S. (1998). *Is science multicultural? Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hollander, J. (2013). I demand more of people: Accountability, interaction, and gender change. *Gender & Society*, 27, 5–29.
- Hollander, J. (2018). Interactional accountability. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Ingraham, C. (1994). The heterosexual imaginary: Feminist sociology and theories of gender. *Sociological Theory*, 12(2), 203–219.
- Ito, T. A., & Urland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain: Electrocortical measures of attention to the race and gender of multiply categorizable individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(4), 616–626.
- Kane, E. (2018). Gender and parenting. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Kuperberg, A., & Allison, R. (2018). Gender and hooking up. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Laperrière, M., & Orloff, A. S. (2018). Gender and welfare states. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Lopata, H. Z. (1999). Gender and social roles. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 229–246). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lowe, L. (2015). *The intimacies of four continents*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Mandel, H. (2009). Configurations of gender inequality: The consequences of ideology and public policy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 60(4), 693–718.
- Mandel, H., & Semyonov, M. (2005). Family policies, wage structures, and gender gaps: Sources of earnings inequality in 20 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 70(6), 949–967.
- Martin, P. (2004). Gender as a social institution. *Social Forces*, 82, 1249–1273.
- McCall, L. (2001). *Complex inequality: Gender, class and race in the new economy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2018). Multiple masculinities. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminist without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Moore, Mignon. (2011). *Invisible families: Gay identities, relationships and motherhood among black women*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Morrell, R. (2001). *From boys to gentlemen: Settler masculinity in Colonial Natal 1880–1920*. Pretoria, RSA: University of South Africa.
- O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (1999). *States, markets, families: Gender, liberalism and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2015). *Servants of globalization: Migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Randles, J. (2018). Gender, families, and social policy. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Reskin, B. F., & Padavic, I. (1999). Sex, race, and ethnic inequality in United States workplaces. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 343–374). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Richie, B. (1996). *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered black women*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Richie, B. (2012). *Arrested justice: Black women, violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender & Society*, 27(3), 294–318.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1999). Gender and interaction. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 247–274). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18, 429–450.
- Risman, B. J. (2017a). 2016 Southern sociological society presidential address: Are millennials cracking the gender structure? *Social Currents*, 4(3), 208–227.

- Risman, B. J. (2017b). Raising the visibility of gender-nonconformists: A review of gender revolution: A journey with Katie Couric. *Contexts*. Retrieved March 10, 2017. (<https://contexts.org/blog/raising-the-visibility-of-gender-nonconformists/>).
- Risman, B. J. (2018). *Where the millennials will take us: A new generation transforms the gender structure*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, Z. F. (2018). Intersectionality and gender theory. In B. J. Risman, Carissa Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffic in women: Notes on the 'political economy' of sex. In R. Reiter (Ed.), *Toward an anthropology of women* (pp. 155–170). NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Rutter, V. E., & Jones, B. (2018). The sexuality of gender. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. New York, NY: Springer Press.
- Wade, L. (2013). The new science of sex difference. *Sociology Compass*, 7(4), 278–293.
- Wagner, D. G., & Berger, J. (1997). Gender and interpersonal task behavior: Status expectations accounts. *Social Perspectives*, 40(1), 1–32.
- Wells-Barnett, I. B. (1991 [1895]). The red record: Tabulated statistics and alleged causes of lynchings in the United States, 1892-1893-1894. In T. Harris (Ed.), *Selected works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), 125–151.

William J. Scarborough is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His research examines the cultural and economic determinants of labor force gender inequality across the United States.



Gender as a Social Structure

2

Barbara J. Risman

Abstract

In this chapter, I provide a history of gender theory in the social sciences. I highlight major themes for explaining apparent gender differences and inequality. While there are many different theories, my conceptual intervention illustrates how seemingly competing paradigms should be synthesized into a holistic integrative theoretical framework that I call gender structure theory. I argue that factors contributing to gender inequality include those at the individual, interactional, and macro level of human society. At each level of analysis, we must attend to material and cultural processes. Understanding gender as a social structure requires us to focus on dynamism in the system: a change at any given level of analysis may reverberate to others. While gender inequality is ubiquitous, change may originate at the individual, interactional or macro level of analysis, and via material or cultural processes. How change happens in the gender structure is an empirical question and one requiring more research in the future.

This handbook has been organized to reflect a way to think about gender that goes far beyond one's personal identity and views gender as a system of inequality embedded in all aspects of society. This is not a new conceptualization, but one that began to be widely adopted by sociologists toward the end of the 20th century. Social science has developed from understanding gender simply as feminine and masculine personality characteristics to analyzing how gender is something we perform in our daily lives, how gender stereotypes have consequences in the distribution of opportunities and rewards, and how gender is embedded in the cultural logic of our organizations and worldviews. In 1998, I first offered a synthetic theory that integrates individual, interactional and macro levels of analysis. Since then I've been revising it regularly to reflect new research and theorizing (Risman, 2004, 2017, 2018; Risman & Davis, 2013).¹ This chapter integrates much of my earlier work to describe *gender structure theory* as a framework for synthesizing previous research on gender as well as for understanding the way multiple processes involved in gender co-exist and interre-

B. J. Risman (✉)
University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, USA
e-mail: brisman@uic.edu

¹This article reflects arguments made in those articles and my book, but updated with examples from this Handbook.

late. Readers of this handbook will notice how the chapters have been organized according to the components in gender structure theory. Here, in this introductory theoretical chapter, I begin with a brief interdisciplinary overview of gender theory. This overview starts with evolving biological theories, then moves to psychological theories that conceptualize gender primarily as a personality trait of individuals. I then explain the trajectory of two distinct sociological theories: “doing gender” and structural theory; both of which challenged the psychological view of gender as primarily a personality trait of individuals. I then end this brief history of gender theory with a discussion of integrative and intersectional frameworks that emerged towards the end of the last century, including my own. The main body of this chapter is a presentation of gender *as a social structure*. Here, I focus on recent revisions to the theory (Risman, 2017, 2018) that differentiate between culture and material social processes taking place at each level of the gender structure. I use examples to explain such differentiation from the articles in the rest of this Handbook. By using gender structure theory to understand the multiple processes contributing to gender inequality, I avoid privileging any one perspective over another and highlight how diverse social mechanisms simultaneously contribute to the power and complexity of gender in society.

Despite a history of “theoretical warfare” between some gender scholars who pit their theories against one other, when we observe the long-term trajectory of gender theory we do indeed see a coherent narrative of increasingly sophisticated understandings of gender over time. In many ways, the research on gender is a case study that illustrates the scientific method. When empirical research did not support theoretical explanations, those explanations were revised, contextualized, and sometimes discarded. New theories emerged. I trace this journey and show how to use the theory of *gender as a social structure* to help understand gender at the individual, interactional and macro levels of analysis.

1 The Evolution of Theories for Sex and Gender

1.1 It’s All in the Body or Brain

In the first half of the 20th Century, medical doctors used science to explain masculinity and femininity as result of sex hormones (Lillie, 1939; Bell, 1916), replacing religious justifications with scientific ones for restricting women’s roles (see Bem, 1993 for a full history). As research progressed showing both male and female bodies had estrogen and testosterone in differential amounts (Evans, 1939; Frank, 1929; Karoly, Freud, & De Jongh, 1934; Laqueur, Dingemans, Hart & Jongh 1927; Parkes, 1938; Siebke, 1931; Zondek, 1934) and that the effects of hormones went far beyond sex-typed traits, it became clear that sex hormones did not directly cause sex differences. Instead, hormone levels during gestation in utero affected brains (Young, Goy & Phoenix, 1965; see also Phoenix et al. 1959) and such brain differentiation affected gendered behaviors (Phoenix et al. 1959).

There has been a recent resurgence in brain research that focuses on sex differences (Arnold & Gorski, 1984; Brizendine, 2006; Cahill, 2003; Collaer & Hines, 1995; Cooke, Hegstrom, Villeneuve, & Breedlove, 1998; Holterhus et al., 2009; Lippa, 2005). Despite this increased attention towards the study of sex differences in the brain, we still have no scientific consensus on the consequences of the few differences in brain anatomy between women and men (Diamond, 2009: 625). Brain sex theories (Hrabovszky & Hutson, 2002; Collaer & Hines, 1995) of the 21st century continue to maintain that brains are the intervening link between sex hormones and gendered behavior, arguing that prenatal androgen exposure is correlated with sex-typical behavior later in life. Meta-analyses find little evidence for the right brain/left brain thesis to explain sex difference (Pfannkuche, Bouma, & Groothuis, 2009).

Strong criticism is often directed towards brain research about gender (Epstein, 1996; Fine, 2011; Fausto-Sterling, 2000; Jordan-Young, 2010; Oudshoorn, 1994). Jordan-Young (2010) conducted an analysis of over three hundred brain sex studies and interviewed some of the scientists who conducted them. She concludes that brain organization research is so methodologically flawed that it does not pass the basic litmus tests for scientific research. Studies are based on inconsistent conceptualizations of “sex”, gender, and hormones and when conceptualizations of one study are applied to another, findings are usually not replicated. A major deficiency of research on sex differences in human brains is that they lack reliability as well as depend on inconsistent definitions and measurement of concepts. In addition, much of this research is based on animals who arguably have less cultural influence on their lives than do most people. Fine’s (2011) review of a wide range of studies and meta-analyses about sex differences in brain/hormone development indicates that close inspection shows little evidence for meaningful effects even when the author claims otherwise. For example, she reviews Brixzidine’s (2006) claim that female brains are capable of greater empathy. She finds that the research supporting it includes five references, one published in Russian, one based on autopsies, and the others without comparative sex data. Similarly, Fine argues that while brain-imaging data shows some sex differentiation in brain tasks, there is no indication that actual performance on such tasks differed. Much research suggests the magnitude of sex differences are specific to particular racial or ethnic groups, or differ across social classes. For example, we know that skills which are often claimed to be sex-differentiated, such as math, often differ quite dramatically across ethnicity and nationality. In a recent book, Fine (2017) shows that while testosterone definitely affects brains and bodies, it is not the driving force for competitive masculinity. But this does not mean that biology matters not at all, only that we do not know to what extent, or the mechanisms at play.

Wade (2013) reviews the most recent literature on sex differences and shows clearly that science in the 21st Century has moved far beyond a nature/nurture debate. Recent research has shown that environmental and social contexts affects our bodies just as our bodies affect human behavior. The new field of epigenetics suggests that a single gene can do many unpredictable things, and the effects of any genetic tendency depend upon triggers in the environment. While fetal hormones may have lasting effects on personality, we know that human activity changes the production of hormones as well. Testosterone increases with status. Men who compete in sports show increases in their testosterone, but not so much if they lose the game (Booth, Granger, Mazur, & Kivlighan, 1989; Booth, Shelley, Mazur, Tharp, & Kittock, 2006). Testosterone decreases when men are involved with young children (Muller et al., 2008). What we now know is that brain plasticity lasts far beyond the first year of life (Halpern, 2012). Wade (2013) argues that “the idea that some features of our biology are overwhelming immutable, difficult or impossible to change, is no longer a tenable position” (p. 287).

1.2 Psychologists Measure Sex Roles

Few social scientists were concerned with issues of sex and gender before the middle of the 20th century despite the attention brought to gender issues by the feminist suffrage movement which fought for women’s rights throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. Sociologists (e.g. Parsons & Bales, 1955; Zelditch, 1955) wrote about women as the “heart” of families with male “heads”. Psychologists (Bandura & Waters, 1963; Kohlberg, 1966) used socialization theory to explain how to train girls and boys for their socially appropriate roles as men and women, husbands and wives. No one seemed to notice that many poor families and families of color had employed mothers that did not fit the marital roles advanced in their theoretical models. Nor did these early sociologists and psychologists

realize that sex-role socialization disadvantaged women in the workplace. There simply was little concern for gender inequality in social science before the second wave of the feminist movement (Ferree & Hall, 1996a, b). But as women entered the academy, more attention was paid to women's lives, and eventually to gender inequality (England et al., 2007).² Research on gender inequality itself proceeds fast and furiously.

In the field of psychology, a new wave of gender researchers were challenging the presumption that masculinity and femininity (and, by implication, women and men) could be measured on unidimensional scales that presume masculinity and femininity were opposite poles. Instead, these researchers argued that femininity and masculinity were not opposites but could co-vary (Locksley & Colten, 1979; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Edwards & Ashworth, 1977). Bem offered (1993, 1981) a new way to think about gender that has become the gold standard in the social sciences. Masculinity and femininity are two different personality dimensions. A man or a woman could be high on masculinity (measured as feeling efficacious, strategic, logical) and also high on femininity (measured as nurturance, empathy, warmth). What made this revolutionary is that these personality traits were now divorced from the sex of the people that hold them. Women have femininity scores but so do men. Men have masculinity scores, but so do women. Recent psychological theory (Choi & Newman, 2008; Choi & Fuqua, 2003; Hoffman and Borders 2001) suggests that we should not use the words masculinity and femininity at all, but rather move to descriptions of the personality concepts themselves: efficacy/agency/leadership and nurturance/empathy.

The study of masculinity and femininity did not remain the province of psychologists

focusing on personality. Social psychologists who studied stereotypes got into the game as well (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Deaux & Major, 1987; Heilman & Eagly, 2008). They began to study the influence of stereotypes, both descriptive, portraying what "is", and prescriptive, what "should" be. Parents who hold prescriptive stereotypes about gender can influence children's development by teaching sons "what it means to be a man" and their daughters on "how to be an appropriate lady". Employers may use descriptive stereotypes to disadvantage women in traditionally male occupations by expecting that they do not have the personality characteristics or commitment to the labor force required for success (Ely & Padavic, 2007). Stereotypes have also been found to be quite detrimental to working mothers who may be seen as distracted or unreliable due to expectations around women's primary focus on childcare. The cumulative effects of these stereotypes play a major role in maintaining power differences between women and men (Fiske, 2001).

1.3 Gender as a Sociological Response to Sex-Roles

Psychologists weren't the only one's pushing back against the functionalist theories of gender that predominated in the mid-20th century. In the field of sociology, Lopata and Thorne (1978) published a path breaking and, by now, iconic article in which they argued that gender researchers were ignoring the problematic implications of using the word "role" as in "sex or gender role". The word itself implies a functionality between complementary male and female lives. The very rhetoric of "role" implies symbiotic relationships and ignores questions of power and privilege. Would we ever use the language of "race roles" to explain the inequality between whites and Blacks in American society? In addition, the language of "sex role" presumes a stability of behavior expected across places, time, and race/ethnic groups (see Connell, 1987; Ferree, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Risman, 1998, 2004). Why would we expect a female litigator

²While women entering the academy itself might not have led to more research on gender, many of the women who entered the academy were also involved in the women's liberation movement of that decade and brought their questions about women's subordination and gender inequality to their academic work. Social experiences often influence scientific ideas (Sprague 2016).

who is brash and aggressive in the courtroom to carry that behavior over with her to the nursery, or even to the bedroom?

Sociologists rarely talk about gender roles anymore. Kimmel (2008) summarizes a widely held contemporary position when he writes that “sex role theory overemphasizes the developmental decisiveness of early childhood as the moment that gender socialization happens” (2008: 106). Sociologists still study gendered selves, but not exclusively. It is not that the sociological concept of “social role” is a problem, just the presumption that there is one “gender role” in American society, or any society. Women are not expected to behave the same as mothers and wives, never mind as mothers and as litigators. That does not mean that there are no gendered expectations for litigators: indeed, if women lawyers behave as aggressively as their male peers, they are seen as unlikeable. Gendered expectations exist in every social role, but there is no universal “gender role” that applies to women or men per se, and certainly not to women and men of different race, ethnicities and classes.

While sociologists rarely still use the language of gender roles, we have long studied, and continue to study the social construction of gender—how gender is produced through the symbols, behaviors, interactions, contexts, and life lessons we experience each day (Lever, 1974; Stockard & Johnson, 1980; Weitzman, 1979). To study the social construction of gender is necessarily to pay attention to child-rearing. Sociologists have studied how babies assigned at birth to the male sex category are encouraged to engage in masculine behaviors, given boy-appropriate toys like race cars and footballs, encouraged to engage in rough play, and are punished for acting girlish. This is nearly as true today as in the heyday of functionalist analysis. Babies assigned to the female category are still encouraged to engage in feminine behaviors but are now less limited to girl-appropriate toys such as dolls and easy bake ovens (Lever, 1974; Weitzman, 1979; Stockard & Johnson, 1980; Martin, 1998; Kane, 2006, 2012). Martin (1998) has even shown how boys and girls are still taught to use their bodies

differently. Preschool teachers require young girls to take up little space when sitting, while boys are allowed to sprawl and stretch their limbs. Kane’s (2012) research on parenting shows that while many parents today are concerned with their children being free from gender stereotypes, there is a limit to how free most parents want their boys to be to enact femininity. The result of this endemic socialization is what creates the illusion that gender is naturally occurring. And so, the irony of strong socialization practices is that their end product appears to be the free choice of individuals for traditional gendered lives. Yet, the social pressure to conform to stereotypes, which is the socialization process itself, is a form of slow and subtle coercion and social reproduction of inequality. The implications of this sociological research, as somewhat different from the psychological research discussed above, is the concern with how gender is produced through interaction. Sociological emphasis focuses attention to how stereotypical beliefs about appropriate development are transmitted and also how children develop behaviors to avoid stigma. Children learn that they are held accountable for developing appropriate gendered behaviors. A similarity between this sociological research and psychological studies is the assumption that at least one key to changing gender inequality is to change the way we raise children.

1.4 Moving Beyond Individuals to Social Context

As sociologists began to study gender, we focused on social context and found very little theory that helped to understand gender beyond personality characteristics. During the late 1980s, a new wave a gender theory was developed by sociologists to fill this gap. In 1987, West and Zimmerman published their now classic article arguing that gender is something we do, not who we are. They argued that men and women are judged immoral if we fail to *perform* our gender as expected, and the violence we see against

transgender people certainly supports that argument. Other sociologists, those focused more on the study of inequality in social organizations such as business and families, developed a structural explanation to understand sex differences. In 1977, Kanter's book *Men and Women of the Corporation* offered a structural explanation for apparent sex differences in the workplace. Kanter's case study provided evidence that unequal opportunity available to men and women, the existence of elite male power, the sex segregation of work groups, and the tokenization of women in management was responsible for gender inequality at work, not the sex-typical personalities of women and men. These two research trajectories of "doing gender" and "structure" developed independently even while both began by differentiating themselves from the then widely accepted sex-role paradigm. Below I trace the development of each tradition. After discussing these two traditions, I move on to more contemporary research and theory.

Structuralist. Rejecting the focus on individual mobility then dominant in the sociological stratification literature, many sociologists during the 1980s began to emphasize structural explanations for inequality (Mayhew, 1980) rather than socialization. Kanter (1977) framed the contradiction between individual versus structural to suggest that the organization of the workplace, not the people employed, was the cause of gender inequality at work. In her ethnography of a major American insurance company, Kanter found that women and men of color were then overwhelmingly in positions with limited power and opportunity. When women and men of color were in leadership positions, they were usually tokens, and the imbalanced sex and race ratios in their workplaces meant they faced far greater scrutiny and negative evaluations. The evidence from Kanter's case study suggested that apparent sex differences in leadership style represented women's disadvantaged organizational roles, not their personalities. Kanter's pathbreaking work had much influence. In a massive meta-analysis of sex differences research, Epstein (1988) supported this purely social structural argument, suggesting that most of the differences between

men and women were the result of their social roles and societal expectations, and were really *Deceptive Distinctions*. If men and women were given the same opportunities and constraints, Epstein suggested that the differences between them would quickly vanish. In this argument, gender is more deception than reality. The core of this argument is gender-neutral. The same structural conditions create similar behavior among women and men, it is just that men and women are rarely allowed to fill the same social roles.

This new focus on structural explanations was soon applied to research on families. In my own early research, I used Kanter's theory to hypothesize that differences between mothering and fathering was based on the social role of the primary caretaker, and I hypothesized that the single dads would be just like the single moms. My findings (Risman, 1987) were far more complicated. The single dads did describe themselves as more feminine (e.g. nurturing and empathetic) than did the other fathers, showing that personality traits are malleable in changing circumstances. But despite men being primary caretakers, there remained statistically significant differences from single mothers' responses. While they exhibited more nurturant qualities than other men, these fathers did not become just like mothers. Other research on families also partially supported structural explanations. In a study based on life histories of baby-boomer American women, Gerson (1985) found that women's socialization and adolescent preferences did not predict their strategy for the *Hard Choices* on how to balance work and family commitments. The best explanations for whether women "chose" domestic or work-focused lives were marital stability and success in the labor force. A quantitative test of Gerson's argument found that structural variables were the strongest predictors of women's labor force activity. Nonetheless, attitudes formed before and during adolescence also had a weak but statistically significant effect on married baby boomer women's labor force participation (Risman, Atkinson, & Blackwelder, 1999). The structural conditions of everyday life proved more

important than feminine selves, but these structural aspects were not the only explanation of importance. Most quantitative research fails to support a hypothesis that structural factors alone explain gendered roles in marriage: women continue to do more family labor than their husbands even when both work as long hours and earn equivalent salaries (Davis & Greenstein, 2013; Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003; Bianchi et al. 2000). Sullivan (2006) and Kan, Sullivan, and Gershuny (2011) show both that men are doing ever more family labor as the decades progress, but gender still trumps the structural variables of time and economic dependency when it comes to predicting hours that husbands and wives spend on housework and care work.

Just as research testing structuralist hypotheses in families was not entirely supportive of the theory, so too research in organizations had mixed success. The gender-neutrality of structuralist theory suggests that whatever group is in the majority would be most powerful and the group in the minority would be disadvantaged. But when men are the minority group in a workplace, they are not marginalized, they remain advantaged (Zimmer, 1988). Research suggested that male nurses become hospital administrators. Male teachers quickly became principals. They ride glass escalators to the top (Williams 1992). Of course, not all men. More recent research finds that only white men ride this glass escalator to the top while men of color in female-dominated positions get left at the ground floor (Wingfield, 2009). Thus, both racial and gender statuses are embedded as disadvantage in organizations. Other research, suggests that male advantage extends to every kind of organization, whether women are tokens or not (Budig, 2002). The core of a structural argument is gender-neutral: the same structural conditions create behavior, regardless of whether men or women are filling the social roles. The implications of a purely structural theory are that if we move women into men's positions and men into women's positions, their behaviors will be identical and have similar consequences. We would expect male caretakers to "mother" just

like women and female politicians to lead and be followed just like male ones. But this we do not see. And while a structuralist theory of gender is politically seductive, because if accurate, lasting change could be socially engineered quickly by changing organizational roles, research did not supply the hoped-for evidence.

There is a fundamental flaw in the logic of purely structuralist arguments as applied to gender (Epstein, 1988; Kanter, 1977). Generic structural theories applied to gender presume that if women and men were to experience identical material conditions, empirically observable gender differences would disappear. This ignores not only internalized gender at the individual level but also both the interactional expectations that remain attached to women and men because of their gender category and the cultural logics and ideologies embedded in society-wide stereotypes. A structural perspective on gender is accurate only if we realize that gender itself is a structure deeply embedded in society, within individuals, in every normative expectation of others, and within institutions and cultural logic at the macro level. At the same historical moment that structuralist sociologists were bringing their insights to gender research, so too were symbolic interactionists and ethnomethodologists.

Doing Gender. The importance of social interaction had long been apparent to sociologists who worked in a more interactionist tradition. In 1987, West and Zimmerman published their path breaking article in which they argued that gender is something we do, not who we are. They argued that we are held accountable to "do" gender and labeled by others as immoral if we do not do so properly. They distinguished sex, sex category, and gender from one another in a way that illustrated the importance of how we perform gender to prove our sex category. An individual's *sex* is assigned according to socially defined biological distinctions, usually at birth. *Sex category*, on the other hand, is what we claim to others, and used as a proxy for sex. *Sex category* depends upon performing gender appropriately to be accepted as claimed and does not always coincide with one's biological sex. *Sex category* is established through what we display on our

body, including but not limited to body language, clothing, hairstyles, and appropriate behavior. That is, to claim a *sex category*, we *do gender*. This perspective drew attention to the ways in which behaviors are enforced, constrained, and policed during social interaction and is similar to Judith Butler's theory of performativity (Butler, 1990, 2004).

The "doing gender" framework has become perhaps the most common perspective in contemporary sociological research with an astounding 8500 citations (West & Zimmerman, 1987) over the last thirty years. Over time, however, the "doing gender" theory might be better titled the "doing genders" theory. Gender cannot be understood with one version of masculinity and femininity. There are many kinds of femininities from "intensive mothering" (Hays, 1998; Lareau, 2003) to "femme" lesbians (Levitt, Gerrish, & Hiestand, 2003), to African American girls walking a thin line between good and ghetto (Jones, 2009). The evidence has moved us beyond gender "role" to the many ways people do gender. Men "doing gender" has become its own field of study. Connell (1995), for example, highlighted how "hegemonic" masculinity organizes inequality between men. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the practice which embodies the culturally accepted "best" and most powerful version of masculinity. Men from marginalized groups, by class or race or sexuality, who did not have access to the powerful social position needed to "do" hegemonic masculinity are disadvantaged gender players, subordinated, if not as much as many women. Recently, Anderson (2012) has suggested that the homophobia in Western societies has diminished enough that a variety of masculinities now exist horizontally without necessarily one being ranked better than others, diminishing the ways that homosexuality stigmatizes men.

There has been some criticism of the vagueness as to what counts as evidence of "doing gender". Sometimes when researchers find unexpected behaviors, rather than question whether gender is being "undone", they simply claim to have discovered yet another variety of femininity and masculinity. This creates

conceptual confusion as we study a world that is indeed changing (Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2009). We must know what we are looking for when we are studying gendered behavior and then be willing and ready to admit when we do not find it. Why label new behaviors adopted by groups of boys or girls as alternative masculinities and femininities simply because the group itself is composed of biological males or females? If young women strategically adopt traditionally masculine behaviors to fit the moment, is this really doing gender, or is it destabilizing the activity, and decoupling gender itself from biological sex? As marital norms become more egalitarian, we need to be able to differentiate when husbands and wives are doing gender and when they are at least trying to undo it. We should not ignore the evidence of multiple masculinities and femininities that vary by class, ethnicity, race, and social location. Future research must pay careful attention to when we are documenting different kinds of gender or whether gender is less salient, even being undone. After all, if anything people with female identities do is called femininity and anything people with male identities do is masculinity, then "doing gender" becomes tautological.

Critiques of 20th Century gender scholarship as white feminism. From the very beginning of the second wave of feminism, women of color have been theorizing about gender as something beyond a personality characteristic, with a focus on how masculinity, femininity and gender relations vary across ethnic communities and national boundaries. For example, Collins (1990), Crenshaw (1989), King (1988) and Lorde (1984) conceptualized gender as *an axis of oppression intersecting with other axes of oppression including race, sexuality, nationality, ability, religion, etc.* Feminists of color are critical of gender research or theory that positions white western women as the "universal female subject" and race theories for situating men of color as the "universal racial subject". Nakano Glenn (1999) describes the situation as one where "[w]omen of color were left out of both narratives, rendered invisible both as racial and gendered subjects" (Nakano Glenn, 1999: 3).

Mohanty (2003) similarly critiqued feminist scholars for too often presuming that white western women represented all women, instead of integrating a global perspective into their theories.

Scholars have labeled the experience, and ultimately the theory, of being oppressed in multiple ways across multiple dimensions with a variety of titles: intersectionality, womanism, multiracial feminism. But all shared a goal of highlighting how the advantages or disadvantages of group membership, by gender, race, sexuality, class, nationality, and age, must be understood together and not cordoned off as if from distinct domains of life (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989; Harris, 1990; Mohanty, 2003; Nakano Glenn, 1999). In *Black Feminist Thought*, Collins (1990) builds on earlier intersectionality work (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Lorde, 1984) by arguing for the “matrix of domination” as a concept that seeks to understand “how... intersecting oppressions are actually organized” to oppress marginalized individuals (1990: 16). Hill Collins moves beyond *acknowledging* various axes of oppression by challenging us to understand *how* individuals situated in various locations throughout the matrix of domination are differently oppressed. This critique of theoretically isolationist gender theory has a long history originating from the first wave of feminism. In recent history, however, intersectional perspectives have moved from the margin to the center of feminist scholarship. No longer can research be entirely about “sex differences” as if difference were unrelated to other axes of inequality; and no longer can we think about gender inequality as if it operates in isolation from race, ethnicity, sexuality, and nation-state.

1.5 And into the 21st Century

A historical overview must end when we reach the current moment. I now review three distinct perspectives which have been added to the mix to help us better understand gender sociologically. First, social psychologists have applied status expectations research and psychological research

on cognitive bias to the sociological study of gender (Ridgeway, 2001; Ridgeway & Correll, 2000). While this focus is also on social interaction, as is the “doing gender” perspective, the research is often experimental and focuses on how ascribed social status shapes expectations. Second, as sociology took a cultural turn at the end of the 20th Century, we have also seen a renewed focus on the macro cultural logics that underpin gender inequality (Blair-Loy, 2005; Hays, 1998; Swidler, 1986). And finally, as sexuality studies flourished, scholars have brought queer theory (e.g. Butler, 1990) to sociology, and investigated the complicated ties between sexuality and gender (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014; Pascoe, 2007).

Status Expectations Framing Gender. Gender frames what we see, the way we subconsciously categorize people and react to them based on the stereotypes attached to the category (Fiske, 1998; Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Ridgeway, 2011). In this perspective, the effects of gender can be as subtle as a background identity used to shape interactional expectations of one another. Gender framing shapes our own behavior, as well as the stereotypes to which we are held accountable (Ridgeway, 2006). For example, because we take the gendered stereotype that men are good at leadership and women at empathy with us into new situations, such expectations can create gendered behavior even in novel settings which might otherwise allow more freedom from gender. In this way, gender stereotypes then become an engine that reproduces inequality. To move toward gender equality, we must change the expectations that are attached to the status of male and female. Or perhaps, with more difficulty, erase the statuses of male and female entirely.

Cultural Logics. Acker (1990, 1992) transformed gender theorizing when she applied the cultural logic of gender to workplaces instead of to the individuals within them. Instead of viewing organizational structures as gender-neutral, she illustrated how gender is deeply embedded in organizational design—the very definition of jobs and organizational hierarchies are constructed to advantage those with no caretaking

responsibilities (historically men). While creating opportunity for women to enter the workplace may increase their overall numbers within an organization, Acker argues it will not confront the underlying organizational design that blocks women's success. Recently Slaughter (2015) has made a similar argument. Women cannot "have it all" according to Slaughter because "all" requires you to be a person who doesn't care for anyone at all, not even much self-care. Workplaces that require 24/7 commitment presume that workers have wives, or do not need them. In other words, patriarchy is built into the cultural logics of our institutions.

Swidler's (1986) re-conceptualization of culture as a "tool kit" of habits and skills from which people can construct "strategies of action", rather than internalized stable personalities, has had a terrific influence on the study of gender. For example, Blair-Loy (2005) finds that even very highly paid executives are sometimes pushed out of the labor force by the conflict they perceive between competing devotions to work and intensive mothering. These cultural logics are not imposed upon women as mothers but are adopted by women themselves and become their own cultural beliefs about good mothering. Pfau-Effinger (1998) finds that cultural beliefs can best explain the empirical differences by which women in different European countries balance work and motherhood. While the new attention to cultural beliefs has been debated, with Rojek and Turner (2000) describing the cultural turn in sociology as a distraction from the study of inequality, the attention to the meanings and tool kits available to do gender, and to undo it, are important to understand the context in which people make choices. Gender theory has been profoundly influenced by a cultural turn in sociology, by an intersectionality framework, and most recently, by queer theory.

Queering gender theory. Queer theory fundamentally challenges the binary presumptions of gender theory's concern for male privilege. Here sexuality is re-positioned from margin to center in the very conceptualization of gender. Butler (1990) argues that the "heterosexual matrix" and heteronormativity is inextricably intertwined with

gender inequality. Heteronormativity presumes there are and can only be two genders and they "ought" to be opposite and attracted to one another. Crawley, Foley, and Shehan (2007) show how bodies are gendered by the social processes involved in turning biological sex into gender conformity with presumptions that normally require opposite genders to desire each other. Schilt and Westbrook (2009) go further to shape our understanding of heteronormativity by examining what happens when trans people disrupt the presumed consistency between sex, gender and sexuality. In contemporary American society transgender people who pass as their new gender by displaying "cultural genitalia" that "passes" (such as styles of dress and grooming that signal alignment with a certain sex category) are accepted in their workplaces because in the public sphere, "doing gender" is how one signifies "sex". In fact, transgender men may sometimes receive the dividends of masculine privilege in their workplaces after they transition (Schilt, 2011). But when transgender people are met in more sexual or even just in a private setting, such as a bathroom, violence and harassment often ensues. In fact, transwomen are often killed in intimate encounters. Schilt and Westbrook (2009) argue that these differential reactions to transgender people show how gender and (hetero)sexuality are interrelated. They argue that gender inequality relies on the presumption of two and only two opposite sexes, identified by biology alone.

Westbrook and Schilt (2014) suggest that there are two processes involved in the construction of gender, both "doing gender" and "determining gender". They argue that determining gender is done both in interaction and also by social policy and legislation (in my theoretical terms, at the macro level of social organization). In contemporary society, identity claims to gender are usually accepted in public spaces. But when claims are made to a gender that is not consistent with biological sex ascribed at birth within a private space, "public panics" often ensue and biological criterion invoked. The "bathroom bills" where transgender people are required to use the restroom of their birth

certificate are examples of the panic that follows determining gender in private spaces. Westbrook and Schilt's theoretical argument is that such panics exist to publicly re-affirm a binary, to publicly promote the belief that biological sex differences are the primary distinction between women and men, and that such distinction legitimates the rhetoric of protecting women that actually promotes their subordination.

Queer theory destabilizes the assumed naturalness of gender and sexual categories (Seidman, 1996; Warner, 1993) and brings a frame to gender studies that focuses on how social practices produce the categories we take for granted, male and female, woman and man, gay and straight. As Pascoe (2007) writes "queer theory emphasizes multiple identities and multiplicity in general. Instead of creating knowledge about categories of sexual identity, queer theorists look to see how those categories themselves are created, sustained and undone" (2007: 11). This new sensitivity to the construction of categories brings us to the implicit possibility of de-constructing them. And this possibility of moving beyond the categories, beyond gender itself is the core of my utopian call to move beyond gender (Risman, 2018) in a search for social justice. While each of the perspectives discussed above is important, integrating them to understand the complex reality of gender is an important task.

1.6 Integrative Theories

Toward the end of the last Century, Browne and England (1997) made a plea to stop thinking about these theories as either/or. They argued convincingly that every theory presumes some process by which oppression is internalized and becomes part of the self. And every theory about the self requires an understanding of social organization. Theories about gender are not "either/or", but have to be, to use a phrase coined by Collins (1998), "both/and". The integrative theories discussed below are all, to some degree, multi-disciplinary, and while focusing on gender as a system of stratification, include a concern with how oppression becomes internalized and

part of the self. In recent writing, England (2016) returns to this theme, reminding us that inequality is socially structured to get inside of us. To study the effects of internalized oppression on individuals is not to deny the social structure, or to "blame the victim" but to acknowledge the power of the social structure to influence our very consciousness.

A conceptualization of gender as a stratification system that exists beyond individual characteristics (e.g., Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004; Risman, 1998, 2004) and varies along other axes of inequality (e.g., Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989; Ingraham, 1994; Mohanty, 2003; Nakano Glenn, 1992, 1999) has become the new consensus in the discipline of sociology. The labeling of gender as a stratification system makes explicit that gender is not just about difference, but about the distribution of power, property, and prestige. Gender is not merely a personality trait, but a social system that restricts and encourages patterned behavior and involves inequality. I briefly review several of these multidimensional gender frameworks (e.g., Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004; Risman, 2004; Rubin, 1975) below before moving to focusing on my own argument about *gender as a social structure*, the framework used to organize this Handbook.

The historical roots of understanding gender as a stratification system are deep. Rubin (1975) argued that sexual inequality was a kind of political economic oppression, what she termed the sex/gender system. Connell (1987) pushed the idea further in her book on *Gender and Power* with the argument that we must "think of gender as being also a property of collectivities, institutions and historical processes" (1987: 13). Connell proposed that each society has a gender order, composed of gender regimes, with gender relations being distinct within each social institution. Thus, a gender regime within workplaces might be more or less sexist than a gender regime within heterosexual families. A very useful and important idea emerged from this work: gender regimes within the same society might be complementary, but not always, and inconsistency between them can be the site where "crisis" tendencies emerge, and social change more likely.

Lorber (1994) further developed an integrative argument using the language of social institution. She provides an overview of the research on inequality between men and women in every aspect of life from domestic work, to family life, religion, culture and the workplace. Lorber concluded that gender, as a historically established institution, has created and perpetuated differences between men and women in order to justify inequality. Although Lorber (1994, 2005) presents gender as a social institution, she believes it can be overcome. I build on her work, as Lorber challenges us to eliminate gender inequality by doing away with it (Lorber, 1994: 294). Gender equality can only occur when all individuals are guaranteed equal access to valued resources and, according to Lorber, when society is “de-gendered”.

One of the major benefits of multi-level integrative theories is that they move us beyond a warfare theory of science. Rather than employ a 20th Century scientific model where theories are necessarily tested against one another, with winners and losers, we need look for complicated answers to complex questions, with multiple causes. We must also realize that since as social scientists we are studying processes, the very analyses we make may influence the world we study. Indeed, as feminist social scientists we hope so.

Thus far, I have reviewed the development of theories that seek to explain gender inequality. The framework I present from here forward is as much an assembly of parts as a new formulation. This review thus far has been so detailed because I now depend upon it to integrate past research and theorizing into one model. I stand on the shoulders of a generation of feminist scholars as I offer an integrative way to both understand gender and organize social scientific research.

2 Gender as a Social Structure

As I have written elsewhere, I suggest we conceptualize gender as a stratification system that has implications at the individual, interactional, and macro levels of analysis (Risman, 1998,

2004, 2017, 2018; Risman & Davis, 2013). The rhetoric of “structure” rather than system or institution or regime is most effective to situate gender as central to a society’s core organization, equally as central to social life as the economic structure and the political structure. All definitions of structure share the presumption that social structures exist outside individual desires or motives and that social structures at least partially explain human action (Smelser, 1988). Structures constrain human action, but also allow for choices to follow or reject inherited structures (Giddens, 1984). Women and men are often coerced into differential social roles, but sometimes choose gendered paths within socially structured imagined possibilities. Other times human beings reject the gendered constraints their society has offered them. Structure organizes the possibility of choices but cannot guarantee what actions occur.

I build on Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory with its emphasis on the recursive relationship between social structure and individuals. In his view, social structures shape individuals, but simultaneously, individuals shape the social structure. Giddens embraces the transformative power of human action. Structural theory must be concerned with reflexivity and actors’ interpretations of their own lives. Social structures not only act on people; people act on social structures. Indeed, social structures are created not by mysterious forces but by human action. When people act on structure, they do so for their own reasons. We must, therefore, be concerned with how the gender structure constrains human beings while also paying attention to people’s agentic choices. For those choices re-shape gender structures over time.

Connell (1987) previously applied Giddens’ (1984) concern with social structure as both constraint and created by action in her treatise on gender and power (see particularly Chap. 5). Connell (1995) writes that structure constrains action, yet since people are both reflexive and inventive, practice can be turned against what constrains it and social structures can be deliberately transformed. While action may change structure, none of us can escape the structure into

which we are born. I focus both on how structure shapes individual choice and social interaction but also how individuals and groups of individuals (e.g. social movements) can and do modify gender structures over time.

While I have been writing about *gender as a social structure* for nearly two decades, the recent cultural trend in sociology (Hays, 1998; Schippers, 2007; Swidler, 1986) provides insight to improve my earlier argument (2017, 2018). The resurgence of cultural sociology has focused more attention on meaning. Swidler’s (1986) argument that we conceptualize culture as a tool kit offers an important means of understanding culture as one component of structure. We have toolboxes of cultural knowledge at our fingertips, to help make sense of, and react to, the world around us. Such knowledge is sometimes so deeply habituated that it becomes an internalized as aspects of the self, but sometimes also exists as a toolbox of cultural options that we consciously and intentionally use for our own ends. Hays (1994) also suggests “a conception of structure as more than a pattern of material, objective, and eternal constraints engendering human passivity; for a conception of agency as more than action that is un-structured, individual, subjective, random and implying absolute

freedom; and for a conception of culture as a part of social structure (p. 58)”. As Hays notes, agency depends on structure, including the cultural meanings that are at the core of the social structure. Just as we must constantly acknowledge that structure is a social construction, it is also the case that social structure produces certain kinds of people. Social structure is both enabling and constraining (Giddens, 1984; Hays, 1998).

In this chapter, I further clarify the how culture operates at the individual, interactional and macro level of the gender structure. In doing so, I also differentiate cultural with material aspects of each level of the gender structure. To preview my argument, I differentiate them here simply by referring to culture as ideological processes, meanings given to bodies and the norms for social interaction and widely shared ideologies, while material conditions include our bodies and the legal rules that distribute physical rewards and constraints in any given historical moment. Only when we pay attention to both culture and material reality can we begin to identify under what conditions and how bodily difference become inequality embedded within a gender structure. See Fig. 1. The following graphic representation summarizes the model.

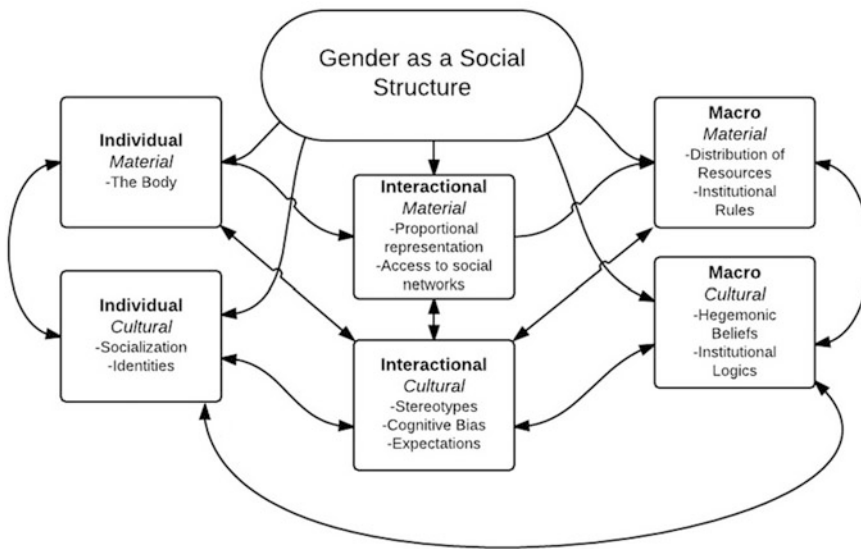


Fig. 1 Gender as a social structure (Risman, 2017, 2018)

In order to understand how gender stratification is produced and reproduced, and sometimes challenged, from generation to generation, we need understand the breadth and depth of the power of *gender as a social structure*. Thus, we should not to ask *whether* gender is best conceptualized as an individual trait, on the interactional level or as embedded in organizational rules and cultural beliefs. But rather, we need to build a full picture of the complexity of gender as a structure. We need to use empirical research to study the alternative strength of individual selves versus cultural expectations versus organizational design, as explanations for particular questions, or moments in time, or particular dependent variables. We learn more by approaching every empirical question with complexity, a concern for each level of analysis—the individual, the interactional, the macro, and the relationships between them. We must be concerned with the recursive relationship between cultural and material processes at each level, and across levels of the gender structure. As Hay's (1994) argues, we need to understand that structure not only limits us, but also helps us create a sense of self, gives us tools for action, and therefore makes agency—and social change that might result from it—possible.

Every society has a *gender structure*, a means by which bodies are assigned a sex category from which gender as inequality is built. A gender structure has implications for individuals themselves, their identities, personalities, and therefore the choices they make. The individual level of analysis has long been of interest to social scientists, and often presumed to be at least partly the explanation for gender patterns and inequality. But the power of the gender structure goes far beyond the shaping of selves. Every time we encounter another human being, or even imagine such an encounter, the expectations that are attached to our sex category become salient to us and whether we meet such expectations or not, we are held accountable by ourselves and others. This is the power of the interactional level of analysis. The gender structure also extends beyond individuals' identities and our expectations for interaction. The legal system, religious

doctrines, and the organizations where we work are also deeply gendered, with beliefs about male privilege and agency, and female nurturance built into the rules and the cultural logics that accompany regulation. Below I consider each of these levels of analysis separately, although they are all clearly intertwined. The model is revised from earlier formulations by differentiating material and cultural aspects at each level of analysis. Also revised here and in my more recent work (2017, 2018) is that I now refer to the macro level of analysis as just that, rather than institutional to clarify that I am including both institutional/organizational policy regulations and the cultural logics and beliefs that justify them.

Individual Level of Analysis. Psychologists have long studied the means by which boys and girls come to have a preference to do gender and the measurable reality of sex difference (see review by Bem, 1993). There has also long been an interest in the effect of hormones on behavior as well as how identities are constructed through early childhood development by both socialization and modeling (see Cooke, Hegstrom, Villeneuve, & Breedlove, 1998 review article). The experience of the body is a *material* reality on the individual level. Boys and girls, men and women, transmen and transwomen and those who reject binary identities altogether are real flesh and blood material objects—bodies—which they must interpret and display. Some part of how we do this may be influenced by genetics and hormones; although this is always complicated to study because social roles and experiences influence hormones level as well as vice versa (Freese, Li, & Wade, 2003; Perrin & Lee, 2007; Rosenblitt, Hosanna, Johnson, & Quadagno, 2001). But anyone who pretends that bodies do not matter is ignoring decades of research and everyone's personal experience. In this Gender Handbook, Davis and Blake (2018) review the recent research literature on genetic and hormones as predictors of sex differences and suggest that there is strong evidence in the field of epigenetics of interplay between genes and environment with the causality identified in both directions. Genes may be active or

deactivated by social and physical environments; genetic changes in biological inheritance may be as immediate as within one or two generations. Davis and Blake provide an extended case study of research (Davis & Risman, 2015; Udry, 2000) that tests the power of hormones (measured by prenatal maternal and adult hormones), parental socialization, and adult situational expectations to shape adult women's self-reported personality traits. The research was based on longitudinal data that included fetal hormone levels, adolescent surveys, adult surveys, and measurement of adult hormones. While the findings were complicated, results suggested that social outcomes such as career choices and self-reported personality traits are constructed through complicated interconnections of biology, socialization, and responses to current circumstances across the life course (Davis & Risman, 2015). Childhood socialization was unequivocally the most important predictor of adult women's reported personality traits. Hormones circulating in utero are statistically correlated with adult women's reported masculine personality traits more than their reported feminine ones, but with weak associations. Adult role expectations influenced reported feminine traits but not masculine ones. Overall, hormones do have some statistically significant effect on personality traits, but that effect was far smaller than the effects of gender socialization for the development of gendered selves.

Bourdieu's (1988) practice theory, particularly the concept of habitus, is also very useful in conceptualizing how the body itself is socially constructed, how sex differences are created in real material ways at the individual level of the gender structure. Young children learn to walk like a girl, and throw like a boy. The gender structure becomes embedded in children's bodies (or not, as when they reject their ascribed gender). The habitus generates the possibility of what actions can be imagined. While some people clearly do reject childhood training, they cannot do it outside the boundaries of their habitus, beyond their imagination. Neither genes nor socialization, nor the effects of our habitus is determinative, however. With ever more

sophisticated medical intervention possible, people can now choose to alter the materiality of their lives, and use technology to embody their identity. Whatever material circumstances of individual lives, whether bodies are born or made, or some of both, the gender structure has defined the possibilities, enabled options, and created constraints. The body is malleable but clearly material reality remains important in gender identities that are shaped from cultural knowledge.

The *cultural* aspect of the gender structure shapes the very notion of the self. To the extent that women and men choose to do gender-typical behavior across social roles and over the life cycle, we must focus on how culture is internalized into gendered selves. Much attention has been paid to gender socialization and the individualist presumptions for gender by psychologists. In their chapter in this Handbook, Gansen and Martin (2018) review the sociological literature showing the impact of gender socialization in the foundational early years of development from infancy through elementary school. They show clearly how the interactional and macro levels of analysis impact the development of gendered selves. Parents gender their children before birth (think about "reveal parties") and continue to do so throughout childhood. But even beyond parents, children receive gendered messages from peers, schools and the media. We need continued attention to the construction of the self, both the means by which socialization leads to internalized predispositions, and how—once selves are adopted—people use identity work to maintain behaviors that bolster their positive sense of selves (Schwalbe et al., 2000). How or how much the gender structure becomes internalized into the self is an important empirical question. Understanding how cultural ideologies help define the possibilities for individuals' identities and sense of self allows us to grasp the complexity of the gender structure to shape nearly every aspect of our lives.

Important empirical questions remain as to the stability of gendered selves over time. Men and women who have developed strong gendered identities may choose to fashion traditional

sex-specific lives. Of course, such individuals will usually find strong support in social expectations. Men and women may choose to reject those labels, and change their bodies, but they too, must fashion new selves within the imagined possibilities, the ideational reality, of the gender structure that exists around them. No one is born knowing that lipstick and heels are marks of femininity. In fact, heels were developed for elite men, and face paints have hardly been restricted to women's bodies over time, and across culture. And yet today, heels and lipstick are often part of a transformation to femininity, as girls are taught to be a woman or transwomen transition to a recognizably female presentation of self. While femininity may be socially constructed, the desire to adopt gendered selves, or to reject them, is real. The important lesson from the accumulation of research over the 20th century is that while the social structure is powerful at informing individual identities and choices, neither our bodies nor gender socialization can entirely explain gender stratification.

We cannot leave a discussion of the individual level of analysis, without more attention to both the role of free choice, or agency. While individuals make choices, they are not purely free choices. If agency were to be simply defined as free will, the constraining role of social context, norms, and power would be ignored. Individuals are profoundly shaped by the gender structure into which they are born. And yet if human agency did not exist at all, social change would never happen (Ahearn, 2001). Gender structures are in continual flux, as are all social structures, and individuals alone, or in collectivities, do react to and change them. Agency must be conceptualized as broad enough to incorporate both resistance to and reproduction of social life. People try to make the best choices they can, within the constraints they face. While Foucault's (1978) attention to pervasive oppressive power is important for feminist thought, I find it more useful to focus on practice theory such as Giddens's (1984) to explain the ever-changing social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). We need to be concerned not only with the meanings that people make but with

how and when behavior is shaped by structure and when human choices re-shape the gender structure itself.

Interactional Level of Analysis. The interactional level also involves *material* conditions although perhaps cultural stereotypes are more important at this level of analysis. Still, the relative proportions of others in one's sex category in any setting is a material reality that changes the dynamics of interaction, with tokens facing unique challenges, and individuals who shatter homogeneous settings facing negative consequences (Gherhardi & Poggio, 2007; Kanter, 1977). The patterned inequality in access to positions of power and the resistance to integration into social networks creates objective disadvantage for women, gender non-conformists and people of color. In this Handbook, Wynn and Correll (2018) highlight the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions. Women only hold 15% of executive positions, 17% of board seats and are only 4.5% of fortune 500 CEO's. Beyond that, men and women continue to be segregated into different types of jobs, with higher status and paying jobs being male dominated, particularly in the science, technology, and engineering fields. Also in this Handbook, Davis and Evans (2018) reminds us that although our laws and institutions presume there are two and only two sexes, that intersex people do not necessarily fit into that category and so are systematically discriminated against. This is true for those who declare themselves between the binary, or genderqueer, as well. The material disadvantage of being in the minority clearly extends to those whose gender status is atypical, for example, anyone gender non-conforming to the sex assigned at birth. Individuals who do not "do gender" as expected, or don't "do gender" in accordance with their ascribed sex, disrupt interaction by violating taken-for-granted assumptions. Such disruption leads to patterned inequality in access to resources, power and privilege. But the reaction to non-conformists depends on the cultural knowledge of what is considered appropriate for each sex at any given moment in history, and it is to that cultural component of the interactional level that we now turn.

The cultural component of the social structure—gender as ideological beliefs—frames the expectations each of us bring to every social encounter. Actors often behave without thinking about it, simply following habits that come to define the cultural meaning of their lives. The taken-for-granted and often unacknowledged conditions of action shape behavior, but do so as human beings reflexively monitor the intended and unintended consequences of their actions, sometimes reifying the structure, and sometimes changing it. Interactional expectations that guide every moment of life are gendered; the *cultural* stereotypes that each of us face in every social encounter are different based on our presumed sex category. The processes most involved at the interactional level of the gender structure are cultural, involving the meanings around gender which shape the expectations of others that we meet in our daily lives. The expectations to “do gender” and the status expectations we face are squarely at the interactional level. In this Handbook, several articles focus on the importance of the gender stereotypes as a cultural mechanism involved in gender inequality. Fiske and Ridgeway (2018) show just how powerfully the processes by which status expectations that are attached to gender (and race) categories become cross-situational. In a sexist and racist society, women and all persons of color are expected to contribute less to task performances than are white men, unless they have some externally validated source of prestige or authority. Women are expected to be more empathetic and nurturing, men to be more efficacious and agentic. Wynn and Shelley (2018) also show that cognitive stereotypes held by the powerful players in organizations create disadvantages for women.

Also in this Handbook, Chavez and Wingfield (2018) show that the gender frame perspective needs to be transformed to an approach that attends to racialized gendered interactions. They offer the theory of stereotype proto-typicality (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013) that suggests racialized gender status expectations are engines that re-create inequality across both race and gender even in novel situations where there is no other reason to expect male or white privilege to

emerge. By examining the role of both gender and race in interpersonal status expectations, Chavez and Wingfield show that gendered expectations are more complicated than race or gender theory can explain. Gender and racial status expectations create a cognitive bias toward privileging white men with agency and expecting women to nurture (Ridgeway, 2011; Fiske and Ridgeway, 2018). Such cognitive bias helps to explain the reproduction of gender inequality in everyday life. In this Gender Handbook, Hollander (2018) argues that the concept of interactional accountability involves an orientation to cultural expectations, assessment of behavior, and enforcement of consequences for conforming (or not) to sex category. Resistance to gendered expectations is always possible, although often accompanied by substantial costs. Resistance is one way, of course, to change the gender structure.

Macro Level of Analysis. The gender structure also organizes social institutions. In many societies, the *material* reality is a legal system that presumes women and men have distinct rights and responsibilities, and those who exist outside a gender binary have few rights, even to exist legally. In societies whose legal systems are based in traditional religious doctrine, male privilege and sex-based rights are built into the very fabric of social control. Even in Western democratic societies, however, some nations still allow for different retirement ages for women and men, thus building gender into legislative bureaucracy. In the United States, most laws are gender-neutral, but private insurance companies have historically been allowed to charge male and female customers different prices. In her article in this Handbook, Randles (2018) shows how U.S. family policies reinforce the gender structure for those living in poverty through legislation that still implicitly presumes that families have male breadwinners and female homemakers, even while the laws themselves appear to be gender neutral. The welfare laws reflect racialized gendered stereotypes of lazy single mothers and deadbeat dads, and while they require mothers to be employed, they do not provide the assistance to make single parenthood

and employment compatible. While policy actively shapes the realities of life for poor families, it also limits the possibilities for those who live outside the gender binary. Nearly all countries have myriad laws that discriminate against people whose gender does not coincide with the sex they were labeled at birth. In all societies, the material resource allocation and organizational power still rest, predominantly, in the hands of elite men. The legal system, the policies enshrined in regulations, are justified by cultural beliefs and to those we now turn.

Gender is symbolically embedded in cultural knowledge (Swidler, 2001). Gendered cultural logics exist as ideational processes in both the public and private spheres. Chatillon, Charles, and Bradley (2018), in this Handbook, present several alternatives for how sociologists measure gender ideology and conclude that gender ideology is not a unidimensional concept. Even at this macro cultural level, there are complexities: different aspects of gender ideology can change independently of one another and do not necessarily exert common causal effects. For example, attitudes towards gender equality in the home can vary differently from attitudes towards equality in the labor force (Sin, 2017). Chatillon et al. (2018) review the literature that suggests that ideologies about gender shape society at the individual level of behavior and choices, at the interactional level of expectations, and can also support the production and legitimation of institutional inequality.

We must study changing beliefs to accurately analyze historical changes in gender politics and policy (Beland, 2005), including about gender. While there has been debate among feminists who study welfare and gender regimes over whether ideology has independent power in determining social policy (Beland, 2009; Adams & Padamsee, 2001; Brush, 2002), ideational processes are an important part of the macro level of the *gender structure*. Recent empirical research shows powerful cultural meanings attached to gender matter for both how families and the economy operate. Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann (2012) find that the effects of motherhood on women's earnings vary

cross-culturally depending on gender ideology. If cultural support exists for mothers' labor force participation, then parental leaves and public child care facilities increase women's earnings. But if cultural support exists instead for families headed by male breadwinners with female homemakers, then parental leave and public child care has no effect, or even detrimental effects, on women's income. Similarly, Pfau-Effinger (1998) compares employment patterns of women in West Germany, Finland, and the Netherlands. She provides convincing evidence that welfare state policy (including child care availability) alone cannot explain cross-national differences in family structure and women's paid labor. Such policies must be combined with predominant gendered ideology and nationally specific historical cultural values in order to understand the unique historical trajectory of women's paid employment. Ideology matters for gender equity in the labor force as well as in the private sphere.

Economic organizations also embed gendered meanings in the definition of jobs and positions (Gherardi, 1995; Acker, 1990; Martin, 2004). Any organization that presumes valued workers are available fifty weeks a year, at least forty hours a week, for decades without interruption presumes that such workers have no practical or moral responsibility for caretaking. The industrial and post-industrial economic structure presumes workers have wives or do not need them. Much has begun to change in Western democracies, as laws move toward gender-neutrality. And yet, even when the actual formal rules and regulations begin to change—whether by government, courts, religion, higher education, or organizational rules—the organizational logic, the legitimating beliefs, often remain, hiding male privilege in gender-neutral formal law (Acker, 1990, 2006; Williams, 2001). Androcentric cultural beliefs that justify different distributions of resources that privilege men often outlive formal organizational rules and regulations.

Ideologies at the macro level of the gender structure are not fixed, nor are they immutable, but they do exist and clearly have significance in

shaping possibilities for feminist social change. The macro level of the gender structure, similar to the individual and institutional levels, must be conceptualized with attention to both material and cultural aspects. We must marry feminist concerns for cultural meaning with institutional analyses of material inequality (O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver, 1999) for a full understanding the macro level of the *gender structure* (Adams & Padamsee, 2001).

3 Challenges for Future Research Using a Gender Structure Framework

Conceptualizing *gender as a social structure* with three levels of analysis, all with both cultural and material elements, can help us impose some order on the encyclopedic research findings that have developed to understand gender. With the voluminous amount of research now accumulating, it is imperative to integrate all the knowledge that we are creating. If we think of each research question as one piece of a jigsaw puzzle, being able to identify how one set of findings coordinates with others can further a cumulative social scientific understanding of gender. To understand when and how change happens, we need to identify mechanisms that create or challenge inequality at each level of analysis. Let me illustrate this with a thought experiment. If indeed gender segregation in the labor force at this historical moment were primarily explained (and I do not suggest that it is beyond this thought experiment) by gendered selves, then we would do well to consider the most effective socialization mechanisms to create fewer gender-schematic children and re-socialization for adults. If we wanted a world with economic equality between the sexes, we would either need to re-socialize boys and girls so that girls are no longer any more likely to “choose” low paying professions than their brothers, or we’d have to accept gender difference and try to institute comparable worth, where jobs equally “worthy” across professions were paid based on some meritocratic criterion. If, however, sex-segregation in the labor force is primarily constrained today by cultural

expectations of employers and moral accountability of women for caretaking, it is those cultural meanings we must work to alter. We must hold men morally accountable for caretaking work. But then again, if sex-segregation of the labor force exists because jobs are organized so that workers simply cannot succeed at paid work and responsible caretaking, given women’s historical responsibility for caretaking and greater probability than men of being single parents, it is the contemporary American workplace rules and organizations that must change. The constant recurrence of the debate in American society over whether women can “have it all” suggests these processes are neither well understood, nor has consensus developed on which are most important. My hypothesis is that all of these social processes contribute to a gender segregated labor force. Complex problems have multivariate complex causes. The empirical question for social science is to sort out their relative weight, at one moment in time, in one historical context. There is no one answer for all time and all places. We must leave behind a modernist warfare version of science, wherein theories are pitted against one another, with a winner and a loser in every contest. While theory testing was a model for 20th Century science, a 21st Century science should attempt to find complicated and integrative theories (Collins, 1998).

In order to understand gender, and to provide the knowledge to reduce inequality, we must seriously investigate the direction and strength of causal relationships between social processes at each dimension of the gender structure, and causal relationships within levels of the gender structure, and between material and cultural phenomenon. We should try to identify the sites where change occurs and at which level of analysis the ability of reflexive women, men, and those between that binary, are able to effectively reject gendered patterns and inequalities. We must move away from presuming any particular dimension has more causal strength than another. How social change occurs is an empirical question, not an a priori theoretical assumption.

We need to also study change and emerging equality when it occurs rather than only

documenting inequality. Perhaps the most important feature of understanding *gender as a social structure* is the dynamism within the framework. No one dimension determines the other. Change is fluid and reverberates throughout the structure dynamically. Changes in individual identities and moral accountability may change interactional expectations, but the opposite is possible as well. Change cultural expectations, and individual identities are shaped differently. Institutional changes must result from individuals or group action, yet such change is difficult, as institutions exist across time and space. Once institutional changes occur, they reverberate at the level of cultural expectations and perhaps even on identities. And the cycle of change continues. No mechanistic predictions are possible because human beings sometimes reject the structure itself and, by doing so, change it. We need to identify when behavior is habit (an enactment of taken for granted gendered cultural norms) and when we do gender consciously, with intent, rebellion, or even with irony. When are we doing gender and re-creating inequality without intent? And what happens to interactional dynamics and male-dominated institutions when we rebel? If young people refuse to do gender as we now know it, can they reject the binary itself, or are they simply doing gender differently, forging alternative masculinities and femininities?

These questions about how change happens are not idle academic speculation. I challenge sociologists of gender to focus on the construction and reproduction of inequality, how the gender structure interacts with other kinds of privilege and disadvantage, including sexuality, race, ethnicity and class. To understand how to reduce inequality, we must first understand how it is produced and reproduced. My hope is that this Handbook on the Sociology of Gender helps to do just that.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4, 139–158.
- Acker, J. (1992). From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, 21, 565–569.
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20, 441–464.
- Adams, J., & Padamsee, T. (2001). Signs and regimes: Rereading feminist work on welfare states. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 8, 1–23.
- Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 109–137.
- Anderson, E. (2012). Shifting masculinities in Anglo-American Countries. *Masculinities and Social Change*, 1, 20–40.
- Arnold, A. P., & Gorski, R. A. (1984). Gonadal-steroid induction of structural sex-differences in the central nervous system. *Annual Review of Neuroscience*, 7, 413–442.
- Bandura, A., & Waters, R. (1963). *Social learning and personality*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Beland, D. (2005). Ideas and social policy: An institutionalist perspective. *Social Policy & Administration*, 39, 1–18.
- Beland, D. (2009). Ideas, institutions, and policy change. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(5), 701–718.
- Bell, W. B. (1916). *The sex complex: A study of the relationship of the internal secretions to the female characteristics and functions in health and disease*. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox.
- Bem, S. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88, 354–364.
- Bem, S. (1993). *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Berger, P. L., & Thomas, L. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Bianchi, S. M., Milkie, M. A., Sayer, L. C., & Robinson, J. P. (2000). Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor. *Social Forces*, 79, 191–228.
- Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L., Folbre, N., & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109, 186–214.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2005). *Competing devotions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Booth, A., Granger, D., Mazur, A., & Kivlighan, K. (2006). Testosterone and social behavior. *Social Forces*, 85, 167–191.
- Booth, A., Shelley, G., Mazur, A., Tharp, G., & Kittock, R. (1989). Testosterone and winning and losing in human competition. *Hormones and Behavior*, 23, 556–571.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Brizendine, L. (2006). *The female brain*. New York: Morgan Road Books.
- Browne, I., & England, P. (1997). Oppression from within and without in sociological theories: An application to

- gender. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 17, 77–104.
- Brush, L. D. (2002). Changing the subject: Gender and welfare regime studies. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 9, 161–186.
- Budig, M. (2002). Male advantage and the gender composition of jobs: Who rides the glass escalator? *Social Problems*, 49, 258–277.
- Budig, M., Misra, J., & Boeckmann, I. (2012). The motherhood penalty in cross-national perspective: The importance of work-family policies and cultural attitudes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 19, 163–193.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.
- Cahill, Larry. (2003). Sex- and hemisphere-related influences on the neurobiology of emotionally influenced memory. *Progress in Neuropsychopharmacology and Biological Psychiatry*, 27, 1235–1241.
- Chatillon, A. H., Charles, M., & Bradley, K. (2018). “Gender ideologies” in handbook of the sociology of gender, second edition. In J. Barbara (Ed.), *Risman, Carissa Froyum, and William J.* Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Chavez, K., & Wingfield, A. H. (2018). Racializing Gendered Interactions. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Choi, N., & Fuqua, D. R. (2003). The structure of the Bem sex role inventory: A summary report of 23 validation studies. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 63, 872–887.
- Choi, N., & Newman, J. L. (2008). The bem sex-role inventory: Continuing theoretical problems. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 68, 800–881.
- Collaer, M. L., & Hines, M. (1995). Human behavioral sex differences: A role for gonadal hormones during early development? *Psychological Bulletin*, 118, 55–107.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting words: Black women and the search for justice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person, and sexual politics*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cooke, B., Hegstrom, C. D., Villeneuve, L. S., & Breedlove, S. M. (1998). Sexual differentiation of the vertebrate brain: Principles and mechanisms. *Frontiers in Neuroendocrinology*, 19, 323–362.
- Crawley, S., Foley, L., & Shehan, C. (2007). *Gendering bodies*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and anti-racist politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, 139–167.
- Davis, G., & Evans, M. J. (2018). Surgically shaping sex: A gender structure analysis of the violation of intersex people’s human rights. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough. Springer Press.
- Davis, S., & Blake, A. (2018). Does biology limit equality? In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender, second edition*. Scarborough. Springer Press.
- Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2013). Why study housework? Cleaning as a window into power in couples. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5, 63–71.
- Davis, S. N., & Risman, B. J. (2014). Feminists wrestle with testosterone: Hormones, socialization and cultural interactionism as predictors of women’s gendered selves. *Social Science Research*, 49, 110–125.
- Deaux, K., & Major, B. (1987). Putting gender into context: An interactive model of gender-related behavior. *Psychological Review*, 94(3), 369–389.
- Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society*, 21, 106–127.
- Diamond, M. (2009). Clinical implications of the organizational and activational effects of hormones. *Hormones and Behaviors*, 55, 621–632.
- Edwards, A. L., & Ashworth, C. D. (1977). A replication study of item selection for the bem sex role inventory. *Applied Psychological Measurement*, 1, 501–507.
- Ely, R., & Padavic, I. (2007). A feminist analysis of organizational research on sex differences. *Academy of Management Review*, 32, 1121–1143.
- Ely, R. (2016). Sometimes the social becomes personal gender, class, and sexualities. *American Sociological Review*, 81, 4–28.
- Ely, R., Allison, P., Li, S., Mark, N., Thompson, J., Budig, M. J., et al. (2007). Why are some academic fields tipping toward female? The sex composition of U.S. fields of doctoral degree receipt, 1971–2002. *Sociology of Education*, 80, 23–42.
- England, P. (2016). Sometimes the social becomes personal: Gender, class and sexualities. *American Sociological Review*, 81(1), 4–28.
- England, P., Allison, P., Li, S., Mark, N., Thompson, J., Budig, M. J., & Sun, H. (2007). Why are some academic fields tipping toward female? *Sociology of Education*, 80, 23–42.
- Epstein, C. F. (1988). *Deceptive distinctions: Sex, gender, and the social order*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Epstein, S. (1996). *Impure science: aids, activism, and the politics of knowledge*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Evans, H. M. (1939). Endocrine glands: Gonads, pituitary and adrenals. *Annual Review of Physiology*, *1*, 577–652.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000). *Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ferree, M. M. (1990). Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *52*, 866–884.
- Ferree, M. M., & Hall, E. J. (1996a). Rethinking stratification from a feminist perspective: Gender, race, and class in mainstream textbooks. *American Sociological Review*, *61*(6), 929–950.
- Ferree, M. M., & Hall, E. J. (1996b). Rethinking stratification from a feminist perspective: Gender, race, and class in mainstream textbooks. *American Sociological Review*, *61*, 929–950.
- Fine, C. (2011). *Delusions of gender: The real science behind sex differences*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Fine, C. (2017). *Testosterone rex: Myths of sex, science and society*. New York: W. W. Norton Publishers.
- Fiske, S. R., & Ridgeway, C. L. (2018). Framing gender. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Fiske, S. R. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 357–411). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. R. (2001). Effects of power on bias: Power explains and maintains individual, group, and societal disparities. In A. Y. Lee-Chai & J. A. Bargh (Eds.), *The use and abuse of power* (pp. 181–193). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Fiske, S. R., & Stevens, L. E. (1993). What's so special about sex? Gender stereotyping and discrimination. In S. Oskamp & M. Costanzo (Eds.), *Gender issues in contemporary society. Claremont symposium on applied social psychology* (Vol. 6, pp. 173–196). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *From the history of sexuality, volume I: An introduction*. Harmondsworth, NY: Penguin.
- Frank, R. T. (1929). *The female sex hormone*. Baltimore, MD: Charles C. Thomas.
- Freese, J., Li, J. C. A., & Wade, L. D. (2003). The potential relevances of biology to social inquiry. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *29*, 233–256.
- Gansen, H., & Karin, M. (2018). Becoming gendered. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender, second edition*. Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Gherardi, S. (1995). *Gender, symbolism and organizational cultures*. London: Sage.
- Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2007). *Gendertelling in organizations: Narratives from male-dominated environments*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.
- Gerson, K. (1985). *Hard choices: How women decide about work, career, and motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Halpern, C. T. (2012). Affirmation of a development systems approach to genetics. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *35*(5), 367.
- Harris, A. (1990). Race and essentialism in feminist legal theory. *Stanford Law Review*, *42*, 581–616.
- Hays, S. (1994). Structure and agency and the sticky problem of culture. *Sociological Theory*, *12*, 57.
- Hays, S. (1998). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Heilman, M., & Eagly, A. H. (2008). Gender stereotypes are alive, well, and busy producing workplace discrimination. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *1*, 393–398.
- Hoffman, R. M., & DiAnne Borders, L. (2001). Twenty-five years after the bem sex role inventory: A reassessment and new issues regarding classification variability. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *34*, 39–55.
- Holterhus, P. M., Bebermeier, J. H., Werner, R., Demeter, J., Richter-Unruh, A., Cario, G., et al. (2009). Disorders of sex development expose transcriptional autonomy of genetic sex and androgen-programmed hormonal sex in human blood leukocytes. *BMC Genomics*, *10*, 292–304.
- Hollander, J. (2018). Interactional accountability. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Hrabovszky, Z., & Hutson, J. M. (2002). Androgen imprinting of the brain in animal models and humans with intersex disorders: Review and recommendations. *The Journal of Urology*, *168*, 2142–2148.
- Ingraham, C. (1994). The heterosexual imaginary: Feminist sociology and theories of gender. *Sociological Theory*, *12*, 203–219.
- Jones, N. (2009). *Between good and ghetto: African American girls and inner-city violence*. Newark, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Jordan-Young, R. M. (2010). *Brainstorm: The flaws in the science of sex differences*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kan, Y. M., Sullivan, O., & Gershuny, J. (2011). Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data. *Sociology*, *45*, 234–251.
- Kane, E. W. (2006). 'No way my boys are going to be like that!': Parents' responses to children's gender non-conformity. *Gender & Society*, *20*, 149–176.
- Kane, E. W. (2012). *The gender trap: Parents and the pitfalls of raising boys and girls*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

- Karoly, D., Freud, J., & De Jongh, S. E. (1934). Conditions of hypertrophy of seminal vesicles in rats: The effect of derivatives of oestrone (menoformon). *Biochemical Journal*, 28, 1360–1367.
- Kimmel, M. (2008). *Guyland: The perilous world where boys become men*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- King, D. K. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs*, 14, 42–72.
- Kohlberg, L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The Development of Sex Differences* (pp. 82–173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Laqueur, E., Dingemans, E., Hart, P. C., & Jongh, S. E. (1927). Female sex hormone in urine of men. *Klinische Wochenschrift*, 6, 859.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lever, J. (1974). *Games children play: Sex differences and the development of role skills*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Levitt, H. M., Gerrish, E. A., & Hiestand, K. R. (2003). The misunderstood gender: A model of modern femme identity. *Sex Roles*, 48, 99–113.
- Lillie, F. R. (1939). Biological introduction. In E. Allen (Ed.), *Sex and internal secretions* (2nd ed.). Baltimore, MD: Williams & Wilkins.
- Lippa, R. A. (2005). *Gender, nature and nurture*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Locksley, A., & Colten, M. E. (1979). Psychological androgyny: A Case of Mistaken Identity? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 1017–1031.
- Lopata, H. Z., & Thorne, B. (1978). On the term 'sex roles'. *Signs*, 3, 718–721.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press Feminist Series.
- Martin, K. A. (1998). Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 494–511.
- Martin, P. Y. (2004). Gender as an institution. *Social Forces*, 82, 1249–1273.
- Mayhew, B. (1980). Structuralism versus individualist, part I: Shadowboxing in the dark. *Social Forces*, 59, 335–375.
- Mohanty, C. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Muller, M. N., Marlowe, F. W., Bugumba, R., & Ellison, P. T. (2008). Testosterone and paternal care in each African foragers and pastoralists. *Proceedings of Biological Science*, 276(1655), 347–354.
- Nakano Glenn, E. (1999). The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race: An integrative framework. In M. M. Ferree, J. Lober, & B. Hess (Eds.), *The gender lens: Revisioning gender* (pp. 3–43). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (1999). *States, markets, families: Gender, liberalism and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Oudshoorn, N. (1994). *Beyond the natural body: An archeology of sex hormones*. London: Routledge.
- Parkes, A. S. (1938). Terminology of sex hormones. *Nature*, 141, 12.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family, socialization, and interaction process*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Pedhazur, E. J., & Tetenbaum, T. J. (1979). Bem sex role inventory: A theoretical and methodological critique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 996–1016.
- Perrin, A. J., & Lee, H. (2007). The undertheorized environment: Sociological theory and the ontology of behavioral genetics. *Sociological Perspectives*, 50, 303–322.
- Pfannkuche, K., Bouma, A., & Groothuis, T. (2009). Does testosterone affect lateralization of brain and behavior. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 364, 929–942.
- Pfau-Effinger, B. (1998). Gender cultures and the gender arrangement—A theoretical framework for cross-national gender research. *Innovations: The European Journal of Social Sciences*, 11, 147–166.
- Phoenix, C. H., Goy, R. W., Gerall, A. A., & Young, W. C. (1959). Organizing action of prenatally administered testosterone propionate on the tissues mediating mating behavior in the female guinea pig. *Endocrinology*, 65, 369–382.
- Randles, J. (2018). Gender, families, and social policy. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough: Springer Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (1991/2001). Gender, status, and leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 637–655.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. (2000). Limiting inequality through interaction: The end(s) of gender. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29, 110–120.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2006). Consensus and the creation of status beliefs. *Social Forces*, 85, 431–454.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender & Society*, 27, 294–318.

- Risman, B. J. (1987). Intimate relationships from a microstructural perspective: Men who mother. *Gender and Society, 1*, 6–32.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. J., Atkinson, M. P., & Blackwelder, S. P. (1999). Understanding the juggling act: Gendered preferences and social structural constraints. *Sociological Forum, 14*(2), 313–344.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society, 18*, 429–451.
- Risman, B. J. (2009). From doing to undoing: Gender as we know it. *Gender & Society, 23*, 81–84.
- Risman, B. J., & Davis, Georgiann. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology Review, 61*, 733–755.
- Risman, B. J. (2017). Gender as a social structure: Are the millennials cracking the foundation? *Social Currents*.
- Risman, B. J. (2018). *Where the millennials will take us: A new generation wrestles with the gender structure*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Rojek, C., & Turner, B. (2000). Decorative sociology: Towards a critique of the cultural turn. *The Sociological Review, 48*, 629–648.
- Rosenblitt, J. C., Hosanna, S., Johnson, S. E., & Quadagno, D. M. (2001). Sensation seeking and hormones in men and women: Exploring the link. *Hormones and Behavior, 40*, 396–402.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffic in women: Notes on the political economy sex. In R. Reiter (Eds.), *Toward an anthropology of women* (pp. 157–210). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Schilt, K. (2011). *Just one of the guys? Transgender men and the persistence of gender inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity ‘gender normals’, transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society, 23*, 440–464.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society, 36*, 85–102.
- Schwalbe, M., Godwin, S., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Thompson, S., & Wolkomir, M. (2000). Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces, 79*, 419–542.
- Seidman, S. (Ed.). (1996). *Queer theory/sociology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Siebke, H. (1931). Presence of androkinin in female organism. *Archiv für Gynaekologie, 146*, 417–462.
- Slaughter, M.-A. (2015). *Unfinished business: Women, men, work, family*. New York: Random House.
- Sin, R. (2017). *The emergence and persistence of gender ambivalence: A latent class analysis from 1977 to 2014*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Smelser, N. J. (Ed.). (1988). Social structure. In *Handbook of sociology* (pp. 103–129). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. L., & Holahan, C. K. (1975). Negative and positive components of psychological masculinity and femininity and their relationships to self-reports of neurotic and acting out behaviors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 1673–1682.
- Stockard, J., & Johnson, M. M. (1980). *Sex roles: Sex inequality and sex role development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Sullivan, O. (2006). *Changing gender relations, changing families: Tracing the pace of change over time*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review, 51*, 273–286.
- Swidler, A. (2001). *Talk of love: How culture matters*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Udry, R. J. (2000). Biological limits of gender construction. *American Sociological Review, 65*, 443–457.
- Wade, L. (2013). The new science of sex difference. *Sociology Compass, 7*(4), 278–293.
- Warner, M. (1993). *Fear of a queer planet: Queer politics and social theory*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Weitzman, L. J. (1979). *Sex role socialization: A focus on women*. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*, 125–151.
- Westbrook, L., & Schilt, K. (2014). Doing gender, determining gender transgender people, gender panics, and the maintenance of the sex/gender/sexuality system. *Gender & Society, 28*, 32–57.
- Williams, C. (1992). The glass escalator: Hidden advantages for men in the ‘female’ professions. *Social Problems, 39*, 253–267.
- Williams, J. C. (2001). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator. *Gender & Society, 23*, 5–26.
- Wynn, A. T., & Shelley, J. C. (2018). Combating gender bias in modern workplaces. In B. J. Risman, C. Froyum, & J. William (Eds.), *The springer handbook of the sociology of gender*. Scarborough: Springer Press.

- Young, W. C., Goy, R. W., & Phoenix, C. H. (1965). Hormones and sexual behavior. In J. Money (Ed.), *Sex research: New developments*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Zelditch, M. (1955). Role differentiation in the nuclear family: A comparative study. In T. Parsons & R. Bales (Eds.), *Family, socialization, and interaction process* (pp. 307–352). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and women in the workplace: The limits of gender-neutral theory. *Social Problems*, 35, 64–77.
- Zondek, B. (1934). Oestrogenic hormone in the urine of the stallion. *Nature*, 133, 494.

Barbara J. Risman is Distinguished Professor of Sociology in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Professor Risman has developed a theory of gender not as only identity but rather as social structure with material and cultural aspects that has consequences for the individual, for interactional expectations, and for macro social organization. Her latest book is titled *Where The Millennials Will Take us: A New Generation Wrestles with Gender Structure* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Other recent work includes a new edition of her textbook, *Families As They Really Are* (Norton 2015 co-edited with Virginia Rutter).

Feminist Epistemology, Feminist Methodology, and the Study of Gender

3

Joey Sprague

Abstract

To build adequate knowledge, we need to be explicit about our epistemological assumptions so we can use these to critically assess our methodological choices. Of the four epistemologies in circulation, two, Positivism and Postmodernism, are inadequate for gender scholars' goals. Positivist assumptions that we can minimize the impact of the subjectivity of the knower are undermined by social science findings. Postmodernist rejection of the possibility of achieving a rational understanding of the known undercut the very purpose of social science. So we are left with two choices—Critical Realism and Standpoint Theory. Critical Realism offers a nuanced and dynamic theory of the known but it is blind to the impact of the knower's position in social relations of power. Standpoint Theory's analysis of the knower as operating from a specific physical, social, and cultural context makes up for that deficit. Integrating the two in a Critically Realistic Standpoint Epistemology implies four methodological principles: (1) begin inquiry from the standpoint of the marginalized, (2) ground each person's interpretation of phenomena in their material

interests and experience, (3) maintain a strategically diverse discourse, and (4) create knowledge that empowers the disadvantaged.

Sociology and social science more broadly have helped us understand a great deal about social processes, the regularization of social practices into social structures, and the impact of social structures, social interaction, and culture on human understanding and action. Yet, feminists have shown just how wrong traditional social science has been at times—especially about gender—with the consequence of either naturalizing inequalities or hiding them altogether (see Sprague, 2016, especially Chap. 1, for illustrations). What can gender sociologists do to avoid similar pitfalls?

I have argued that the source of problems in social science is a failure on the part of many researchers, across areas of specialization, to question the epistemological assumptions underlying the way we do our work. Whether or not we are paying attention, how we develop an understanding about the world is premised on our assumptions about what makes for a competent knower, what the underlying characteristics of the known are, and, thus, what is entailed in the process of knowing. Minimizing bias requires that we think critically about the link we are making between a methodology—a way of collecting, interpreting, and reporting evidence—and an epistemology—a set of assumptions about

J. Sprague (✉)
University of Kansas, Lawrence, USA
e-mail: jsprague@ku.edu

the knower, the known, and the relationship between them (see Alcoff, 1989).

The first step, then, is to critically consider our epistemological options. As sociologists, we appraise epistemological options not just on the grounds of abstract rationality but also drawing on the insights of sociological tradition. Identifying the epistemological stance that best meets sociological criteria will provide the best basis for guidelines for our methodologies. I have developed this argument extensively elsewhere (Sprague, 2016). In the brief space of this chapter, I will summarize our epistemological choices, holding each to the test of what sociology has taught us about how the social world works, arriving at a hybrid of the two most tenable choices. Then I will briefly discuss what the epistemological choice I endorse implies for how gender scholars should build valid knowledge.

1 Epistemological Choices

To wildly over-simplify, there are four basic epistemological positions currently in circulation: Positivism, Post-Modernism, Critical Realism, and Standpoint Theory. Positivism and Post-Modernism are false choices in that they conflict with the findings of social science or its ultimate purpose or both.

Positivist approaches assume that the objective world is governed by discoverable rules and the knower gains access to those rules by minimizing the role of subjective judgment through the use of quantitative procedures for collecting and analyzing data. Social science research, however, shows that knowing cannot be the objective, unbiased, ahistorical process that positivism posits. In order to perceive, the researcher must use some framework to carve up the continuity of lived experience to identify objects, or facts, to investigate (Smith, 1990). Further, in order to test any hypothesis, a researcher must hold constant a whole set of other assumptions, for example about the reliability of the measures, the comprehensiveness of the causal model, and

so on. Flaws in any of these other assumptions are alternative explanations for observed outcomes. Even the notion that science is pure hypothesis testing is belied by the actual practice of scientists. If a test of the research hypothesis fails to achieve the expected results, the scientist does not necessarily reject that hypothesis but rather can and often does tinker with the background assumptions (e.g. maybe a measure is flawed), arriving at a way to make sense of the data while maintaining the original thought or expectation (Longino, 1989).

A thread running through all three of these points is that the knower operates under assumptions that express a specific culture. Science is not value-neutral (Alcoff, 1989) and because of that, an epistemology that ignores subjectivity is not tenable.

The other false epistemological choice is the one generated in the arguments of strong social constructivist or postmodern thought. Proponents of this approach argue that any order or perceived regularity in phenomena is not “out there” in the empirical world. Rather, we give order to our perceptions through the application of a cultural framework (Clough, 1993). The object of knowledge, that which appears to us as the truth, is merely the creation of the very process that “discovers” it (Haraway, 1988). Rather than a process of discovery, social science knowledge is an important mechanism of power in our era. Social scientists generate and feed discourses that circulate through our daily lives, prompting us to construct certain forms of self-awareness and to discipline ourselves toward a socially constructed standard of normality. We have learned to see ourselves, for example, in terms of our position in a distribution of scores on intelligence and aptitude tests, our behaviors in terms of their appropriateness for our gender, and our consumption patterns as varying in the degree to which they communicate positions of social status.

There are two major flaws in this position. First, while it is consistent with sociological understanding to say that knowledge is socially created, *saying that something is socially*

constructed does not imply it is not real. We know, for example, that the belief in dichotomous gender is socially constructed yet it increases our ability to predict vulnerability to rape and domestic violence, and level of income, all very real social facts. Second, the fundamental justification of social science is that it produces knowledge about people and groups that can inform human action. Intentional action is premised on an analysis of what is and what might be. When analyses of experiences are considered mere texts or the narrative of one individual, no better or worse than any contrasting narrative, the potential for supporting meaningful social action is eroded. Haraway (1988) coined a term that aptly communicates the impact: “epistemological electro-shock therapy”.

1.1 Realistic Choices

The choice between a positivistic blind trust in the facts, uninfluenced by the knower, and a postmodern radical rejection of them, denying the known, is a false one. It would be rejected by many of those who believe in science and/or in social constructionism. There are two other approaches to epistemology that take as a given that knowledge is socially constructed without rejecting the possibility of developing knowledge at all: Critical Realism and Standpoint Theory.

Critical Realist epistemology, like Positivism, holds that the world exists independently of our thinking about it and it is knowable. Critical Realists, however, have developed a more complex understanding of the nature of the known. For them, reality exists in three nested domains: the empirical, the actual, and the real (Collier 1994; Frauley, 2007). What we can observe and measure in the *empirical* domain does not capture all that exists at that moment, the domain of the *actual*, which in turn is the product of the mechanisms of underlying structures in the domain of the *real*.

The underlying structures in the domain of the real occur in different layers so that when we talk about causes of a phenomenon as physical or

biological or chemical or economic or political or ideological, we are talking about the mechanisms of different structures that typically work in complex interactions with one another. Institutions, for example, are not just the outcome of economic, political, or ideological mechanisms but rather all of these, and probably others (Collier, 1994; Norris, Bhaskar, & Baggini, 1999). Both natural and social systems tend to be dynamic and changing products of complex and at times conflicting forces. Thus any statement about the causes is incomplete and our explanations are about probabilities.

Like post-modernists, critical realists see knowledge a social product. The individual knower is shaped by historically specific discourses of culture and science but the key knower is not an individual but a loosely integrated collection of networks of scholars who often disagree, thus pushing the process of knowledge-building forward through a continual quest for further information and better understandings (Walby, 2001). Even if we will never be able to develop a perfect knowledge of the world, critical realists believe that through scientific practices and the application of human rationality we can approximate the underlying causal mechanisms generating phenomena (Norris, Bhaskar, & Baggini, 1999).

Critical realists recognize that the relationship between knower and known is socially and culturally organized but every knower operating within the same network of discourses seems to have the same potential access to the known. Yet, a key intellectual contribution of sociological scholarship has been to demonstrate that systems of social relations organizing gender, class, and race are particularly important in shaping our opportunities and constraints, our perceptions, and our stakes in social life. The epistemology that does take the impact of systematic differences in social location of knowers into account is Standpoint Theory.

Standpoint epistemology argues that all knowledge is constructed from a specific position and that what a knower can observe is shaped by the location from which that knower’s inquiry begins. To illustrate the contrasts in the kinds of

knowledge that are accessible by beginning from distinct standpoints, Hartsock (1983) uses the example of varying ways political scientists have developed a conceptualization of power. The predominant notion of power in political science, Hartsock says, has been developed by taking the standpoint of capitalists. Capitalists are removed from the concrete circumstances involved in producing goods and services, including their relationship with workers. Capitalists engage with the political economy through exchanges in markets. Beginning from the experience and interests of capitalists, Hartsock says, provides resources for understanding power as a “commodity” that a person has more or less of, something that can be exchanged, taken, or given away.

On the other hand, scholars who begin from the practical experience of workers have access to resources that allow them to foreground the operation of power in the capitalist/worker relationship. Workers must sell their labor to capitalists, do their work in coordination with the labor of other workers, and earn wages that are lower than the market value of the goods that they produce. The workers’ standpoint offers resources for understanding power as a relationship of domination in which one party, by virtue of their control over wealth, is able to take advantage of and extract compliance from the other. Beginning an analysis from the standpoint of workers allows one to conceptualize power as a relationship of domination, a conceptualization that Hartsock represents as “power over”.

However, Hartsock argues, there is a third construction of power, one that becomes available by beginning from the standpoint of women. The sexual division of labor in Western societies makes women responsible for domestic labor in the home, doing the work of transforming commodities into food, clothing, and other things that meet peoples’ needs. Beginning from the position of those who do this work of nurturing makes it possible to develop a notion of power as a capacity or potential, as in the word “empower”. Hartsock argues that the standpoint of women offers unique resources for developing the notion of power as “power to”.

Standpoint epistemology helps us understand some systematic biases in mainstream accounts of social structures and social processes. For example, in spite of the fact that gender researchers have been demonstrating for more than 30 years the centrality of gender in shaping nearly every dimension of human social life, there are still areas in sociology in which the dominant discourses fail to take gender into account. Yet, scholars who do examine these areas using gender as an analytic framework reveal challenges to predominant organizing assumptions. Acker (2005) shows that the tendency to ignore gender in conventional class analyses hides the degree to which “non-responsibility” for reproduction of people is a central feature of how capitalist corporations and economies operate. Similarly, prevailing conceptualizations of globalization emphasize the trans-national activities of dominant economic actors, particularly men, but Desai (2009), beginning from the standpoint of women in countries of the global south, reveals a much bigger and potentially more democratic version of “globalization on the ground,” including cross national entrepreneurial and social justice work done by women.

Critical realism contributes a sophisticated model of the nature of the *known*, one that researchers should keep in mind in making sense of the data. However, standpoint theory offers a more complex model of the nature of the *knower*, understanding that knowers operate from varying social locations, especially those organized by social relations of gender, race, class, and nation. To maximize our chances of getting it right, we need to take it into account.

2 Critically Seeking Reality

Feminist sociologists have developed a rich literature on the methodological implications of standpoint epistemology. While it includes many thoughtful and creative innovations, two troubling stereotypes circulate broadly. One is that feminist methodology means transferring control over knowledge to research subjects. Another is

that researchers who are “insiders,” that is, members of marginalized groups, will produce better knowledge about those groups. A critical look at each presumption reveals that such simple transfers of authority are inadequate responses to the problems associated with researcher power.

2.1 The Problems with “Handing Over Authority”

Some contend that standpoint epistemology implies that researchers should give all control over knowledge creation to those being studied. The researcher should serve as the mere conduit, the holder of the microphone, to “give voice” to research subjects (Hertz, 1997; McCall & Wittner, 1989). This position sounds democratic and open on a superficial level but considered more carefully has at least four shortcomings.

First, it fails to take into account how and where research subjects already have some power, for example, in providing access to begin with, in deciding what to reveal, how to tell their stories, and which response to select in a survey. In fact, the less vested interest potential informants have in a project, the more power they have in the process. Second, it ignores situations in which the researched have even more power than the researcher. Those who interview subjects who occupy positions of political or social power report that they have no trouble communicating their perspective and enforcing their own agenda even when it conflicts with the researcher’s goals. Third, it is insensitive to the selection biases built into implementing this strategy. Members of any social category—white women, people of color, immigrants from Mexico, and so on, are very diverse in experience and opinion. How do researchers choose which among their informants appropriately speaks for their group? What kind of selection bias comes into play in their choices? Finally, to the degree that our informants are deprived of access to more critical discourses, the effort to simply and

uncritically report subjects’ narratives can give priority to hegemonic discourses over critical ones (Glucksmann, 1994).

As Glucksmann (1994) observes, those who want to simply transfer authority to subjects of research have tended to confuse the empowerment of those we study in the process of doing research with real social empowerment. We would never make this error, she maintains, if we were thinking of men interviewing women (or, I would add, if we were thinking of Blacks interviewing Whites, or researchers from the working class interviewing the wealthy).

Another unfortunate stereotype is the idea that standpoint epistemology implies we should grant authority based on the social identity of the researcher, for example, their gender, race, or national origin. Some say that researchers should not study people over whom they have social privilege: only women can study women, only Blacks can study Blacks, and so on. Others would merely assume that researchers who are members of the social category they are studying will develop more valid knowledge than will researchers who are not of that group.

Yet, there is a broad consensus among contemporary feminist theorists that multiple relations of domination interact in shaping life chances and consciousness (see, for example, Glenn, 1992). That is, how gender works depends on an individual’s class and race/ethnicity; how race/ethnicity works varies across different combinations of class and gender, and so on. The idea of an insider advantage seems inconsistent with the implications of these intersectional arguments. It is also contradicted by the reflections of researchers regarding their experiences on the ground (Beoku-Betts, 1994; Ribbens, 1989; Zavella, 1996). Sharing some aspect of identity, say, gender or race, with the researched does not assure “common experiences or interests”.

Commonalities in life experience can enhance empathy. For example, to the extent that women confront similar normative expectations, struggle with discrimination based on their sex, and deal

with similar interpersonal issues in their relations with men and children, there is the possibility that they can identify with the struggles of other women, even across divisions of race, class, or nation. However, when the investigator differs from the investigated in other significant dimensions of social inequality, researchers' assumptions of shared identity can be an exercise in self-deception. Further, while some cultural nuances may be better observed by an insider, some may be more accessible to a person who did not grow up within the discourses dominating that culture (Wolf, 1992). What the insider shares with group members—cultural assumptions, shared social practices and history—can easily slip into the taken-for-granted. Yet, taking things for granted is the bane of good social research. David Morgan said it well: “The obvious deserves at least as much attention from the sociologist as the extraordinary. It is also more difficult to recognize (1981, 88).” Each investigator embodies attributes that constitute a set of advantages and obstacles.

Beyond the question of exactly who is and who is not an insider in any particular situation, an idealization of insider-only research has troubling political implications. After all, much of the history of social science is a classic case of insider-only research, of men who feel that they should study only men. As a rule, those men have not focused on undermining patriarchy (Mascia-Lees et al., 1989). If privileged researchers avoid studying disadvantaged groups, that omission serves to sustain their own hegemony (Edwards, 1990). If Whites do not study Blacks, if men ignore the lives and experiences of women, if the affluent do not seek to understand the actual circumstances of the poor, we will have returned to the bad old days when the privileged could easily justify ignoring the lives and perspectives of the oppressed.

Both the idea that the knowledge of the oppressed is better than the knowledge of the oppressor and the belief that the insider researcher has privileged access to knowledge—are a misreading of the argument of standpoint epistemology as advanced by its key developers. Nancy Hartsock says that a standpoint is

“achieved rather than obvious, a mediated rather than immediate understanding (1985, 132)”. Smith (2005) describes a standpoint as a place from which to begin an inquiry and proposes a methodology for how researchers can begin from a social location other than the one they regularly occupy. Harding (1998) talks about that location in terms of the array of resources available in a specific context, including an embodied location in a specific time and place, interests emerging from and in relation to that location, access to discourses through which to interpret one's interests, and position in a social organization of the production of legitimate knowledge. It cannot be stated too baldly: *a standpoint is not how people think*. A standpoint is a social location from which to construct an understanding.

3 Realist Standpoint Epistemology on Getting It Right

What does all imply for how we should build knowledge? In this Sect. 1 propose four provisional guidelines for how gender scholars might implement any method with more caution about the distorting effects power can have on the kind of knowledge we produce.

3.1 Work from the Standpoint of the Disadvantaged

A flourishing of new analytic frames and avenues of research has followed the increasing diversifying of the academy. Many of those who have changed our understanding of basic social phenomena like work, family, health, violence, politics, race/ethnicity, demographic patterns, and criminology have been women; some have been scholars of color or from the working class. However, *some have been privileged white men*. The transformations in social science knowledge have occurred *not because of the changing identity of the scholars, but because scholars have been shifting the standpoints from which they develop scholarship*. Change has come when knowers have taken previously

marginalized standpoints as the gateway for generating questions, collecting evidence, and developing interpretations.

For example, the data on the frequency of sexual violence changed when scholars stopped restricting it to reports of “rape” because the prevailing conceptualization at the time excluded from the count sexual contact within marriage or unwanted sex with an acquaintance. Rather than asking women if they had been raped, Russell (1984) created a measure of sexual behaviors based on women’s desires and preferences. Similarly, to understand why poor kids are more likely to fail in school, Griffith (1995) asked the mothers of elementary school children about all the work they did in relationship to their kids going to school. She learned how the organization of educational institutions makes time and resource demands on parents that put poor and working class kids at a serious disadvantage while teachers and administrators blame parents for kids’ failures instead of the class biases in the institution’s expectations and practices.

Working from the standpoint of the disadvantaged does not preclude studying the powerful. Rather, it involves problematizing power and advantage, asking about the mechanisms that sustain privilege and about the consequences of privilege for the broader society. One way for those with privilege to proceed is to analyze the circumstances and practices that support their privilege, for example, by examining their own biography from the standpoint of those over whom they have privilege (Harding, 1991). The important point is that knowledge has changed in critical directions when knowers have mounted their inquiries into some aspect of the social by beginning from the situations of women, people of color, the poor, and other socially marginalized categories.

3.2 Ground Interpretations in Interests and Experience

Those at the downside of social hierarchies have some epistemological advantages. Their daily practices and the constraints they struggle with are the basic stuff of how social power and domination work. They have little material or ideological interest in continuing those forms of social organization that place them at serious disadvantage, and so less reason to deny the flaws and injustices embedded in them. As outsiders in relation to official knowledge construction, they may have experiences that allow them to detect the gap between their lives and the conceptual frameworks that are distributed to make sense of them (Collins, 2000).

The workings of cultural power mean that members of oppressed groups are the less likely to encounter an analysis that identifies their situation as unjust. Thus, the marginalized may not directly challenge mainstream notions about their lives. However, taking their situations into account in interpreting their reports can enhance insight. Operating from this premise, DeVault (1990) rejected the standard practice of “correcting” hesitations, gaps, and tag questions (“you know?”), instead using these speech patterns as potential indicators that the mainstream conceptualizations were not adequate to describe their experience.

Taking into account the interests and experience of women in a society that routinely devalues them led Carli (1990) to challenge the prevailing stereotype in the research literature of women’s speech as systematically tentative thus communicating to others that they were not to be heeded. Rather than assigning blame to women for the devaluation of their speech, Carli asked whether those tentative speech patterns were a strategy for dealing with relative powerlessness

in particular gendered interactions and her experimental findings suggest this is the case.

Researchers should also ask about the degree to which their own material interests and experiences shape their priorities and assumptions. White researchers assuming race is not significant in their projects, men assuming gender is irrelevant, and heterosexuals assuming the social organization of sexuality is not in play invite error by failing to take into account the limitations of operating from a standpoint of privilege.

3.3 Maintain a Strategically Diverse Discourse

The complexity of causal processes and the biases and blind spots in the standpoint of researchers mean that critical scholars should consider how they might compensate for their own standpoint. The feminist movement has learned this lesson firsthand. Racial and class privilege has allowed white feminists to dominate the discourse on feminism. Feminists of color have struggled since the 1970s to demonstrate the theoretical and empirical salience of the racial and class diversity among women and how social processes and policies had differential impacts depending how race and class interacted with gender (Aguilar, 2012). Over time this dialogue has become a central organizer of feminist discourse (McCall, 2005). While often uncomfortable and sometimes even heated, this cross-race dialogue has been invaluable for the development of feminist knowledge on all sides, sharpening our thinking, broadening our scope, and increasing our rigor.

Wise researchers will construct and maintain dialogue with others occupying contrasting social locations. We can diversify our dialogue in several ways. First, researchers, themselves, comprise people in varying social locations depending on their gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, immigrant status, and so on; we, can build dialogues across these differences. Second, researchers can attend to the discourses of everyday actors, particularly those at the bottoms of social hierarchies. Some qualitative

researchers have demonstrated that popular culture forms like blues music, poetry, novels, folk wisdom, and graffiti are also venues through which people can reflect on their experience and share their analyses with others (e.g., Aptheker, 1989; Ferguson, 2000).

Finally, researchers can maintain dialogue with members of groups actively struggling for social justice. In the process of mobilizing, such groups develop analyses of their situation and alternative or even counter-hegemonic discourses. Much of what we think of as critical scholarship today can trace its origins to a social movement. For example, even though gender inequality has long existed in Western history, the whole idea of sex/gender being a distinct social system emerged only in the 1970s and it happened as a result of the women's movement (Harding, 1983). Women started coming together to analyze their lives, and scholars began taking their analyses seriously.

Knowledge constructed from multiple standpoints can, and in an unjust society will, sometimes be conflicting (Bhavnani, 1988). Whether and—more importantly—under what conditions the analyses developed from contrasting standpoints are commensurable is an empirical question—an exciting and crucial question. Taking contrasting standpoints seriously and working to understand the sources of, and if possible to reconcile, differences among them is the heart of what a critical gender scholarship can contribute to social understanding.

3.4 Create Knowledge that Empowers the Disadvantaged

Most feminists writing about power and research have focused on the actual process and products of research, and Wolf (1996) suggests that this is because processes and products are easier to do something about than researchers' social power. However, the reason we have to be worried about systematic biases toward the worldview and interests of the privileged in the knowledge we produce is that we exist in an unequal society.

The very need to ensure that research subjects have voice, are taken seriously as analysts of their lives, is the outcome of social power. People need to claim that they can speak with authority only when they are silenced; part of being privileged is being able to assume that one has authority (Bar On, 1993).

The inequality between the researcher and the subjects of research is usually grounded in the material—it is based in social structures organizing opportunities and costs by gender, class, race, nation, and so on. Visweswaran argues that the key question is not whether a researcher can do a better job of representing people than they themselves can. Rather, it is “whether we can be accountable to people’s own struggles for self-representation and self-determination” in the way we do our research (1988, 39).

Self-representation requires self-determination. As long as we live in a social world that sorts men and women, whites and people of color, rich and poor, native and immigrant, the West and the rest into such differing social locations, imposing a logic that creates conflicts in interest (so that for some to “win,” others have to lose), that controls the flow of information and ideas to ensure the hegemony of the dominant, and that blocks so many from active legitimate participation in the production of knowledge, we cannot have a fully free and inclusive discourse about what is and what should be. All researchers share a fundamental interest in the ability to develop valid knowledge. This should lead us to place a high value on social justice.

4 Conclusion

For many of us, the work of building understanding about social processes is more than a personal career choice. I suspect those whose research centers on dimensions of inequality such as gender want their work to somehow contribute to reducing that inequality. Yet, we do not have to look far back into history for examples of how social scientists’ work has become part of circulating discourses in which the

consequences of being wrong can be damaging to people’s lives. Thus, we want to make sure that gender scholarship is feminist, in the sense of serving the cause of social equality. All of us who seek to understand gender dynamics should pay close attention to the assumptions underlying our methodological choices and how we might do what we do differently if we take the implications of a realist standpoint epistemology into account.

Critical realism calls us to recognize that the world we are trying to understand is more complicated than it might seem to be, certainly more complicated than positivist approaches tend to represent it. Standpoint epistemology argues that, like the known, the knower too is more complex than is usually represented because knowers operate from specific social locations. By these lights, the model of research in which most of us have been trained in seems to be inadequate to the task of producing unbiased knowledge. We need to explore the degree to which prevailing ways of posing questions, looking for evidence and drawing conclusions can be expressing the interests and experiences of the privileged as against those over whom they have privilege.

Critical realism should lead us to realize how much we depend on the criticism of peers to identify the limitations in our practices, that is, the identification of valid claims to truth is a highly collaborative enterprise. Standpoint epistemology advises us to widen the circle of the critique and collaboration by exposing our truth claims to people who exist in very different social locations than do most researchers. Critical realism warns that the world is changing and thus changeable. Standpoint epistemology gives us guidance on how to make the most useful contributions to those who want to take informed intentional action to guide social change.

In a democratic society, or at least one that aims to be democratic, being a producer of knowledge entails making a contribution—either by omission or by commission—to the collective imagination about the kind of future we can have and how to achieve our shared values. Let us work together to increase our ability to get it

right about gender so we can help envision a world in which it no longer matters.

References

- Acker, J. (2005). *Class questions, feminist answers*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Aguilar, D. D. (2012). Tracing the roots of intersectionality. *MRZine*.
- Alcoff, L. (1989). Justifying feminist social science. In N. Tuana (Ed.), *Feminism and science* (pp. 85–103). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Aptheker, B. (1989). *Tapestries of everyday life: Women's work, women's consciousness, and the meaning of daily experience*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Bar On, B.-A. (1993). Marginality and epistemic privilege. In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.), *Feminist epistemologies* (pp. 83–100). New York: Routledge.
- Beoku-Betts, J. (1994). When black is not enough: Doing field research among gullah women. *NWSA Journal*, 6(3), 413–433. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4316353>.
- Bhavnani, K.-K. (1988). Empowerment and social research: Some comments. *Text*, 8(1–2), 41–50.
- Carli, L. L. (1990). Gender, language, and influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 941–951.
- Clough, P. T. (1993). On the brink of deconstructing sociology: Critical reading of Dorothy Smith's standpoint epistemology. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34(1), 169–182.
- Collier, A. (1994). *Critical realism: An introduction to Roy Bhaskar's philosophy*. London; New York: Verso.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Desai, M. (2009). *Gender and the politics of possibilities: rethinking globalization, The gender lens series*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- DeVault, M. L. (1990). Talking and listening from women's standpoint: Feminist strategies for interviewing and analysis. *Social Problems*, 37, 96–116.
- Edwards, R. (1990). Connecting method and epistemology: A white woman interviewing black women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13(5), 477–490.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2000). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Frauley, J., & Pearce, F. (Ed.). (2007). *Critical realism and the social sciences: Heterodox elaborations*. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Glenn, E. N. (1992). *From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labor*. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (18).
- Glucksman, M. (1994). The work of knowledge and the knowledge of women's work. In M. Maynard & J. Purvis (Eds.), *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective* (pp. 149–165). London and Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.
- Griffith, A. (1995). Mothering, schooling, and children's development. In M. Campbell & A. Manicom (Eds.), *Knowledge, experience, and ruling relations: Studies in the social organization of knowledge* (pp. 108–121). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599.
- Harding, S. (1983). Why has the sex/gender system become visible only now? In S. Harding & M. B. Hintikka (Eds.), *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and philosophy of science* (pp. 311–24). Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Harding, S. (1991). *Whose science? Whose knowledge? Thinking from women's lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Harding, S. (1998). *Is science multicultural? Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hartsock, N. C. M. (1983). *Money, sex, and power: Toward a feminist historical materialism, Longman series in feminist theory*. New York: Longman.
- Hartsock, N. C. M. (1985). *Money, sex, and power: Toward a feminist historical materialism*. Boston: Northeastern.
- Hertz, R. (Ed.). (1997). *Reflexivity and voice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Longino, H. (1989). Feminist critiques of rationality: Critiques of science or philosophy of science? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 12, 261–269.
- Mascia-Lees, Sharpe, F. E. P., & Cohen, C. B. (1989). The postmodern turn in anthropology: Cautions from a feminist perspective. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 15, 7–33.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
- McCall, M., & Wittner, J. (1989). The good news about life histories. In H. Becker & Michal McCall (Eds.),

- Cultural studies and symbolic interaction* (pp. 46–89). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morgan, D. (1981). Men, masculinity, and the process of sociological inquiry. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 83–113). London, Boston, and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Norris, C., Bhaskar, R., & Baggini, J. (1999). The new realism. *The Philosophers' Magazine*, 8.
- Ribbens, J. (1989). Interviewing—An 'unnatural situation'. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 12(6), 579–592.
- Russell, D. (1984). *Sexual exploitation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Smith, D. E. (1990). *The conceptual practices of power: A feminist sociology of knowledge*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, D. E. (2005). *Institutional ethnography: A sociology for people*. Lanham, Md: Altamira.
- Sprague, J. (2016). *Feminist methodologies for critical researchers: Bridging differences* (2nd ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Visweswaran, K. (1988). Defining feminist ethnography. *Inscriptions*, 3(4), 27–44.
- Walby, S. (2001). Against epistemological chasms: The science question in feminism revisited. *Signs*, 26(2), 485–509.
- Wolf, D. L. (1996). Situating feminist dilemmas in fieldwork. In D. L. Wolf (Ed.), *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork* (pp. 1–55). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Wolf, M. (1992). *A thrice-told tale: Feminism, postmodernism, and ethnographic responsibility*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Zavella, P. (1996). Feminist insider dilemmas: Constructing ethnic identity with chicana informants. In D. L. Wolf (Ed.), *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork* (pp. 139–159). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Joey Sprague is professor emerita of Sociology at the University of Kansas. She has analyzed the gendered construction of knowledge, looking at such discourses as those on abortion, art, disability, economics, and methodology, as well as the impact of the organization of the academy more broadly. She is author of *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences, 2nd edition*, and a founding coeditor of *The Gender Lens* book series. She lives in Milwaukee.

Pallavi Banerjee and Raewyn Connell

Abstract

This chapter explores the global connections to theorising gender. The chapter argues that the global north clearly maintains hegemony in the production of gender and feminist theory in the world. The theories produced in the global south are generally oriented to theories and methods developed in the global north. There is a rich but unacknowledged archive of accounts and analyses of gender from around the global south. A survey of gender scholarship in the global south shows important foundation for decolonial thinking about gender theory. We contend that gender needs to be understood in a historical context of the majority world including colonization, colonial violence, role of the postcolonial state, land acquisition, global hunger and post-independence globalization. Feminism in the north as well feminism around the global south stands to gain from the vision of a wider world. Gender scholarship, therefore, needs to move to a world-centered, solidarity-based approach to knowledge.

P. Banerjee (✉)
 University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada
 e-mail: pallavi.banerjee@ucalgary.ca

R. Connell
 University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia

1 Introduction

Why and how are the stereotypes of ‘other’ women so integral to white western women’s construction of themselves? asks the Australian sociologist Chilla Bulbeck in her book *Re-orienting Western Feminisms*. In this book she indicts the whiteness of the dominant forms of feminist thought on a global level. A similar case has been made by women of colour within the global North. In a well-known argument, Hooks (1984) and Collins (1997) observed that feminism constructed from a position of racial privilege was profoundly limited in its grasp of women’s experience and its understanding of social inequality. Around the same time, post-colonial feminists like Lazreg (1990), Mohanty (1991) and Spivak (1988) identified the colonial gaze of a feminism that painted ‘third world women’ in a monochrome of victimhood and otherness. Building on these contributions and on the encounters of international feminists at the UN world conferences on women, Bulbeck argued that it is time to decenter the global north as the privileged producer of knowledge, and shift the focus to the postcolonial world—where majority of the world’s people live.

This is more than an academic matter for feminists in the global north. Donald Trump’s election as the US President by a white majority electorate, following a campaign striking for its bigotry and fear-mongering, shows the

continuing power of racial hierarchies. The current shattering of northern democratic aspirations for a just society, in Europe as well as the USA, throws into relief the exclusion of ideas, as well as populations, from the south. For those societies despised as backward or unworthy of inclusion have a rich discourse for understanding social injustices on a local and a global level.

In this chapter we explore global relationships in theorising gender. We discuss the marginalization of gender theory from the global south, and the persisting hegemony of the global north, in the world knowledge economy. We argue that, like much of the knowledge produced in the north, mainstream feminist thought has been harmed by its own colonial privilege. We show how there are rich and consequential gender theories that come from the global south. Therefore we argue for a world-centered, rather than northern-centred, approach to studying gender.

We first examine the persistent hegemony of the north in the global economy of knowledge. We then take a walk through some of the gender research and debate that comes from the global periphery, about gender-based violence of colonialism, gender and the postcolonial state, control of land, migration and transnational gender regimes, and gender and global hunger. We then discuss how to conceptualize postcolonial perspectives on gender, and the new shape that feminist thought might take at a global level.

2 Gender Theory: Hegemony of the North

There is a structural imbalance in the global economy of knowledge. Theory and research produced and published in the north is carefully studied and cited by scholars in the south. The reverse rarely happens. Most journals, and practically all the ‘top’ journals, are housed in the north, so that is where research-based knowledge is validated. This inequality involves a division of labour. As the Beninese philosopher Hountondji (1997, 2002) has pointed out, the colonised and postcolonial world serves the global

economy of knowledge mainly as a source of raw materials, i.e. data; while theory, methodology, databanks, and paradigms of teaching, are mainly produced in the north.

Scholars in the south are under tremendous pressure to publish in northern journals or to present in expensive conferences held in the north if they are to achieve recognition on a global scale. Hountondji (2002) calls this presence of northern perspectives within the lives and works of southern scholars ‘extraversion’—being oriented to authority from outside one’s own society, and specifically, to the colonizing power.

The observation applies to gender studies. Most gender theories and feminist research paradigms circulating around the world are developed in the global north. Research on surrogate mothers in India, or maquiladoras (export factory) workers in Mexico, or sex workers in Vietnam, or gender violence in sub-Saharan Africa, or gender and sexuality in China, done in the global south by feminist researchers based there, nevertheless owe their framing ideas to the familiar classics of northern theory.

For instance, in her insightful study of the Maquiladora workers in Mexico, Salzinger (2003), while redefining femininity in the context of Maquiladoras to mean “docile, dexterous and cheap labor”, still borrows the basis for understanding femininities and masculinities from the gender literature of the global north. Studies on globalization and gender coming out of India still rely on Giddens, Marx, Harvey, Butler and Kristeva for theorization (Bose, 2008). The poignant work on *vestidas*, feminized male sex workers, in Puebla, Mexico, interprets the gendered violence faced by the sex workers through Marx’s political-economic lens and Agamben’s philosophy of limits of violence (Carreras, 2009). There are countless other examples.

The problem is not that these writings erase local histories or social context. What extraverted writings suffer from is a reductive epistemology, where the southern context is reduced to a case study, providing data that reaffirms or modifies a northern conceptualization.

In recent years, many feminist scholars have tried to move beyond a Euro-American-centric

approach to gender research. There is now interest in multiple perspectives, in the knowledge implications of cultural pluralism, and in breaking down north-south binaries. Northern journals have been publishing special issues with contributions from different parts of the global south, ranging from south Asia, East Asia and Africa to Latin America. We might almost say that global diversity of knowledge has been genre-ized as a field of feminism.

These efforts represent real progress. Yet in themselves they do not decenter the north. The framing of these efforts still derives from the historical experience of the imperial centre; this experience, and the institutional privilege deriving from it, is still at the root of feminist knowledge-making, still reflected in the meaning and usage of fundamental concepts such as ‘gender’, ‘patriarchy’, ‘sexuality’, ‘normativity’, ‘masculinities and femininities’. As the Australian Aboriginal scholar Moreton-Robinson (2000) shows, racial and institutional privilege is built into mainstream forms of feminism, even when well-meaning towards indigenous people. Moreton-Robinson argues that even the anti-racist white, middle-class feminist academics, in their attempts to speak on behalf of indigenous women and the oppression they experienced, used their position of dominance to inadvertently silence the Indigenous women academics’ voices to represent an indigenous standpoint.

We argue that the first step toward correcting this persisting imbalance in gender knowledge is to get beyond the idea of *diversity* and acknowledge in their entirety the structural *inequalities* in the global economy of knowledge and the depth of the hegemony of the metropole. Second—and more important—we must recognize that the periphery is not just a data mine. Colonized and postcolonial societies also produce theories of gender, and these are deep and important (Connell, 2014). New horizons of feminist theory open when we look persistently beyond the mainstream circuits.

3 Gender Issues in the Majority World

Feminist and gender scholars working in the global south, in the presence of different histories and cultural traditions from those of the imperial centre, are likely to emphasise different social experiences when thinking about gender. They are likely to be aware of the violent histories of colonialism and the new forms of imperialism. We will introduce four themes that are prominent in gender literatures from the South: the psychological and social analysis of colonial gender violence; the gender trajectories of the post-colonial state and the neoliberal globalized world; gendered contestation over land; and the gendered politics of hunger.

Violence. Feminist thought about gender-based violence has tended to ignore the violence of colonialism. Gender researchers in the south have pushed back, emphasising that colonization was itself a massive form of gender violence. Conquest was often accompanied by mass rape, and colonized women remained as targets of the colonizers’ sexuality.

This had consequences for colonized men as well as women. In his psychological analysis of racism in metropolitan France and in the French empire, Fanon (1952) argued that under colonialism, a system of violence and economic exploitation, black masculinity became disturbed as it struggled to find a place in a colonial dispensation that defined it as biologically inferior and made Black men the objects of anxiety or fear. Writing on similar themes some decades later, the Indian psychologist Nandy (1983) showed how colonialism produced narrowed and power-oriented masculinities, among both colonizers and colonized. Nandy distinguishes between colonization through military conquest and colonization of the mind (1983: XI). Military conquest presents a hyper-masculinized projection of the colonizer and the colonization of the mind is complete when the cognitive connection

between the British political and military dominance and the traditional dominance within the Western culture of the masculine over the feminine had been made. This masculine trope is then adjusted to the Indian culture and context to establish a new and narrow kind of conquest oriented masculinity.

In a more socially grounded analysis, Amina Mama (1997, 2005) makes a strong argument for understanding violence against women in post-colonial Africa in terms of the violence of colonialism. She shows how patriarchal dynamics at the imperial source constructed abjected positions for colonized women: the ‘pedestalization of the upper-class, white womanhood was counterpoised to an inferiorized construction of blackness’ (Mama, 1997: 48). This normalized the violence on black women during colonialism and after notional decolonization. In the same vein, Puri (2012) argues that legal violence against queer sexuality in India is a colonial inheritance—like other features of the gender order such as the legalization of marital rape. She argues that the intersections of race, class, religious and sexual difference are built into the legal rule that criminalizes the ‘act of sodomy’, preserving into postcolonial time the power hierarchies of the colonial social order.

States. In the struggle for independence, and then in the making of post-colonial trajectories, postcolonial states developed their own gender orders, partly inherited from the colonial gender order and partly newly-made. Postcolonial dictatorships in Indonesia, Pakistan, Malaysia and in other regions established new configurations of masculinized power. Even in electoral democracies such as India, the state assumed a masculinized dispensation as it struggled with the consolidation of its diverse populations, which had been fragmented and divided under colonial rule.

Many local authors writing in vernaculars have dealt with these complexities. Mahashewta Devi’s literary works, written in the Bengali vernacular about the ‘gendered subaltern subject’ (Spivak, 1989, p. 106), call attention to the oppression of the indigenous people of India by both the colonial and postcolonial state. In her stories, particularly

about indigenous women and the state’s unfettered control over their personhood and bodies, Devi does not deny her protagonists their subjectivities. In asserting their subaltern subjectivities, she raises questions about the blurry lines between ‘empire’ and ‘nation’—the nation-state built in the image of the metropole. Devi’s writings, meant for a local instead of a global audience, have inspired a generation of Indian feminist scholarship. Coming from one of the foremost intellectual, upper-caste (though not affluent) families in India, Devi saw her writings translated into English, by Spivak among others, for an international audience. Yet her work is rarely mentioned in the mainstream gender studies curriculum in the global north.

The development strategy of industrialization in the global periphery created new economic niches that were sites of privilege for men, such as the tech industry in India (Banerjee, 2006; Aneesh, 2006; Biao, 2007), the oil-funded industries of Algeria (Lazreg, 1990), or the motor industry in Australia. Yet development strategies did not only privilege men and boys; they often included considerable investment in girls’ education (Lazreg, 1990). Mernissi (1985 [1975]) notes ironically that in Morocco, the developmentalist state itself became the main threat to men’s supremacy. Southern scholars and writers do not paint a monolithic picture of gender oppression in these countries. All of Devi’s women characters are rebels whose very existence creates subversive discourse and practice.

Present-day neoliberal globalization is still fraught with the effects of coloniality in its constitution of gender. It has produced new masculinized elites in global power centres (Connell, 2016) and has re-constituted, rather than abolished, the coloniality of gender. New forms of dependency and marginalization are illustrated by Banerjee’s (2012) research on the U.S. visa regime and its imprints on the gendered and racialized lives of ‘highly skilled’ Indian families who migrate to the U.S. for work. The study is based on two family forms—male-led Indian immigrant families of high-tech workers and female-led Indian immigrant families of nurses. The “highly-skilled” workers migrate for employment on skilled workers’ visas and their

spouses migrate on what is popularly known as dependent visas. The dependent visa disallows the spouses of skilled workers to engage in legal employment in the United States for a term that could be as long as twenty years. One of the outcomes of this policy is that highly qualified women who are spouses of the high-tech workers, most of whom were working before migration, were forced to adapt to the performance of being “housewives”. In contrast, the comparatively less qualified husbands of the nurses, who were used to being the unquestioned heads of the household prior to migration, were now relegated to a dependent position. This reorganization of the family structure due to visa policies that disproportionately affects Indian immigrants in the U.S., led to various kinds of shifts and reassertions of power and dependence.

Banerjee shows how visa regimes reconfigure identities and notions of the self for visa holders, impose constraints on relationships, and redefine gender dynamics within families. She argues that the apparently gender-neutral visa policies of the United States take on heavily gendered meanings when translated into everyday interactions in the families bound by such policies. Digging out the gender and racial presuppositions of visa laws, she shows empirically that visa structures of the state create a web of dependence for migrant subjects. The visa regime, then, is embedded in a new coloniality of gender that controls the racialized masculinities of a technocratic labor-force and their families as they enter the capitalist project of gendered global mobility.

Land. The issue of land has been almost completely absent from social theory produced in the global north. Yet forcible acquisition of land was at the core of colonization, both in settler colonies and colonies of rule. Relationship to land was central to how colonized societies formulated their social (including gender), cultural, environmental and metaphorical relationships and knowledge—and it remains vital.

Bina Agarwal, a feminist economist from India whose life’s work has illuminated the relationship between gender and land, provides a clear and multi-dimensional account of how gender relationships work in agricultural

societies—home to half of the world’s population and the majority of the poor (Agarwal, 1994, 2000, 2010). Her research links poverty, local politics, household negotiations, gendered division of labor, women’s networks and activism, governmental policies and strategies and changing technologies in agriculture and forestry. Agarwal (2010) analyzes how women’s rights to familial land and property—or the denial thereof—in rural South Asia produce complex negotiations and bargaining within four ‘arenas’—the household, the market, the community at large and the State. She argues, “Gender relations get constituted and contested within each” (p. 36). One of the ways she demonstrates the interrelatedness of these structural forces in constituting gender relationality is through the example of contemporary poor rural households in Bangladesh. She argues that the State push toward Islamization of the society, with support from local communities, has curtailed certain economic rights of women in Bangladesh. But poor rural women are challenging these strictures collectively, with support from NGOs, and often with support from their husbands because these new religious norms impinge upon the livelihood of the families. This is one of many examples from Agarwal’s work that shows the connectedness between social and political organization in constituting gender. Agarwal’s work is, perhaps, the fullest contemporary demonstration, anywhere in the world, of the multidimensional and dynamic character of gender relations.

Agarwal is not alone in her concern with issues about land. Arundhati Rai (1999) and Mahashweta Devi in their non-fictional and fictional writing respectively, have also shown the fraught relationship between land usurpation, gender and violence in the hinterlands of India. In settler-colonial contexts, land and land rights has been central to indigenous people’s politics, and the issue always has a gender dimension. For instance, in an important collection of Aboriginal writings in Australia called *Our Land is Our Life*, Langton (1997) argues that in the face of colonial violence, women’s system of law and older women’s ties to place were crucial to community survival.

Hunger. Like the issue of land, hunger and its gender politics have also been undertheorized in gender scholarship in the north. But this is an inescapable issue in the global south. Hunger in the colonial and postcolonial world drives migration; it polarizes the urban and the rural, the global north and the south; and hunger too has a gendered profile. Where colonizers seize the most productive land, they destroy the food sources on which indigenous peoples rely; this was one of the mechanisms of death on the frontier in North America and Australia. Since colonial states are always authoritarian, they can ignore famine when it suits them; this was a mechanism of mass death in British-ruled India, especially in Bengal.

In a new collection of studies on the politics and aesthetics of hunger, contributors examine the intense hunger experienced by the dying millions in the Bengal famine of 1943, the Native American populations in the United States, African children caught in the war of Biafra, and the Egyptian poor involved in the bread revolts of 1977 (Ulanowicz and Basu, 2017).

In the afterword of the book *The Politics and Aesthetics of Global Hunger*, Banerjee and Ray (2017) argue that the liberal discourse of ‘freedom from hunger’ as a civil right becomes tenuous for those on the fringes, those marginalized by gender, race, class, and sexuality oppressions, both in the former colonies and in the metropole. The trauma of colonial hunger in the ‘other lands’ remains in local memory; yet the imagery of hunger in global media is of something less than human.

Hunger as political performance of protest is also a gendered phenomenon. Historically the ‘hunger strike’ as a form of protest against the imperial state was led by men, for instance activists in the Irish independence movement who had been imprisoned. It was picked up by women’s suffrage campaigners in the metropole. In recent times there has been a resurgence of women’s use of the hunger strike, protesting postcolonial states and their unbridled power over the most marginalized: Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar, Irom Chanu Sharmila and Medha Patkar in India, Theresa Spence, the former chief

of the Attawapiskat First Nation in Canada, among many others. One response is a display of state power over women’s bodies through medicalized force-feeding to undermine their resistance.

The issues of violence, state, land and hunger call for the re-thinking of gender in the world, including the metropole. The colonial and postcolonial worlds hold a much richer significance for gender theory than just being the data mine for the production of theory in the north. They offer trajectories for rethinking gender analysis at a very basic level.

4 Knowledge from the South

A range of perspectives relevant for rethinking gender has come out of the global south. Independence movements contested the intellectual hegemony of the metropole in a variety of ways, often celebrating local culture and knowledge systems. Expatriate scholars working in northern universities pushed postcolonial studies in the humanities forward. More recently, southern and decolonial perspectives have spread in the social sciences.

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* the Maori scholar Smith (2012) argues that the mainstream idea of research itself is colonial, and presents ‘a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of knowing of the Other’ (2). Smith (2012) systematically unpacks the imperialist ideologies embedded in social research. She remarks that ‘[t]here are numerous oral stories which tell of what it means, what it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people’ (31). She proposes indigenous methodologies for studying the situation of indigenous people, an approach developed in the Kaupapa Maori educational movement among contemporary Maori people in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Another important perspective sprang from the work of Indian historians, crystallized in the

periodical *Subaltern Studies*, launched in the 1980s. Led by its editor Ranajit Guha, these historians created a history-from-below approach to understanding colonial societies. Guha's *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (1983) is a powerful example. Reconstructing the detail of peasant risings from the records left by the colonizers, but reading these records against the grain, Guha argued that the politics of the people in colonial India was distinct and different from the politics of the elite. Western-educated, upper-caste Indian elites in colonial India became collaborators in the British Empire (or the "raj" as Guha calls it), to maintain control of the masses. The colonialists created a political voice and arena for the masculine, Western educated metropolitan Indian elite by having them vie for rewards in the form of privileges and power in governmental institutions of the raj. This ensured that the Indian elite was speaking for the raj and not in opposition to it. In contrast, the subaltern voice, unnoticed for a long time by academics, came out of the peasant movements. It was a mandate against the raj and involved a large part of the society, including women not represented by the "bourgeois elite". The subaltern voice was unassimilated and un-coopted by the colonial institution and at its core embodied the voice of the oppressed.

The term 'subaltern' itself came from the writings of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and can refer to subordination based on class, caste, gender, race, language and culture (Biswas, 2009: 200). As Dipesh Chakrabarty (one of the members of the original subaltern studies group) argues, posing such questions in colonial India forced a departure from global-North conventions for writing history, even radical history; and the subaltern studies approach has continued to evolve (Chakrabarty, 2000).

There are, thus, a range of resources available for rethinking societies in postcolonial or decolonial perspectives. But it is another step to understand gender in these terms; and often this step was a step not taken. We have seen how the subject-matter of gender research changes when we take a southern perspective, highlighting land, colonizing violence, etc. Let us now

consider how concepts change, in southern perspective.

5 Changing Concepts

Philosopher Lugones (2007), whose work is based in the Latin American school of decolonial thought, has developed the concept of the 'coloniality of gender' (Lugones, 2007). This draws on the influential concept of coloniality of power introduced by Peruvian sociologist Quijano (2000), who points out that South American societies have continued to be structured by dependence on the metropole, long after formal independence. Lugones argues that indigenous communities in Latin America were not originally structured by gender, that gender is 'a colonial imposition' in Latin America. She argues that contemporary gendered scripts like sexual passivity and purity as moral premise of womanhood in Latin America are colonial imports. Such framings of gender came with colonial religions (particularly Catholic Christianity) and the public patriarchy of the colonial State. Another example of what Lugones calls the "coloniality of gender" can be seen in the erasure of the precolonial Native people's practices of matriarchy, the existence of a third gender category for intersex and trans individuals and acceptance of queer sexualities. The strict binarized, heterosexist gender order of today, was brought into and instituted in Latin American societies by colonial powers. Further, the relegation of native, non-white women to sub-human status and giving white, middle class, colonial women solely the status of real women sowed the seeds of racialized-gendering of women in Latin America that persists to this day.

Lugones drew on a line of thought already developed by scholars of the African diaspora (Oyéwùmí, 1997; Nnaemeka, 2005) who have argued that feminism itself involves cultural colonization. Northern feminist ideas override the unique African perspective on women, and erase a history of societies that were not structured by gender. Oyéwùmí (1997) maintains that feminist, queer or even postcolonial discourses

fail to challenge sufficiently the idea of Africa as primitive and so maintain colonial perspectives. This approach contests the idea that non-Western societies are burdened with primitive gender practices and structured by unreconstructed patriarchy—an idea that surfaced again in the media propaganda for the ‘War on Terror’ (Bahramitash, 2005; Maira, 2009).

However, scholars within Africa, such as Hendricks and Lewis (1994) and Bakare-Yusuf (2003), have strongly critiqued such formulations. The factual grounding of the claim that gender was introduced by colonialism is flimsy. The assertion of a unique African way of being is marked by cultural essentialism and conservatism. Pre-colonial African societies—and the same can be said for pre-columbian American societies—did have gender hierarchies, did interact with each other, and constantly changed over time.

We do not need to romanticize pre-colonial societies to recognize the strongly gendered character of colonization and its violent impact. The history of colonial societies involved the creation of new, racialized gender orders—an insight that has been available for a long time, in the research of scholars like the pioneering Brazilian feminist Saffioti ([1969] 1978). Colombian sociologist Mara Viveros notes the ways in which colonialism brutally established both gender and racial hierarchies (Viveros, 2007), in a configuration that has shaped the politics of the region ever since.

In the context of colonization, it is almost impossible to talk about gender divorced from race. As Valentine Mudimbe observes in *The Idea of Africa* (1994: 140) in order for the colonizers to establish the new power, they needed to reconstruct the society. There was a dis-ordering, and then a re-ordering, of gender relations in conjunction with race relations.

The rape of indigenous women by colonizing men was both a way to control indigenous bodies through violation and a way of dismantling the existing structures of sexuality, family and inheritance. The colonized population that survived was further fragmented through forced migrations—for instance collecting diverse

communities into small ‘reserves’ on unwanted land, and taking indigenous children from their parents, putting them in foster homes or residential schools. This story of child abuse has now been exposed in both Australia and Canada. Christian missionaries who insisted on a European model of the family and patriarchal authority for indigenous communities furthered the cultural change. A racialized gender hegemony was at the heart of the imperial project, especially in its later phases. Morrell’s (2001) history of settler masculinity in colonial Natal shows how the settlers too were affected, creating a dominating, even militarized, form of masculinity that was needed to exert power over a subject population.

Over the long history of colonization, segregation increased. Strict social rules against intermarriage between colonizers and colonized developed in most European empires in the second half of the nineteenth century. New hierarchies of masculinity emerged in the colonial context. The White masculine colonizer was at the top, the emasculated colonized subject below; but the colonizers also made distinctions between warrior and effeminate masculinities among the subjects, while new patterns of masculinity emerged among them (Sinha, 1995; Nandy, 1983).

The hierarchies created in the old imperialism have carried forward into global neoliberal capitalism, which makes extensive use of cheap, gender-divided labor in the periphery (Rodriguez, 2010; Parrenas, 2001). There are, of course, new institutions that have replaced the old empires. Global power is now wielded through trade relations, corporate investment, financial control, development aid programs, military aid (and embargoes), sporadic military action, and the multilateral state structure of the United Nations. Gender dynamics in the contemporary postcolonial world are embedded in all of these structures (Harcourt, 2009; Gottfried, 2013).

This has produced situations that may reverse old gender patterns. For instance, we usually think of migration as being led by male workers going to a place of opportunity or higher wages.

That still happens; but in countries like the Philippines, labour migration is led by women, as domestic and care workers. Very large numbers of women have travelled to work in middle-class households in Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, other parts of east and south-east Asia, not to mention the Gulf states and the global North (Rodriguez, 2010; Gueverra, 2010). A similar pattern developed inside China, producing the ‘baomu’, women domestic workers who migrated from the countryside into neoliberal Chinese cities (Yan, 2008). More cases are found in other parts of the world. When we take into account the changing gender relations within the families who employ these workers, we see a paradoxical situation. A modernization of gender relations among middle and upper middle class families is achieved by entrenching ‘traditional’ feminized labor from working class women, as Montecino (2001) observes of Chile, or Ray and Quayum (2009) observe of India. Yet the ‘traditional’ domestic work is also paradoxical, for these women are breadwinners, often supporting their families at a distance.

As we observed earlier, some of the most influential post-colonial perspectives ignored or marginalized questions of gender. Commenting on the subaltern-studies approach in a celebrated essay ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak agreed that Indian histories had been written from the vantage point of the colonizers or the nationalist elites, and erased the voice of the subordinated other, especially the woman: ‘within this effaced track of the subaltern, the track of sexual difference is doubly effaced’ (Spivak, 1988: 273). Indeed the voices and the dissent of women as subaltern have been silenced in many powerful discourses. Women intellectuals like herself have a special responsibility to contest this silencing. Yet it is important that elite intellectuals should not substitute their own voices and claim to represent the subaltern. Decolonizing our histories is essential, but it is not easy.

Bulbeck (1998), who was mentioned at the start of this chapter, criticizes the conventional debate over women’s global sameness or difference, and traces the multiple ways in which women in the south have blended tradition and

modernity. They have dealt both with colonial constructions of gendered ways of living and local assertions of particular femininities. Women in postcolonial societies have a history of struggle and dissent and do not require ‘saving’. Bulbeck notes ironically that more women were tenured at Delhi University in India than at Harvard University in the United States. She also presents a harsh critique of the individual-rights discourse that homogenizes women’s issues across societies and cultures. She shows how the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is potentially less than universal, in practice excluding the most marginalized of women. No doctrine from the global north should be imposed on women in the rest of the world; instead, Bulbeck advocates the ‘braiding’ of multiple feminisms on a world scale. We might call this a solidarity-based epistemology for understanding gender.

6 The Gender Theory We Can Hope for

As we mentioned earlier, mainstream gender studies has not ignored globalization. There are now collections of global gender research (e.g. Bennett, 2008; Bose & Kim, 2009; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003), and special issues of northern journals that concern the south. The difficulty is that most of this scholarship still uses theories and methodologies from the metropole as its framework—which is true even of most work done by researchers located in southern countries, because of the extraversion of mainstream scholarship there.

It is another step to grapple with the great historical transformations that constitute gender in the contemporary world, through an epistemology that prioritises the experience and thought of the colonized and postcolonial world.

Yet a postcolonial approach is vital to understanding the metropole itself. It is not only that understanding historical disruptions and re-building of gender orders across the colonized world gives us tools for understanding what happens in the disruptions of twenty-first century

economic crises and neoliberal politics in the metropole. Feminism in the north as well as feminism around the global south stands to gain from the vision of a wider world, the dramatic expansion in what gender analysis can be.

A solidarity-based view of knowledge requires the habit of analyzing gender *fundamentally* from the lens of coloniality. Building solidarity is not easy, given the history of colonialism entrenched in racism, gender violence and institutional orthodoxies. But making the attempt is vital; southern theory is an asset, not a hindrance. For northern knowledge institutions this means extensive overhaul of curricula. It also means changes in the benchmarks for scholarly competence—a shift towards a model of world competence oriented to social justice rather than a competitive individualism focused on ‘top journals’.

In the periphery, a solidarity-based epistemology means challenging deep-seated habits of deference to the metropole. It means building new forms of south/south linkage among gender scholars and movements. It is not enough to have individual pieces of work from the south. It is by seeing this work *as a whole* that we become conscious of a body of knowledge with a scope and sophistication comparable to the output of the metropole.

Gender studies needs to move to a world-centered, solidarity-based approach to knowledge. There is at present no Southern Gender Theory as a unified model, and perhaps there never will be. This is a field in dynamic development. What we can do now is change the way we look at gender realities in both the south and the north. New forms of theory, and hopefully action, will emerge as we do.

Acknowledgements This text draws from the authors’ previous work, especially Pallavi Banerjee’s doctoral thesis *Constructing Dependence: Visa Regimes and Gendered Migration in Families of Indian Professional Workers*, and Raewyn Connell’s papers ‘Margin becoming centre: for a world-centred rethinking of masculinities.’ *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 2014, 9:4, 217–231, and ‘Meeting at the edge of fear: Theory on a world scale,’ *Feminist Theory*, 2015, 16:149–166.

References

- Agarwal, B. (1994). *A field of one’s own: Gender and land rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Agarwal, B. (2000). Conceptualising environmental collective action: Why gender matters. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 24, 283–310.
- Agarwal, B. (2010). *Gender and green governance: The political economy of women’s presence within and beyond community forestry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aneesh, A. (2006). *Virtual migration: The programming of globalization*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bahramitash, R. (2005). ‘The war on terror, feminist orientalism and orientalist feminism: Case studies of two North American Bestsellers’. *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 14(2), 221–235.
- Bakare-Yusuf, B. (2003). ‘Yorubas don’t do gender’: A critical review of Oyeronke Oyewumi’s. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses African Identities*, 1, 121–143.
- Banerjee, P. (2006). Indian Information Technology workers in the United States: The H-1B Visa, flexible production, and the racialization of labor. *Critical Sociology*, 32(2–3), 425–445.
- Banerjee, P. (2012). *Constructing dependence: Visa regimes and gendered migration in families of Indian professional workers*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Illinois at Chicago, Indigo Archives. <http://hdl.handle.net/10027/9771>.
- Banerjee, B., & Ray, R. (2017). Afterword: Hunger as Performance. In M. Basu, & A. Ulanowicz (Eds.), *The aesthetics and politics of global hunger*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (Forthcoming).
- Bennett, J. (2008). Editorial: Researching for life: Paradigms and power. *Feminist Africa*, 11, 1–12.
- Biao, X. (2007). *Global “Body Shopping”: An Indian labor system in the information technology industry*. NJ, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Biswas, A. (2009). Research note on subaltern studies. *Journal of Literature, Culture and Media Studies*, 1 (2), 200–205.
- Bose, B. (2008). Modernity, globality, sexuality, and the city: A reading of Indian cinema. *The Global South*, 2 (1), 35–58.
- Bose, C. E., & Kim, M. (2009). *Global gender research: Transnational perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Bulbeck, C. (1998). *Re-orienting Western feminisms: Women’s diversity in a postcolonial world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carreras, S. N. (2009). Sexoservidores–homosexuales–“vestidas” en la ciudad de Puebla. In Ricardo Francisco Macip Rios (Ed.), *Sujetos Neoliberales en México (Neoliberal subjects in Mexico)*. Puebla, Mexico: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). Subaltern studies and postcolonial historiography. *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1(1), 9–32.
- Collins, P. H. (1997). Comment on Hekman's 'Truth and method: Feminist standpoint theory revisited': Where's the power? *Signs*, 22(2), 375–381.
- Connell, R. (2014). Rethinking gender from the South. *Feminist Studies*, 40(3), 518–539.
- Connell, R. (2016). 100 million Kalashnikovs: Gendered power on a world scale. *Debate Feminista*, 51, 3–17. June 2016, at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.df.2016.03.001>.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (2003). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Fanon, F. (1967 [1952]). *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Gottfried, H. (2013). *Gender, work, and economy: Unpacking the global economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Q. Hoare, & G. Nowell Smith (Eds., Trans.) London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Gueverra, A. (2010). *Marketing dreams, manufacturing heroes: The transnational labor brokering of Filipino workers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Guha, R. (1983). *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Harcourt, W. (2009). *Body politics in development: Critical debates in gender and development*. London: Zed Books.
- Hendricks, C., & Lewis, D. (1994). Voices from the margins. *Agenda*, 10, 61–75.
- Hooks, B. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Boston: South End Press.
- Hountondji, P. J. (1997). Introduction: Recentring Africa. In P. J. Hountondji (Ed.), *Endogenous knowledge: Research trails* (pp. 1–39). Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Hountondji, P. J. (2002). Knowledge appropriation in a post-colonial context. In C. A. O. Hoppers (Ed.), *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems*. Claremont: New Africa Books.
- Langton, M. (1997). Grandmothers' law, company business and succession in changing Aboriginal land tenure systems. In G. Yunupingu (Ed.), *Our land is our life*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Lazreg, M. (1990). Gender and politics in Algeria: Unraveling the religious paradigm. *Signs*, 15, 755–780.
- Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexism and the colonial/modern gender system. *Hypatia*, 22(1), 186–219.
- Maira, S. (2009). "Good" and "Bad" Muslim citizens: Feminists, terrorists, and US orientalisms. *Feminist Studies*, 35(3), 631–656.
- Mama, A. (1997). Heroes and villains: Conceptualizing colonial and contemporary violence against women in Africa. In M. J. Alexander & C. T. Mohanty (Eds.), *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures*. New York: Routledge.
- Mama, A. (2005). Gender studies for African transformation. In P. T. Mkandawire (Ed.), *African intellectuals: Rethinking politics, language, gender, and development*. London: Zed Books and CODESRIA.
- Mernissi, F. (1985 [1975]). *Beyond the veil: Male-female dynamics in modern muslim society*. Revised edn. London: Saqi Books.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1991). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, & L. Torres (Eds.), *Third world women and the politics of feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Montecino, S. (2001). Identidades y diversidades en Chile. In M. A. Garretón (Ed.), *Cultura y Desarrollo en Chile*. Andres Bello: Santiago.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2000). *Talkin' up to the white woman: Indigenous women and feminism*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Morrell, R. (2001). *From boys to gentlemen: Settler masculinity in colonial natal 1880–1920*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Mudimbe, V. (1994). *The idea of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Nandy, A. (1983). *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nnaemeka, O. (2005). Mapping African feminisms. In A. Cornwall (Ed.), *Readings in Gender in Africa*. London: International African Institute, James Currey and Indiana University Press.
- Oyewùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Parrenas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Puri, J. (2012). Decriminalisation as deregulation? Logics of sodomy law and the state. In S. Srivastava (Ed.), *Sexualities reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15 (2), 215–232.
- Rai, A. (1999). *The cost of living*. New York: Modern Library.
- Ray, R., & Qayum, S. (2009). *Cultures of servitude: Modernity, domesticity and class in India*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Rodriguez, R. (2010). *Migrants for export: How the Philippines brokers labor to the world*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Saffioti, HIB. (1978 [1969]). *Women in class society [A mulher na sociedade de classes]*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Salzinger, L. (2003). *Genders in production: Making workers in Mexico's global factories*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sinha, M. (1995). *Colonial masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late*

- nineteenth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London, GB: Zed Books.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). *In other worlds: Essays in cultural politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Spivak Chakravorty, G. (1989). Woman in difference: Mahasweta Devi's 'Douloti the Bountiful'. *Cultural Critique, The Construction of Gender and Modes of Social Division II*, 14, 105–128.
- Ulanowicz, A., & Basu, M. (2017). *The aesthetics and politics of global hunger*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Viveros, M. (2007). De diferencia y diferencias. Algunos debates desde las teorías feministas y de género. In L. G. Arango & Y. Puyana (Eds.), *Género, Mujeres y Saberes en América Latina*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Yan, H. (2008). *New masters, new servants: Migration, development, and women workers in China*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Pallavi Banerjee** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Calgary. Her research interests are situated at the intersections of sociology of immigration, gender and feminist theory, racialization, transnational labor and minority families. She is currently working on her book manuscript tentatively titled: *Dismantling Dependence: Gendered Migrations, Indian High-Skilled Immigrant Families and the Visa Regime* that explores how the immigration and visa regimes of United States affect male-led and female led immigrant families of Indian professional workers in the U.S.
- Raewyn Connell** is Professor Emerita at the University of Sydney and a Life Member of the National Tertiary Education Union. She has taught in three Australian universities and five in other countries. Recent books are *Southern Theory* (2007), about social thought in the postcolonial world; *Confronting Equality* (2011), about social science and politics; *Gender: In World Perspective* (3rd edn, with Rebecca Pearse, 2015) and *El género en serio* [Gender for Real] (2015). Details can be found at her website www.raewynconnell.net and on Twitter @raewynconnell.



Zandria F. Robinson

Abstract

Intersectionality is a black feminist theory of power that recognizes how multiple systems of oppression, including racism, patriarchy, capitalism, interact to disseminate disadvantage to and institutionally stratify different groups. Born out of black women's theorizations of their experiences of racism, sexism, and economic disadvantage from enslavement to Jim Crow to the post-civil rights era, the theory accounts for how systems of oppression reinforce each other, and how their power must be understood not as individually constituted but rather as co-created in concert with each other. Sociologists of gender adopted and adapted intersectionality widely in the 1990s, using the theoretical lens to account for their own standpoint and positionality in the research process as well as to expand their analyses to include the experiences of people who were disadvantaged across multiple systems of oppression. The popularity and utility of intersectionality as a theory, both within sociology and beyond, has in some ways obscured its emphasis on interlocking systems of structural power and

domination. Yet, gender theorists are positively positioned to return power to the center of analyses of inequality and to cover new substantive ground in research on oppression.

1 Introduction

Although the term intersectionality is a late twentieth century intellectual innovation,¹ as a theoretical practice, intersectionality can be traced to black women's theorizing about their lives in nineteenth century America. In its early iterations, intersectional theorizing sought to highlight how black women's "doubly disadvantaged" gender and race statuses meant that they were at once not quite women and also especially vulnerable to gendered violence and capitalist exploitation. Later, theorizing shifted from "double jeopardy" (Beale, 1969) to "triple constraints" (Barnett, 1993) to "multiple jeopardy" (King, 1988), mathematical metaphors devised to capture the systemic, institutional, and micro-level, interpersonal discrimination black women experienced. Today, it is used as a

¹Legal scholar Crenshaw (1989, 2015) coined the term "intersectionality" to account for how discrimination law, as well as measures to address discrimination, lacked the ability to understand how two systems—racism and patriarchy in this instance—operated together to disadvantage black women and render their distinct experiences of discrimination invisible.

Z. F. Robinson (✉)
Rhodes College, 2000, N. Parkway,
Memphis, TN 38112, USA
e-mail: robinsonz@rhodes.edu

broad, widely-applicable theory of power that understands everyone, regardless of status, to be located in what sociologist Collins (1990) has called the “matrix of domination,” where systems of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability oppression intersect to locate and either constrain or enable individuals based on their multiple intersecting statuses. Though it emphasizes power relationships over individual identities, in recent years, intersectionality has been used increasingly to theorize individuals’ multiple identity intersections (e.g., Bettie, 2002; Bowleg, 2008; Wilkins, 2004). Intersectionality’s insistence on accounting for how multiple systems of power simultaneously act on individuals has sometimes put it at odds with gender theory, which at times has imagined a universal subject that experiences gender advantage or disadvantage in relatively uniform ways.

Intersectionality is at once a stand-alone theory of structural power relationships, a key form of gender theorizing, and an alternative to conventional gender theory. As a theory of power relationships, intersectionality highlights how various systems of oppression, including racism, sexism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy intersect and reinforce each other in order to stratify and dominate minority groups. As a form of gender theorizing, intersectionality compels a recognition of how gendered bodies also inhabit other categories of difference, opening new and important pathways into gender theorizing that took seriously the impact of other forms of difference on power outcomes. Intersectionality is also an alternative epistemology to the conventional practice of gender theory, which often assumes implicitly normalized gendered subjects as race-less, middle class, able-bodied, or white. Intersectionality makes such normative assumptions visible by focusing on power relationships (Cho et al., 2013).

In the twentieth century, gender theorists intervened in a rigid Marxian inequality discourse that situated class and capital as the essential form of domination, with gender domination only a consequence of class domination. They deftly demonstrated how gender dominance exists and persists in a multiplicity of

economic contexts beyond capitalism; how sexism functions in concert with capitalism; how capitalism was and is used to achieve gender discrimination in order to uphold patriarchy; and how individuals are thoroughly socialized into “doing” the work of gender difference to enforce this order. They deconstructed gender roles, the body, reproduction and reproductive labor, and labor market inequities, advancing Marxian feminist analyses that rigorously assessed the intersection of gender and class oppression (Andersen, 2005).

Yet, for all of gender theory’s careful attention to how gender oppression yielded and was integral to the functioning of class oppression for women and femmes, the intersection of gender and oppression and racial oppression was absent from much of nineteenth and early twentieth century gender theorizing not done by black women (Fox-Genovese, 1988). The “Negro Question” and the “Woman Question” were seen as separate issues because the “Negro Question” was inherently about black men and the “Woman Question” was chiefly about white women, and often economically privileged white women (Beale, 1969). This epistemological ignorance about black women simultaneously inhabiting disadvantaged race and gender positions meant that gender theory, which was interested in gender and class, and race theory, which was interested in race and class, developed on two different tracks for much of the twentieth century. Black women, then, were contributing to burgeoning critical race theories of the United States and the “third world” as well as gender theories that excluded, unintentionally or not, their experiences. Intersectionality is born of and rooted in black women’s standing and theorizing in the gap.

To talk or theorize about gender is to always already be talking or theorizing about race, class, and sexuality. This widely-accepted tenet of research on the interplay of performed identities and structural inequalities has undergirded intersectional interventions in gender theory but not necessarily gender theory writ large, particularly in the field of sociology. Understanding how gender identity and disadvantage are

experienced differently across social statuses is central to uncovering and delineating how power works. Intersectionality insists on the recognition that these systems reinforce one another and that no system of power, not even capitalism, exists in a vacuum.

2 Intersectionality in Slavery and Early Freedom

As an assessment of the interlocking nature of structural power relationships, intersectionality first emerged in the writings of enslaved and formerly enslaved women in the nineteenth century U.S. These writers, including the activist Sojourner Truth (White, 1999), the memoirist Jacobs (1861), and the sociologist and journalist Ida B. Wells (Wells-Barnett, 1995), recognized how gendered power structures were organized simultaneously with racialized power structures and delineated how these intersecting structures disadvantaged black women, both enslaved and free. Women's historiographies of slavery and early freedom, including work by Hine (1989), White (1999), Davis (1983), and Fox-Genovese (1988), further theorized black women's simultaneous experiences of gender, class, and race oppression as well as the structural and everyday systems of power that shaped and enforced dominance. Collectively, this work highlighted the unequal categories of difference that left black women without access to the privileges and protections of womanhood but facilitated white women's dominance. Indeed, white womanhood was created in juxtaposition to blackness and black womanhood, such that black women's experience of gender was always fundamentally different from that of white women. This work laid the basis for an intersectional theory of gender categorization and hierarchy from enslavement through white women's suffrage.

Although there is historical dispute about whether or not Sojourner Truth actually uttered the words or if they were penned by a white woman abolitionist, "and ain't I a woman?" reflected the epistemological grounds of black

women's experiences in the antebellum U.S. Truth's critique, like that of other black women, was of the class, race, and gender structures that conscripted her and other black women to slavery but also enabled white women, and mistresses in particular, to avoid the reproductive, domestic, and physical labor rigors to which black women were routinely subjected. Enslaved women were well aware of how their status as women was contorted by their condition of servitude, and in some cases ensured distinctions were upheld. Jacobs ([1861]1987) famously appealed to white women, pleading with them to think of themselves and their daughters in a situation where their womanhood was threatened, and where they were constantly molested and threatened with rape. She writes of the severe constraints in which she found herself as a teenager, determined to resist her owner's intention to make her his mistress:

Buy, O, ye happy women, whose purity has been sheltered from childhood, who have been free to choose the objects of your affection, whose homes are protected by law, do not judge the poor desolate slave girl too severely! If slavery had been abolished, I, also, could have married the man of my choice; I could have had a home shielded by the laws; and I should have been spared the painful task of confessing what I am now about to relate; but all my prospects had been blighted by slavery. I wanted to keep myself pure; and, under the most adverse circumstances, I tried hard to preserve my self-respect; but I was struggling alone in the powerful grasp of the demon Slavery; and the monster proved too strong for me. I felt as if I was forsaken by God and man; as if all my efforts must be frustrated; and I became reckless in my despair. (83)

Jacobs was strongly critical of the slave system and discursively deploys Victorian principles of purity to both shatter stereotypes of enslaved black women as sexually promiscuous jezebels and to cast herself as not unlike her elite and free white readers. Slavery, she asserts, constricts her ability to be a woman, which inherently meant maintaining her "purity" against the pursuits of men. Her status as black and thus unfree placed her outside of the traditional gender norms and mores of the day. Embedded within her narrative is a critique of the capital aims of slavery, of white men's relentless sexual violence against

black women, and of women's ability to choose their partners. Even through a Victorian lens, intersectional analysis was a clear indictment of the interlocking systems of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy.

White women, too, were also aware of the gender, race, and caste status inequities between themselves and enslaved women. Drawing on the diaries of white slave mistresses, Genovese (1988) recounts a story of a well-respected mammy, Harriet, who admonished her young white women charges not to ever go in the kitchen: "nobody but niggers go in there" (162). In this usage, "niggers" signaled class and gender status, as the women in the kitchen were black and lower in the hierarchy than she was as a mammy, and certainly lower than young white ladies. Of course, "niggers" was also used to refer to enslaved black men, which both blurred the gender roles of men and women and obscured the specifically women's labor—caring for, nurturing, and nursing children (black and white), sewing, cooking—that black women performed in addition to performing "men's" work in the field. The kitchen was a separate space where black women labored. Because this was not the labor of elite white women, it was not "ladies'" work but "niggers'" work.

The delineation of class, gender, and race that emerged from enslavement continued to shape the order and nature of systems of oppression long after abolition. While only elite white women could achieve and do "ladyhood," with the advancement of the suffrage cause, all white women, even poor, yeoman white women, gained access to a valuable sociopolitical tool that further marked out the racialized boundaries of gender. The battle over suffrage—whether it should be given to "the Negro," which meant men, or to women, which ultimately meant white women—reinforced the importance of intersectionality, as black women suffragists advocated for the franchise to be given either to everyone or to black men. Black men's economic and class disadvantage was exacerbated by their lack of access to the franchise, and because of their sophisticated understanding of systems of oppression, black women saw their economic

and social fortunes as tied to the franchise for black people in general.

Yet, the suffrage movement again revealed gender fissures and obfuscations that rendered black women invisible in the process. White women frequently used fear of black men and black masculinity, which white masculinity had been constructed against, to advance their sociopolitical power in the public and private sphere. In order for white women to be protected, black men must not have the same access to patriarchal privilege as white men. Further, some white suffrage organizations advocated for the franchise only for white women, which would maintain the existing racialized gender power hierarchies established during slavery. Although black men were legally given the right to vote with the passage of the fifteenth amendment and black women were legally given the right to vote with the passage of the nineteenth amendment, their racial status subjected them to rigid state laws that excluded both groups from suffrage. Black women had been disadvantaged by the fifteenth amendment's construction of suffrage as a male privilege and had been subsequently excluded by state interpretations of the nineteenth amendment as a white privilege.

3 Divergent Paths: Intersectionality and Gender Theory in the Women's Movement

The suffrage battle fought but not won for all women, black women, in clubs and churches, continued to organize for the franchise for all black people, fighting local and state apparatuses by challenging unfair restrictions designed to prevent black people from voting (Higginbotham, 1993). Yet, the violent oppression that accompanied the reification of racial boundaries in the interwar U.S. had a decidedly gendered edge. Black men and women were subjected to lynching, the former moreso than the latter, as mobs took souvenirs of genitals and other body parts to mark black masculinity as aberrant, toxic, and something to be possessed. Black women were perpetually subjected to rape and

other forms of sexual assault by white men, their status as women still not imbued with the advantages that white women enjoyed. Black women fiercely resisted this violence through judicial means, seeking redress for violations as both citizens and women. Like Jacobs, they recognized their unequal gender status as black women and claimed and demanded the protections of their gender.

This physical violence was coupled with the economic violence of unequal wages and labor market constraints. Black men were paid dramatically less for their labor than white men and enjoyed few of the workplace protections and federal benefits, like unemployment insurance and the GI bill, afforded to white men. Hence, black women needed to work outside of the home to support families, making them vulnerable to white sexual violence. Their wages, too, were suppressed and often withheld. In the postwar period, a generation of white women who had not previously been able to afford domestic labor, enriched by racialized federal benefits to their veteran husbands, demanded black women's labor in order to signify and raise their own class status as well as to maintain a gender hierarchy in which black men and women were below white men and women (Sharpless, 2010).

Black women intensified their critiques of capitalism, racism, and sexism, aligning questions of women's unequal status with those of black people's unequal status, but also pushing beyond arguments that would situate the two issues as uniformly equal. Nearly 60 years after the scholar Anna Julia Cooper had written that "only the BLACK WOMAN can say when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me," (1892) communist scholar and activist Jones (1949) wrote of black women's distinct ability to push for militant resistance to inequality and black liberation. Describing black women's multiple, intersecting, and simultaneous roles as mothers, protectors, wives, and laborers, she contended that, "... it is not accidental that the American bourgeoisie has

intensified its oppression, not only of the Negro people in general, but of Negro women in particular. Nothing so exposes the drive to fascization in the nation as the callous attitude which the bourgeoisie displays and cultivates toward Negro women" (110). Despite her tensions with the communist party's inability to fully grasp the importance of the intersectional platform and analysis she was forwarding, Jones nonetheless laid the groundwork for a robust Marxist feminist analysis—one that did not see gender oppression as a byproduct of capitalism but as an essential element of capitalist oppression. Ironically, it was this analysis of gender and labor oppression that in part inspired white women gender theorists to understand domestic labor as constraining and devalued in the home relative to men's remunerative labor outside of the home. In some ways, however, they still did not understand how the devaluation of domestic labor contributed to the racialized gender oppression of black women, who had largely been consigned to domestic labor since legal emancipation. Moreover, these theorists were unable to clearly articulate how black women's oppression enabled their own relative privilege. There was a gender theory without intersectionality, and the absence of an intersectional lens complicated movement organizing in the civil rights era.

Black women were also working within their own racial communities in order to demonstrate how they, too, were experiencing the effects of racial violence. To highlight the gender dimensions of racial violence and its effects on wages, safety, and health, lawyer Pauli Murray dubbed the system of domination black women experienced "Jane Crow." In her 1964 speech, "Jim Crow and Jane Crow," Murray outlined a critique of the intersection of racism and sexism as well as discussed the similarities and differences in the lived experiences of black men and black women (Murray, 1970). For Murray, racism and sexism were twin and interlocking evils that enabled capitalist oppression and thus should be challenged simultaneously.

Although women like Murray built multiracial consciousness-raising and resistance coalitions in the 1960s, unaddressed questions about the

fundamental inequities between women across race and class sowed tensions that were reflected in emergent Women's Studies spaces, women's organizations, activist concerns, and policy prescriptions. White middle class women had not had to actively think about masculinity as an ongoing process that enabled patriarchy, whereas black women had been thinking about how the negative construction of black masculinity enabled white racist and patriarchal violence since enslavement (Haney, 1996). The widespread unrest in the predominantly black sections of cities from New York and Detroit to Memphis and Los Angeles was illegible to most Americans, including white feminists, as a women's issue. That is, the inability to care for children and families in a safe environment with access to good educational resources and without state violence was an issue of gender equity that disproportionately affected black and Latinx communities. Similarly, while controlling reproduction was a shared aim of all women, women of color and poor women across racial groups had been long subjected to sterilization campaigns that took away their reproductive control, often without their knowledge (Roberts, 1997). In other cases, prohibitively high costs of birth control and safe abortion procedures disproportionately affected women of color who were, in a racist labor market and carceral state, struggling to take care of themselves, their children, and their extended kin. If they were not evident before, the differential effects of the intersection of patriarchy, racism, capitalism, and sexism were made painfully clear in the women's equality movement of the 1960s.

Unsurprisingly, then, it is during and out of the activism of the 1960s that black feminist theories of gender, race, and class, proliferated in the black public sphere. Black and Latinx women gender theorists and activists challenged theories of racial capitalism that did not include analyses of gender and theories of gendered capitalism that did not include analyses of race (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983). Moreover, black lesbian gender theorists and activists compelled attention to how structures of sexuality, operating in concert with patriarchy and sexism, affected black lesbian,

gay, and gender non-conforming people (Combahee River Collective, 1983). Black and Latinx transwomen, and work on black and Latinx transwomen, pushed black feminist theorists to include black transwomen activists and an analysis of the experiences of transwomen. For black women across a range of statuses, intersectionality was a lived experience, a necessary theory of oppression, and an action that was constantly being refined in activist communities and movement contexts.

4 Difference, Power, and the Always Already

Black women's theorizing and activism in the 1960s and 1970s led in part to an increase in their numbers in academia. Black women's entry into formal canons of academic theorizing about gender occurred, however, at a time when post-modernist and poststructuralist theories of gender, the body, race, and difference had shifted discussions of inequality away from power and towards representation, simulacra, and performance. Black feminist theorist Barbara Christian writes about this phenomenon in a 1987 essay titled "The Race for Theory," where she chronicles this critical theory turn in literature and its elevation of particular kinds of theorizing as prime. That is, just as bodies of color and people of color enter into the canon, questions arise about the reality of race or gender, or their continued usefulness as categories.

Sociologists of gender and race drew on new theoretical emphases on deconstruction and combined them with existing sociological paradigms, including social constructionism, to talk about gender as a social construct. Yet, instead of dismissing these categories as not "real" because they were not rooted in certain biological facts, sociologists highlighted how social constructs were far from apolitical illusions. Gender may be socially constructed, sociologists argued, but its construction has real effects on individuals.

Yet, tensions between constructionist approaches and approaches that highlighted systems of power and oppression yielded a dividing line in

sociological theorizing about gender, race, and class inequality in the 1980s and 1990s. A 1995 symposium on West and Fenstermaker (1995) “Doing Difference” threw these tensions into sharp relief. Building on West and Zimmerman (1987) “Doing Gender,” which had argued for a performative understanding of gender as an ongoing process made in and through our everyday micropolitical actions, West and Fenstermaker had pushed for a new understanding of how gender, race, and class are all performed and reinforced through these same micropolitics. Yet, as Collins (1995) points out in her review of the work, West and Fenstermaker posit this new understanding by disappearing categories of difference under layers of performance, similar to how some postmodern theories had excised lived experience altogether from their analyses. Collins contended that in West and Fenstermaker’s work, “race and class [had] appeared as gender in drag” (491), underscoring an enduring if implicit idea about gender theory and gender oppression that has long haunted sociologies of gender as well as the interdisciplinary fields of Women’s Studies and Gender and Sexuality Studies. That is the idea that gender oppression, in its global ubiquity, is an essential form of oppression that persists in the absence of other forms of oppression. In a racially homogeneous society or in one with relative economic parity, gender inequity continues. Thus, to understand racial inequality or economic oppression, we must understand how gender oppression works.

Intersectionality theorists and sociologists who work in the field of race, class, and gender patently reject this logic about the primacy of gender oppression in the same way that they dismissed rigid Marxian focus on the dismantling of capitalism. The questions were not about difference, as it were, but about power, which was embedded in interlocking systems of oppression. Resisting oppression required theorizing on these multiple fronts, both examining the discrete “race” and “gender” effects, but also uncovering the concerted interaction of systems of power.

This is not to say that understanding the everyday cultural phenomena that reinforce gendered and racialized structures of power is not important. On the contrary, highlighting how

individuals are performatively and representationally complicit in and resistant to oppression tells us a great deal about how people theorize the workings of power in their lives vis-à-vis their social positions. However, questions of power require attention to systems, structures, and institutions, and they also necessitate a rigorous and ongoing engagement with the interlocking nature of those systems. In the wake of the postmodern turn in sociological theorizing, sociologists became disconnected in some ways from the activism against oppression that practitioners of race, class, and gender organizing—intersectional organizing—had long drawn on to build theory. Sociologists of gender were then in some ways unprepared for the postfeminist theoretical turn that would soon follow, even as they worked diligently to highlight the continuing significance of gender inequity, with attention to the power and income differentials between men and women in the workplace and the home.

5 Postfeminist Theory, Intersectionality, and the Internet

Despite tensions in theorizations of difference versus those of power, by the 1990s, intersectionality as a theoretical term had gained some prominence in sociological work, and certainly the research disposition towards examining race, class, and gender simultaneously was gaining institutional ground. Yet, postmodern theories did continue to shape ideas about gender, especially in the public sphere. With power sublimated into difference, third and fourth wave feminisms seemed to remake their relationship to questions of equity that animated the 1960s women’s movement, even as women like Anita Hill and Lilly Ledbetter highlighted and challenged ongoing patriarchy, harassment, and wage inequities in the workplace. The proliferation of ideas about women’s individual power, often devoid of structural analyses, from the Spice Girls’ “girl power” to Sheryl Sandberg’s “lean in,” presented a challenge for both gender theory and intersectionality. Simultaneously, men re-asserted and re-articulated various forms of

patriarchal masculinity in the public sphere, from Comedy Central's satirical but serious "The Man Show," to the erotic reality series "Girls Gone Wild," to any number of reality television shows where women vie for a heteronormatively happy ending with a proverbial Prince Charming (Ponzer, 2010). The erroneous notion that feminism had completed its goals—equal pay, bodily autonomy, and access to previously closed portions of the labor market being chief among them—was widespread. Beyond its fundamental unsoundness, what was most egregious about this idea was the underlying assumption that parity had been achieved for all, or perhaps any, women.

The emergence of social media in the mid-2000s and its quick situation as a relatively democratic extension of the public sphere enabled people to express criticisms of this apparent shift in feminist and gender ideologies. Black women brought theories of intersectionality into this social media space as well (Jarmon, 2013), re-asserting intersectionality's roots in black women's lived experiences, organizing, and resistance to oppression. Not only did intersectional theorizing on the Internet provide important grounding for movements against rape culture and the movement for black lives, it also provided an important check on organizing and theorizing that did not include black and Latinx women, that glossed over or appropriated indigenous women's experiences, that excluded transwomen and lesbian women, and that emphasized carceral solutions to gender violence.

The popularity of intersectionality in the public sphere often underscored how black women's research has been excluded from canonical treatments of power, particularly ones in which race and gender are treated as categorical offsets of class oppression or ones in which gender or race are primary. Intersectionality theorists, lay and academic, are still teaching the fundamental lesson that racial and ethnic minorities can simultaneously be women, gay, disabled, or trans and that their lived experiences and oppression intersect across systems of racism, sexism, heteropatriarchy, ableism, and cissexism. This work has had an important

impact on movement organizing, including: organizing for and making visible trans women of color, who are uniquely vulnerable to sexual and physical violence; organizing against rape culture with the knowledge that girls of color, and black girls in particular, are more likely to experience sexual violence; and organizing against police brutality, recognizing that all people of color (not just men) are affected and that police behavior towards them is shaped by the intersection of class, gender, sexuality, and gender identity oppression. Crenshaw (2015) #SayHerName campaign, launched in 2015, is just one example of intersectional collaboration between the academy and community organizations that highlights how black women and girls' experiences with police brutality, including rape, are absent from the broader discourse on addressing police brutality. In a 2016 plenary at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in Seattle, Crenshaw, along with organizers Charlene Carruthers and Mariame Kaba, brought intersectional theories of resistance against racism to the forefront of sociological understandings of the movement for black lives. This was an important step in helping sociologists of gender to connect intersectionality with the organizing practices that helped refine it from abolition, to suffrage, to anti-rape activism, to the women's movement, to Black Lives Matter.

6 Current Approaches to Studying Gender Through an Intersectional Lens

Intersectionality was gradually integrated into the discipline of sociology in the 1990s, beginning with theoretical work that sought to make the relationships between race, class, and gender clear as well as substantive work that took intersections seriously using quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Wallace, 2005). However, the inability of existing and moreover accepted sociological methods to adequately account for intersectionality soon became a critical issue to the theory's further development

within the field (Bowleg, 2008; Choo & Feree, 2010; MacKinnon, 2013). McCall (2005) categorized the methodological approaches to studying intersectionality that had emerged after two decades of the institutionalization of race, class, and gender studies as the “anticategorical” approach (one that rejects categories because of their inherent fluidity and impermanence), the “intracategorical” approach (one that sheds lights on previously neglected groups within a category, e.g., Latina women and income inequality, while recognizing the socially constructed nature of categories), and the “intercategorical” approach (one that accepts categories but only to generally demonstrate, typically quantitatively, the relationships of power between groups). These categories remain useful for understanding the current state of the academic field, but lack the important tensions between movement activism and academic theorization that help drive intersectionality forward.

The ethnomethodological lens proposed by West and Zimmerman (1987) and West and Fenstermaker (1995) is perhaps most reflective of the anticategorical approach, which situates categories as “simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences” (McCall, 2005, 1773). This line of thinking continues to shape how sociologists approach studies of gender, although today this work endeavors to make more explicitly visible how structural systems of oppression influence microprocesses. Most work now implicitly assumes that gender is constructed in an ongoing process, that it is challenged and reified through individual interactions and social exchanges, that it is not made within a vacuum, and that gender inequities proliferate through all social institutions, including the criminal justice system, housing, healthcare, the family, and the labor market. This work understands and acknowledges the fluidity of categorical boundaries, sometimes studying how and in what contexts these boundaries are made and transgressed, but still resists quantitative categorization.

There is still a striving in sociology to use the methodological tools at our disposal to measure inequity and power, which requires some degree of categorization. This intercategorical approach highlights the “complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories” rather than on difference and stratification “within single social groups, single categories, or both” (McCall, 2005, 1786). These simultaneous comparisons of multiple categories—men and women, black and white, college-educated and high school educated—sacrifice intracategorical complexity to capture the broad shape of inequality as a set of oppressive relationships. This kind of work is essential to understanding the changing, or unchanging, nature of inequality in terms of wealth, income, employment, and health outcomes over time.

Sociologists researching and theorizing through an intersectional lens work to understand how race, gender, class, and sexuality are made in concert with one another and in relationship to institutions. Research on the family, the labor market, and housing that uses a race, class, and gender lens highlights how the enduring structure-culture dualism in inequality—structural oppression is reproduced on the micro-level as parents discipline their children according to intersecting race, class, and gender mores (Dillaway & Broman, 2001); power relationships in black lesbian household are shaped by structures of race, gender, and parentage (Moore, 2008); black and Latinx women experience significant disadvantage in the labor market (Bertrand & Mullanaithan, 2004; Cotter et al., 2003; Reid et al., 2007); men navigate gender and masculinity in “women’s” work fields (Wingfield, 2009); and poor black women are most likely to experience housing discrimination (Fischer & Massey, 2004). This work is the intercategorical work that endeavors to measure oppression as a relative phenomenon that differentially affects groups based on their position in the matrix of domination. While this work might not explicitly situate itself as intersectional, because it examines

inequity across multiple groups, it meets McCall's definition for intercategory work, as it seeks to understand the changing nature of inequality across groups.

7 Future Directions in Intersectionality and Gender Theory

As an expansive and expanding concept, intersectionality is often challenged as too complex or not complex enough, spurring calls to move "beyond" the theory into some as yet uncharted theoretical territory. Queer theory, for instance, has in some cases situated itself as the next step for intersectionality theory, challenging how intersectionality has often been deployed towards heteronormative ends (Gamson & Moon, 2004; Johnson, 2005). However, forward theoretical and conceptual movement, if there is such a thing, will not be possible until intersectionality is thoroughly integrated into existing analyses of gender, race, and class oppression. There are several substantive questions remaining for sociologists to address through an intersectional lens.

First, we know little about the accumulation of intergenerational disadvantage from an intersectional perspective. Despite a significant amount of research of black women's experiences of inequality, from housing to the economy, there is little stratification research on intergenerational disadvantage as it accumulates to black women and their families. Research on the children of single mothers has often focused on a deficit explanatory model, but an intersectionality perspective would examine how oppression is compounded across generations. An analysis of how oppression is intersectionally cumulative is essential to how disadvantage flows across generations.

Second, intersectionality calls for a broader approach to labor market analysis, compelling us to think about the multiple ways disadvantaged individuals make labor choices in the wake of discrimination. For instance, though sex work activists have made inroads into multiple spaces, gender theories of labor should more explicitly

center sex work and its decriminalization as a central form of gender equity. Women of color and economically disadvantaged women are disproportionately affected by versions of feminism, dubbed "carceral feminisms" that encourage criminal punishments for sex work. There has not yet been enough mainstream work in the field of sociology and in sociologies of gender to account for this labor and to understand how decriminalization as a policy prescription would challenge systemic inequities.

Finally, theories of the middle class and the elite often focus on white people, with a few important exceptions (e.g., Pattillo, 1999; Lacy, 2007). However, quantitative and in-depth qualitative analyses of intersectionality among economically elite racial and ethnic minorities will reveal a great deal about how interlocking systems of oppression work across groups. "Studying up" has long been a focus in sociological research, but racial and ethnic minorities have not been universally included in this work. We know that middle class and elite racial and ethnic minorities are more economically disadvantaged than their white counterparts for a multiplicity of reasons related to familial disadvantage; a concerted effort to intersectionally engage intracategorical inequality amongst black people and other groups of color across class will further improve our understanding the nature of how interlocking systems of oppression operate and mete out disadvantage.

Sociologists will need to rigorously engage with the work of activists who are building and testing theory through ongoing engagement with the state and social institutions. Moreover, researchers must take seriously black women's everyday theorization and the work of black women intellectuals who work outside of the discipline and beyond the academy. A broad cross-section of women of color across gender and class identities are working to refine and articulate intersectional frameworks in the context of movement organizing. As it has in previous generations, this work, on the ground and on the Internet, will push intersectionality and gender theorizing forward in the academy and beyond.

References

- Andersen, M. (2005). Thinking about women: A quarter century's view. *Gender & Society, 19*(4), 437–455.
- Barnett, B. M. (1993). Invisible Southern black women leaders in the civil rights movement: The Triple constraints of gender, race, and class. *Gender and Society, 7*(2), 162–182.
- Beale, F. M. (1969). *Double Jeopardy: To be female and black. Words of fire: An anthology of black feminist thought*. New York: The New Press.
- Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *The American Economic Review, 94*(4), 991–1013.
- Bettie, J. (2002). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + lesbian + woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles, 59*(5–6), 312–325.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs, 38*(4), 785–810.
- Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory, 28*(2), 129–149.
- Christian, B. (1987). The race for theory. *Cultural Critique, 6*, 51–63.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. London: Routledge.
- Collins, P. H. (1995). Symposium on West and Fenstermaker's doing difference. *Gender & Society, 4*(9), 491–494.
- Combahee River Collective. (1983). A black feminist statement. In B. Smith (Ed.), *Home girls: A Black feminist anthology* (p. 264). New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Cooper, A. J. (1892). *A voice from the South: By a black woman of the South*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Cotter, D. A., Hermsen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. (2003). The effects of occupational gender segregation across race. *The Sociological Quarterly, 44*(1), 17–36.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 139*–167.
- Crenshaw, K. (September 24, 2015). Why intersectionality can't wait. *The Washington Post*. Available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/>.
- Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race, and class*. New York: Vintage.
- Dillaway, H., & Broman, C. (2001). Race, class, and gender difference in marital satisfaction and divisions of household labor among dual-earner couples: A case for intersectional analysis. *Journal of Family Issues, 22*, 309–327.
- Fox-Genovese, E. (1988). *Within the plantation household: Black and white women of the old south*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fischer, M. J., & Massey, D. S. (2004). The ecology of racial discrimination. *City and Community, 3*(3), 221–241.
- Gamson, J., & Moon, D. (2004). The sociology of sexualities: Queer and beyond. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 47–64.
- Haney, L. (1996). Homeboys, babies, men in suits: The state and the reproduction of male dominance. *American Sociological Review, 759*–778.
- Higginbotham, E. B. (1993). *Righteous discontent: The women's movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hine, D. C. (1989). Rape and the inner lives of Black women in the Middle West. *Signs, 14*, 912–920.
- Jacobs, H. ([1861]1987). *Incidents in the life of a slave girl, written by herself*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jarmon, R. (2013). *Black girls are from the future: Essays on race, digital creativity, and pop culture*. Devon: Jarmon Media.
- Johnson, E. P. (2005). Quare' studies, or (almost) everything i know about Queer studies I learned from my grandmother. In E. P. Johnson & M. G. Henderson (Eds.), *Black Queer studies: A critical anthology* (pp. 124–157). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Jones, C. C. (1949). An end to the neglect of the problems of the Negro Woman. In B. Guy-Sheftall (Ed.), *Words of fire: An anthology of African-American feminist thought* (pp. 108–123). New York: The New Press.
- King, D. (1988). Multiple Jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs, 14*(9)(1), 42–72.
- Lacy, K. R. (2007). *Blue-chip black: Race, class, and status in the new black middle class*. California: University of California Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (2013). Intersectionality as a method: A note. *Signs, 38*(4), 1019–1030.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 30*(3), 1771–1800.
- Moore, M. (2008). Gendered power relations among women: A study of household decision making in black, lesbian step families. *American Sociological Review, 73*, 335–356.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (1983). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*. Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.
- Murray, P. (1970). The liberation of black women. In B. Guy-Sheftall (Ed.), *Words of fire: An anthology of African-American feminist thought* (pp. 186–197). New York: The New Press.
- Pattillo, M. (2013[1999]). *Black picket fences: Privilege and peril among the Black middle class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Pozner, J. (2010). *Reality bites back: The troubling truth about guilty pleasure TV*. Boston: Seal Press.
- Reid, L. W., Adelman, R. M., & Jaret, C. (2007). Women, race, and ethnicity: Exploring earnings differentials in Metropolitan America. *City and Community*, 6(2), 137–156.
- Roberts, D. (1997). *Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. New York: Vintage.
- Sharpless, R. (2010). *Cooking in other women's kitchens: Domestic workers in the south, 1865–1960*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wallace, G. (2005). American sociological association race, gender, and class section survey report. *Race, Gender, and Class*, 12(1), 170–174.
- Wells-Barnett, I. (1995). *The Memphis diary of Ida B. Wells*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- West, C., & Fenstermaker, S. (1995). Doing difference. *Gender & Society*, 9(1), 8–37.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- White, D. G. (1999). *Ar'n't I a woman?: Female slaves in the plantation South*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Wilkins, A. C. (2004). Puerto Rican Wannabes sexual spectacle and the marking of race, class, and gender boundaries. *Gender & Society*, 18(1), 103–121.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2009). Racializing the glass elevator: Reconsidering men's experiences with women's work. *Gender & Society*, 23(1), 5–26.

Zandria F. Robinson is a black feminist theorist and author of *This Ain't Chicago: Race, Class, and Regional Identity in the Post-Soul South* (2014) and *Chocolate Cities: The Black Map of American Life* (2018, with Marcus Anthony Hunter). Her work has appeared in *Issues in Race and Society*, *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, the *Annual Review of Sociology*, *Rolling Stone*, *Contexts*, and *Oxford American*. She teaches sociology in Memphis, where she co-directs the Center for Southern Literary Arts.

Part II

**The Individual Level of Analysis in the
Gender Structure**

Becoming Gendered

6

Heidi M. Gansen and Karin A. Martin

Abstract

Children establish an understanding of gender and gender identity during early childhood development. In this chapter, we focus on the foundational early years of becoming gendered; infancy to early elementary. We explore the social practices that lead us to become gendered and the role of socializing agents in these early stages of becoming gendered. Specifically, we provide an example of the dynamism in the gender structure by analyzing how both the interactional level and the macro level impact the individual development of gendered selves. Parents gender their children before they are born and as children age, parents teach children how they are to perform their gender. Children also receive gendered messages from their peers and schools, as early as preschool. While families, peers, and schools play a significant role in children becoming gendered, children are also saturated in gendered media and gendered consumption. We also look at how sexuality is constructed with, or as part of

gender within these early becoming gendered processes. Lastly, we close this chapter with a discussion, including comments about needed future theoretical and empirical work on becoming gendered.

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we focus on the foundational early years of becoming gendered; infancy to early elementary. We explore the role of interactional level and macro level socializing agents in these early stages of becoming gendered, specifically, families, peers, schools, media, and consumption. We also look at how sexuality is constructed with, or as part of gender within these early becoming gendered processes. We close this chapter with a discussion including comments about needed future theoretical and empirical work on becoming gendered.

2 Gender Development

Establishing an understanding of gender and gender identity happens during early childhood development. Psychologists find that by age two, most children are able to correctly label themselves and others as girls or boys, women or men. By age two or three, children also tend to play with same gender playmates, select gender

H. M. Gansen (✉) · K. A. Martin
University of Michigan, 3115 LSA Building, Ann
Arbor, MI 48109-1382, USA
e-mail: hgansen@umich.edu

K. A. Martin
e-mail: kamartin@umich.edu

typed toys, and exhibit gender specific behaviors. Young children are able to understand themselves as male or female through their own performances of masculinities and femininities (Paechter, 2007). Children also place importance on being identified by others as the correct gender (Davies, 2003). They quickly learn that having a gendered body becomes a positive social achievement as they age and mature and also come to view being referred to as a “big boy” or a “big girl” as a positive social achievement (and “baby” as a negative social sanction) (Cahill, 1986). By age five, children come to understand the social rules of gender. That is, they know gender stereotypes and have fairly rigid gender categories at age five, and may find it difficult to imagine that a boy can wear a dress or a girl can be firefighter (although their gender categories become more complex and sophisticated as they grow older). This seemingly simple account of coming to understand gendered categories and apply them to self and others is really the outcome of many social forces at work. Some theorists explain how gender is reproduced so that we come to feel and identify deeply and unconsciously that we are men and women (Chodorow, 1979), but here we focus on the social practices rather than psychoanalytic processes that lead us to become gendered.

3 Becoming Gendered in Families

At least half of US parents find out if their child is a boy or girl before they are born (in some European countries the proportion is even larger). These children enter the gendering process before birth. But we argue that virtually all children are gendered before they are born as parents start thinking about what it means to “have a girl or boy.” During baby showers and “gender reveal” parties, parents begin to gender children through imagined gendered experiences of what is to come for their children; blue versus pink, trucks versus dolls, rough and tumble versus docile and sweet, shopping together versus playing catch (Kane, 2006, 2012). This is just the beginning of “becoming gendered.”

Once children are born, families, especially parents, truly begin to gender their children. Within the first 24 h after birth, parents create gender-differentiated expectations for their children. Despite few observable differences in behavior between infants, parents of daughters describe their children as weak and delicate, while parents of sons describe them as large and alert (Rubin, Provenza, & Zella, 1974). Baby boys are referred to as “my little man.” Baby girls are more often described as sweet and cute. Despite few, if any, observable or physical gender differences at infancy, many parents dress their infants in gendered clothing and colors in order to signal their baby’s gender to others and avoid their baby being read as the other gender. This then elicits different kinds of responses from adults outside the family who are more likely to comment to boys that they are strong and going far, and more likely to respond to girls with comments about their appearance and sweetness. With toddlers and infants, parents speak more conversationally to girls and offer more instructions to boys. Parents also engage in more aggressive styles of play (such as wrestling) with their sons than with their daughters. While some parents actively attempt to disrupt traditional gendered expectations for their children (Risman, 1998; Martin, 2003), research and everyday observations demonstrate that parents tend to engage in gendered treatment of their children during early childhood years.

If we think back to our own early childhoods, many of us most likely recall photos of ourselves in which we are wearing gendered clothing or colors. Or perhaps we recall gendered differences in toy selection—girls playing with Barbies, boys playing with action figures or trucks. Parents gender their children as they choose toys, activities, décor, and clothing, and in their expectations for behaviors—from bodily comportment, to expression of emotion, to assignment of household chores.

Parents also teach their children how they are to perform their gender, and sometimes parents act as gender enforcers through subtle forms of punishment when their children break gender conformity (Kane, 2006). Parents welcome

gender nonconformity among young daughters, but they are less likely to welcome these tendencies for their sons. Studies suggest parents respond positively to their sons abilities or attributes of nurturance, empathy and domestic skills, but with some reticence and the need to affirm masculinity (Kane, 2006). Heterosexual fathers in particular promote hegemonic masculinity with their sons and view masculinity as something that they need to actively work to accomplish with their sons. Such findings demonstrate how parents view their child's gender as something they must consciously work to construct, particularly with their sons (Kane, 2006; McGuffey, 2005).

Researchers have also found parents utilize biological explanations for their children's gendered behaviors and tendencies. Messner (2000) observed a gender-segregated preschool sports program in which gender-differentiated performances were invoked during the opening ceremonies of the soccer season; namely, the girls' team called themselves the Barbie Girls, while the boys' team called themselves the Sea Monsters. As Messner (2000: 770) states, "The parents do not seem to read the children's performance of gender as social constructions of gender. Instead, they interpret them as the inevitable unfolding of natural, internal differences between the sexes." This literature suggests parents shape the gendered performances and interests in their child's lives, whether as active participants in the construction and enforcement of gender, or through passive approaches in which parents view children's gendered expressions and behavior as natural and inevitable.

Although some progress has been made toward gender neutral parenting as advocated for by feminists in the 1970s, parenting advice books do not advocate for parents to raise boys and girls in the same way. Such advice, a window into our cultural norms, tells parents that girls playing with trucks and boys playing with dolls is okay—to a point. Gender nonconformity in young children is still seen as signifying a future gay, or lesbian, or transgender identity, and is often understood as something to be managed and prevented (Martin, 2005).

Sexuality and gender are constructed as "part and parcel" of one another; namely, to be a feminine girl/woman or a masculine boy/man requires one also be heterosexual (Butler, 1990; Ingraham, 1994; Rich, 1980; Rubin, 1984). Parents construct gender for their children, and key to this construction is children's sexuality (Martin, 2009). This is especially true for boys because their behavior and dress implicate their sexuality. Parenting advice about gender raises fears that non-normative gender behaviors are signs of homosexuality. Heterosexual fathers' fears about gender nonconformity are tied to concerns about sons' heterosexuality (Kane, 2006). Similarly, among parents of children who were sexually abused, fathers use homophobia to "fix" a son's masculinity after abuse (McGuffey, 2005). Mothers also promote and reproduce heteronormativity in and for their children of both genders (Martin, 2009). Most mothers assume their children are heterosexual, describe romantic and adult relationships to children as only heterosexual, and make gays and lesbians invisible to their children. Further very few parents imagine that their own child will be LGBT identified. Most ignore the possibility and "hope for the best," while conservative Protestant parents actually report working to try to prevent such identity formation in their children (Martin, 2009). Thus, parents of young children regulate sexuality and gender in tandem. However, parents are not with their children all the time. In the next section we examine the role early school years and peer group interactions play in becoming gendered.

4 Becoming Gendered with Peers

The first sign of social differentiation in young children's peer relations is increasing gender separation. Children as young as three show preference for play with children of the same gender and young children's play and peer groups are gender segregated (Thorne, 1993; Maccoby, 1998). Children use differences between their bodies as a way to tease and differentiate from the other gender, and gender

categories are used to exclude or include others from the playgroup (Thorne, 1993). As Davies (2003) found, children have a hard time thinking about anything other than the dualistic gender divide and social order of boys versus girls, men versus women. During early childhood, children's categories are gender rigid, and the play themes of boys and girls are gendered; only girls can be nurses and boys can be firefighters. Boys frequently engage in superhero play with bad guy versus good guy narratives, and girls spend a significant portion of free playtime playing house acting out traditional household roles. Play offers children an outlet to express and "try out" the gendered messages they are learning.

However, children are active social agents, not passive recipients of adults' actions and culture, as traditional theories of socialization would suggest. Children do not just imitate adult culture and the world they are experiencing. Instead, children accept, change, and dismiss aspects of the adult world in order to create their own cultures. Through this process, referred to as interpretive reproduction, children participate and produce their own peer culture by creatively appropriating information they receive from the adult world in order to address peer concerns (Corsaro, 2005).

Peer groups have a substantial influence on children's processes of becoming gender. Children's early peer cultures are constructed around gender difference, and gender is socially negotiated in peer interactions. Through the process of borderwork, gender boundaries become activated as separate and reified peer groups; "the boys" versus "the girls" (Thorne, 1993). These processes of borderwork begin in childcare and preschool where children are encouraged to participate in gendered activities and behaviors. Through peer group interactions, children specify and enforce elements of their peer culture such as gender enforcement and borderwork. Children enforce gendered rules of behavior in peer groups as well through policing other children's engagement in play activities associated with the opposite gender. Associating with the opposite gender violates peer group boundaries hence

children's policing of borderwork through practices such as "no boys allowed."

However, even within peer group interactions, gender varies in salience from situation to situation (Moore, 2001; Musto, 2014; Thorne, 1993). Sometimes children do participate in cross-gender play. For instance, children play in gender integrated groups more in neighborhoods than in schools. This is likely because neighborhoods do not have as many children so some games need more children—regardless of gender—and crossing gender boundaries in the neighborhood is less open to public scrutiny and criticism than it is at school (Thorne, 1993).

Other contexts however activate gender boundaries between girls and boys in order to reinforce and specify gendered boundaries. For example, Musto (2014) observed a co-ed youth swim team with children ages 8–10 years old and found the swimmers gendered meanings and relations changed depending on the context and group-based interaction. When swimmers were practicing and following their coach's instructions, gender was less salient and the swimmers interactions were not antagonistic. But, during swimmers unsupervised free time, gender was salient and led to antagonistic forms of interactions. Moore's (2001) ethnographic work on children aged 6–12 years old at two summer day camps, adds race and age as additional contexts that affect how children negotiate and establish gendered peer relations, particularly in ways that leads to hierarchical cliques. Adults also influenced children's peer cultures at day camp. For example, adults at one day camp scheduled times for boys' and girls' groups to come together as "nonantagonistic equals" (often as teammates) (Moore, 2001). At other times, adults scheduled activities for boys to engage in activities perceived to be for girls and vice versa. Moore's (2001) findings indicate how adult-directed boundary crossing can open the door for children to learn about and engage in activities associated with the other gender, with less peer group risks.

Within peer groups, boys and girls form hierarchical cliques by using exclusionary

dynamics of power, holding children accountable for following the conceptions of gender specified by their group peer culture (Moore, 2001; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Inside these exclusive cliques, boys and girls police gender boundaries carefully, through defining the cliques relationally, therefore in opposition to one another, and by holding members of the clique to more rigid standards (Adler & Adler, 1998). High-level status clique members hold themselves and each other to higher standards of behavior within their peer groups (Moore, 2001). Research on elementary and high school students shows how girls are rewarded for being “good girls” (to do what they are told and to cooperate), while boys are encouraged to be risk takers (Morris, 2012). Girls are constructed in the gendered peer structure as more dependent, cooperative, passive, and social individuals, whereas young boys are taught to take their place in the gendered social world of peers as independent, competitive, assertive (possibly aggressive) and active individuals. While peer groups significantly influence children’s experiences of becoming gendered during the early school years, teachers’ expectations and school practices, particularly disciplinary practices, greatly influence the gendering process.

5 Becoming Gendered During the Early Years of School

Preschools and daycares are important sites for the development of gendered peer cultures in the early years. Many children first encounter peers in childcare, and they spend a substantial amount of time interacting with them. Preschool routines require teachers to have control and order within the classroom. Controlled and disciplined bodies create the context for social relations and our bodies are one site of gender. Teachers affect the construction of gender in preschool through implementing hidden curricula, which construct and reconstruct gendered bodies (Martin, 1998). Practices such as dressing up, permitting relaxed behaviors for boys and regulating girls’ behaviors, controlling girls’ voices, gendering verbal

and physical instructions, and gendered physical interaction among children, create bodily differences between genders that make gender difference feel natural and normal (Martin, 1998). In some schools the curriculum is less hidden and more explicitly gendered depending on the school and teachers’ philosophies. Some teachers may see teaching children about gender differences in behavioral expectations or responsibilities as an explicit component of their curriculum or teaching practices.

Markstrom (2010) finds teachers also use gender stereotypes when defining “good” versus “bad” behavior, and that teachers create gendered classrooms in which they evaluate, sort, and discipline children based on their gendered expectations for behavior. Teachers apply gender stereotypes to children’s bodies, as the routines associated with preschool require teachers to control children’s bodies within the classroom (Corsaro, 2005). This need to manage a classroom and control children’s behavior may lead teachers to use gender and racial stereotypes to monitor the classroom, and may lead teachers to monitor boys’ behavior more than girls’ (Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti, & Shic, 2016). Girls also express higher school attachment and allegiance to educational values than do boys (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2012). Boys in elementary school search for ways to break teachers’ rules as the production of masculinity within male peer group norms are often defined in opposition to academic achievement and following authority (e.g., Adler & Adler, 1998).

Gender intersects with other categories to affect teachers’ expectations and practices in schools and children’s larger experiences with the gendering process. As scholars have demonstrated, it is important to use an intersectional lens when examining inequality—to take into account how race, class, and gender combine in ways that affect the meanings of one another (Collins, 1990). Therefore, much extant research focuses on how the intersection of gender, race, and class influence teachers’ expectations of student behaviors, and the majority of this research focuses on the elementary through high school years.

Schools often gender African American girls in ways that are highly racialized. Grant’s (1984)

seminal ethnography of African American girls' "place" in six desegregated first grade classrooms concluded that teachers are more interested in promoting the social skills of African American girls over academic skills. Specifically, Grant (1984) found that African American girls were viewed as socially mature helpers in the classrooms therefore receiving favorable teacher attention. As a result, teachers gave African American girls higher amounts of behavioral praise over academic praise. Additionally, some students, primarily African American girls, served as voluntary social control agents for teachers (Grant, 1984). Without explicit requests from teachers, African American girls urged their peers to obey the classroom rules. Classroom enforcement served as an alternative route for African American girls to gain their teacher's attention and praise, and as a result, African American girls closely adhered to the classroom rules, and were willing to promote peers' compliance to the rules. Morris' (2007) research on African American girls in a predominately minority school found that teachers viewed their behaviors as loud and assertive and, as a result, they attempted to mold them into "ladies" through encouraging traditionally feminine behaviors. Froyum's (2010) work adds emotional capital as an additional way in which inequalities are reproduced in gendered, racialized, and classed ways. Froyum (2010) observed an after-school program with low-income African American girls (ages 6–12 years old) and found that staff taught girls to manage their emotions in ways that promoted emotional deference. Instead of counteracting racism, which was the intention of the staff's transmission of emotional capital to these girls, the staff's socialization practices reinforced gendered, classed, and racialized ideologies (Froyum 2010).

Schools also treat African American boys in ways that are based in gender and racial stereotypes. Ferguson (2000) finds that schools "punish" African American boys, which makes it difficult for them to receive an education. Entwisle, Alexander, and Olson (2007) find there is extensive evidence that teachers interact with boys and girls differently in elementary school.

Teachers rate girls' deportment higher than boys, and boys are rated as less attentive than girls by first grade teachers (Entwisle et al., 2007). As a result, boys are viewed as needing, and therefore receiving, increased rates of discipline and direction in the classroom, as early as preschool. This leads to boys' interactions with teachers being more disciplinary in nature than girls' (Salomone, 2003).

Data indicates that gender and racial disparities in discipline begin as early as preschool. Boys account for two out of three preschool suspensions, and are over 4.5 times more likely to be expelled in preschool than girls (Gilliam, 2005). However, these data also point to a significant racial disparity in preschool discipline. While black children represent about 18% of public preschool enrollment, they account for 48% of preschool children receiving more than one out-of-school suspension (U.S. DOE Office for Civil Rights, 2014, Issue Brief No. 1). This is drastically different than white students who represent 43% of preschool enrollment, but account for only 26% of the preschool children who received multiple out-of-school suspension (U.S. DOE Office for Civil Rights, 2014, Issue Brief No. 1).

Gender also interacts with sexuality. While we know children hear heteronormative constructions of the world and discourses that privilege heterosexuality in the home, research also suggests children understand, participate, and enact sexuality and gender among themselves by elementary school. Schools are also critical forces in the development of children's facility with heteronormativity as students routinely receive explicit and implicit lessons about gender and sexuality through interactions with teachers and peers in school (Gansen 2017; Wilkinson & Pearson, 2009). There is a fairly robust body of ethnographic work that demonstrates the ways that school-aged children make use of gendered discourses about sexuality and heteronormativity beginning in preschool and elementary school.

Using data from ethnographic observations in three preschools, Gansen (2017) examined the gendered sexual socialization that children receive from teachers' practices and (re)produce

through peer interactions in preschool. Gansen (2017) found that young boys and girls are socialized into explicitly gendered notions of heteronormativity beginning in preschool. In examining elementary school children, Thorne (1993) concluded that children called upon heterosexuality to maintain gender boundaries and process cross-sex interactions. They also made use of the intersections of sexuality and gender in the “chase and kiss” and “cooties” games they played. Further work by ethnographer Best (1983) found second grade girls participated in gendered heterosexual discourses and practices through talk about having boyfriends, and imbued these imagined relationships with ideas about girls being “irresistible” to boys. Girls define their interests as heterosexual and boy-centered as part of the way they construct gender for other girls (Myers & Raymond, 2010). By late elementary school, children make sophisticated use of use heterosexual discourses and practices in their peer group interactions, relying on heteronormativity as a guide and homophobic harassment to sanction homosexuality and enforce heterosexuality in their play and peer group interactions (Renold, 2005).

6 Becoming Gendered Through Media and Consumption

While families, peers, and schools play a significant role in children becoming gendered, children are also saturated in gendered media and gendered consumption. The 2015 holiday season saw news reports of retail stores eliminating gendered marketing from toys aisles. In particular, Target was criticized on social media for explicitly categorizing some sets of toys by gender. Target was distinguishing toy aisles as having “Building Sets” and “Girls’ Building Sets.” As a result of social media critiques, Target eliminated gendered marketing from its aisle signs. Eliminating gendered signs, however, did not eliminate gendered toys or gendered marketing of toys, and while some parents may have objected to such gendered marketing there are no signs that we are on the brink of

gender-neutral toy marketing or sales. Children’s diapers, bottles, underwear, clothes, combs, shampoos, soaps, bikes, bike helmets, baseball gloves, bedding, books, plates, birthday themes, Halloween costumes, lunch boxes, video games, phone cases, apps, and much, much more remain branded and divided into “girls” and “boys” versions. Children’s retail and children’s media (where much marketing takes place) remains highly gendered and play a pervasive role in the gendering process.

Adults use gender codes to purchase things for children. Ask for help in purchasing anything for a child, and you’ll be asked their age and their gender and then directed to “appropriate” choices by a store clerk. Adults report these as their top considerations when purchasing birthday presents for children. But retailers are not doing this alone. Children themselves also use gender-based reasoning to distinguish between what types of toys they and their peers should play with, and children are less likely to play with toys that are labeled as being for the other gender. Store aisles full of pink toys with pink packaging designate themselves as girl toys, while aisles of toys with dark packaging distinguish themselves as boy toys. Packaging or toy color also gender presumably “gender neutral” toys. Toys like Frisbees and bicycles come in multiple colors so as to code gender specific options. Toys stereotypically understood as boys, like basketballs and baseball gloves, now come in pink, while Legos have their own line of “Friends” for girls. However, dolls are still mostly not a toy for boys. To the extent that parents and children cross gender lines in purchases for children or in allowing access to wide variety of toys, media, and activities, girls generally get more leeway than boys. A girl playing with trucks is still more okay than a boy playing with Barbie. Again, the intersection of gender and sexuality drives this as many parents see gender nonconformity in young boys as a sign of a future gay or transgender identity.

Media are also an important socializing agent in children’s process of becoming gendered. Children are immersed in media-rich worlds. In 2009 the Kaiser Foundation found that children

8–10 years old were exposed to some sort of media (TV, music, video games, computers) for nearly 8 h a day. It is likely that children's worlds are increasingly media drenched and include movies, television shows, games, apps, and websites produced for children. Many of these are also gendered worlds. Boys are introduced early to racing games; girls to social media. Children's television shows depict characters in narrowly gendered and racialized ways. Cartoon characters are gendered in their clothing, appearance, speech, and behavior. Even children's shows with animals as main characters are gendered. For example, on *Paw Patrol*, a popular children's television show on Nick Jr. in which the majority of the characters are dogs, the two female dogs characters are highly feminized; one wears all pink and has pink eyes, while the other is purple and has blue eyes. Even popular shows like *Dora the Explorer* have created a spinoff centered on Dora's cousin Diego in order to cater and connect more to boys. There are countless examples of Nickelodeon and Disney channel shows for school-aged children that are full of gender and race stereotypes and constructions of heteronormativity. These television shows are vehicles for the advertising of the kinds of products described above.

Children's movies, Disney movies in particular, are especially popular in the lives of young children. One study from 2006 found that most children had seen several Disney movies; they are clearly "mass" media. Children also watch, re-watch, and often dress-up as, or play with toys from these movies. Again, linking these movies with other media, toys, and consumption that are highly racialized and gendered in normative ways. These media also construct a gendered heteronormativity and heterosexuality (Martin & Kayzak, 2009). Within G-rated films, hetero-romantic love is portrayed as having exceptional, magical, and transformative power in a context where heterosexuality is also constructed through racialized and gendered depictions of interactions between gendered bodies in which men gaze desirously at women's bodies (Martin & Kayzak, 2009). Children's television and movies today are often paired with virtual

worlds—websites, apps, and video games. These media broadly represent a new form of delivering and possibly undercutting current processes of media's role in becoming gendered. It appears that many apps and video games contain many of the same gendered messages that other media do. There is also some research suggesting that girls and boys use different kinds of apps and play different kinds of video games. Certainly by adolescence boys are playing competitive console video games in greater numbers than girls, and girls are more engaged with social media. There has also been much media attention to the ways in which girls are policed and sanctioned in some online communities that are fairly misogynist. Nonetheless, there is also the potential in virtual worlds for children to disguise their bodies and genders. Who or what one chooses as an avatar does not have to match one's gender in the offline world. The virtual spaces and communities that children navigate from Webkinz to YouTube to Minecraft to Snapchat to Call of Duty all offer opportunities for becoming gendered and possibly opportunities for resisting gender norms.

Finally, even simple, old-fashioned books also contribute to how children learn gender expectations. In analyzing over 5000 children's books, McCabe, Fairchild, Granerholz, Pescosolido and Tope (2011) concluded that books messages and characters representations (largely male dominated) affect children's ideas of what it means to be a girl, boy, man or woman. While children have some purchasing power when it comes to influencing their parents' decisions on consumer goods, parents make the majority of purchasing decisions for their children. This gives parents power and control over the gendered messages that children receive from some forms of consumption, particularly books.

7 Discussion

In this chapter we reviewed much extant research on processes of becoming gendered from infancy to early elementary, while providing an example of the dynamism in the gender structure.

Specifically, through analyzing the role of socializing agents in these early stages of becoming gendered, we explored how both the interactional level (e.g., parent's socialization) and the macro level (e.g., media) impact the individual development of gendered selves. We also looked at how sexuality is constructed with, or as part of gender within these early becoming gendered processes. However, additional work on the early processes of becoming gendered is needed.

First, we know little to nothing about the gendering processes of young transgender children. Recent news stories have brought attention to families with young children who do not fit the gender binary, or young children who identify as transgender. As we learn about transgendered children, how do we reassess the way we describe the early cognition of gender? How might transgender children transform our understanding of gender cognition in early childhood? Do all two year olds really understand themselves as girls or boys or do they understand the categories they are being directed toward? Additionally, how do parents make sense of their young children who blur traditional gender norms, particularly those children that identify as the opposing gender? Do parents embrace these children or police their gender performances? Recent news stories suggest some parents' willingness to parent children who are transgender or who do not fit the gender binary in nontraditional ways, but we have very little extant research on this topic. While we know some about transgender adolescents' experiences of gender variance (e.g., Meadow, 2011), future research should focus on young transgender children and the role of socializing agents (especially their parents) in these children's becoming gendered processes. Perhaps children would more freely explore other gender identities if gender was less relevant to social life—if toys were not coded by gender, and parents did not socialize their children by gender.

We also need more work that brings children's voices and experiences in processes of becoming gendered front and center. Future

empirical work on children's early processes of becoming gendered should incorporate interviews with children directly in order to capture how children make sense of the gendered messages they receive from socializing agents (e.g., parents, peers, schools, media, etc.). Children are not blank slates that absorb everything they see or are told when it comes to gender. Rather, children take in this information and decide what aspects of it they accept, dismiss, or would like to change creating their own gendered meanings. Therefore it is important that future work on children's early processes of becoming gendered include children's voices either through interviews and/or observations of children's peer group interactions. This is not to say that more empirical work on the role of socializing agents in the early stages of becoming gendered is not needed. As we have discussed in this chapter, young children receive gendered messages from a variety of contexts and social actors. Therefore, future work should examine socializing agents gendered messages and practices alongside of children's interpretations of these practices within the becoming gendered process.

References

- Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1998). *Peer power: Preadolescent culture and identity*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Best, R. (1983). *We've all got scars: What boys and girls learn in elementary school*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Butler, J. P. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Cahill, S. E. (1986). Childhood socialization as recruitment process: Some lessons from the study of gender development. In P. Adler & P. Adler (Eds.), *Sociological studies of child development* (pp. 163–186). Connecticut: JAI Press.
- Chodorow, N. (1979). Gender, relation and difference in psychoanalytic perspective. In H. Eisenstein & A. Jardine (Eds.), *The future of difference* (pp. 3–19). Boston: G. K. Hall.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Corsaro, W. A. (2005). *The sociology of childhood*. California: Pine Forge.

- Davies, B. (2003). *Frogs and snails and feminist tales: Preschool children and gender*. New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- DiPrete, T. A., & Buchmann, C. (2012). *The rise of women*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Entwisle, D. R., Alexander, K. L., & Olson, L. S. (2007). Early schooling: The handicap of being poor and male. *Sociology of Education*, 80, 114–138.
- Ferguson, A. (2000). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Froyum, C. M. (2010). The reproduction of inequalities through emotional capital: The case of socializing low-income black girls. *Qualitative Sociology*, 33, 37–54.
- Gansen, H. M. (2017). Reproducing (and disrupting) heteronormativity: Gendered sexual socialization in preschool classrooms. *Sociology of Education*, 90(3), 255–272.
- Gilliam, W. S. (2005). *Prekindergarteners left behind: Expulsion rates in state prekindergarten systems*. Connecticut: Yale University Child Study Center.
- Gilliam, W. S., Maupin, A. N., Reyes, C. R., Accavitti, M., & Shic, F. (2016). *Do early educators' implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?* Connecticut: Yale Child Study Center.
- Grant, L. (1984). Black females “place” in desegregated classrooms. *Sociology of Education*, 57, 98–111.
- Ingraham, C. (1994). The heterosexual imaginary: Feminist sociology and theories of gender. *Sociological Theory*, 12(2), 203–219.
- Kane, E. W. (2006). ‘No way my boys are going to be like that!’: Parents’ responses to children’s gender non-conformity. *Gender & Society*, 20(2), 149–176.
- Kane, E. W. (2012). *The gender trap: Parents and the pitfalls of raising boys and girls*. New York: New York University Press.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1998). *The two sexes: Growing up apart, coming together*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Markstrom, A. M. (2010). Talking about children’s resistance to the institutional order and teachers in preschool. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 8, 303–314.
- Martin, K. A. (1998). Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 494–511.
- Martin, K. A. (2003). Giving birth like a girl. *Gender and Society*, 17(1), 54–72.
- Martin, K. A. (2005). William wants a doll. Can he have one?: Feminists, childcare advisors, and gender-neutral childrearing. *Gender and Society*, 19(4), 456–479.
- Martin, K. A. (2009). Normalizing heterosexuality: Mothers’ assumptions, talk, and strategies with young children. *American Sociological Review*, 74(2), 190–207.
- Martin, K. A., & Kazyak, E. (2009). Hetero-romantic love and heterosexiness in children’s g-rated films. *Gender & Society*, 23(3), 315–336.
- McCabe, J., Fairchild, E., Granerholz, L., Pescosolido, B. A., & Tope, D. (2011). Gender in twentieth-century children’s books. *Gender & Society*, 25(2), 197–226.
- McGuffey, C. S. (2005). Engendering trauma: Race, class, and gender reaffirmation after child sexual abuse. *Gender & Society*, 19(5), 621–643.
- Meadow, T. (2011). Deep down where the music plays: How parents account for childhood gender variance. *Sexualities*, 14(6), 725–747.
- Messner, M. A. (2000). Barbie girls versus sea monsters: Children constructing gender. *Gender & Society*, 14(2), 765–784.
- Moore, V. A. (2001). “Doing” racialized and gendered age to organize relations: Observing kids in summer camp. *Gender & Society*, 15, 835–858.
- Morris, E. W. (2007). Ladies or loudies? Perceptions and experiences of black girls in classrooms. *Youth & Society*, 38, 490–515.
- Morris, E. W. (2012). *Learning the hard way: Masculinity, place, and the gender gap in education*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Musto, M. (2014). Athletes in the pool, girls and boys on deck: The contextual construction of gender in co-ed youth swimming. *Gender & Society*, 28(3), 359–380.
- Myers, K., & Raymond, L. (2010). Elementary school girls and heteronormativity: The girl project. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 167–188.
- Paechter, C. (2007). *Being boys, being girls*. England: Open University Press.
- Renold, E. (2005). *Girls, boys and junior sexualities: Exploring children’s gender and sexual relations in the primary school*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs*, 5(4), 631–660.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo*. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Rubin, G. (1984). Thinking sex: Notes for a radical theory of the politics of sexuality. In C. Vance (Ed.), *Pleasure and danger* (pp. 143–178). Boston: Routledge.
- Rubin, J. Z., Provenzo, F. J., & Zella, L. (1974). The eye of the beholder: Parents’ views on sex of newborns. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 44, 512–519.
- Salomone, R. C. (2003). *Same, different, equal: Rethinking single-sex schooling*. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

United States Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. (2014). Issue brief no. 1. <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-discipline-snapshot.pdf>.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.

Wilkinson, L., & Pearson, J. (2009). School culture and the well-being of same-sex attracted youth. *Gender & Society*, 23(4), 542–568.

Heidi M. Gansen is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Her research interests include sociology of education, social inequality, gender and sexuality, childhood, and qualitative methods. Heidi has published on how heteronormativity is constructed in preschool classrooms (*Sociology of Education*), and on qualitative methods with young children (*Sociological Studies of Children and Youth*). Her current research examines how

inequalities are produced and reproduced in preschool classrooms through disciplinary practices and interactions.

Karin A. Martin is Professor and Chair of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Her research has examined how children's bodies are gendered in preschool; parenting advice about gender-neutral childrearing; and sexual socialization in early childhood, including investigations of gender differences; mothers' normalization of heterosexuality; children's participation in "where did I come from" conversations; and adults' differing responses to children's sexual-like behaviors in preschool. Her book, *Puberty, Sexuality, and the Self: Girls and Boys at Adolescence* (1996), investigates gender differences in teens' experiences of puberty and first sex.

Gendered Embodiment

7

Katherine Mason

Abstract

This chapter introduces social theories about gender and the body. Rather than focusing on sex (that is, the physiological characteristics typically associated with maleness and femaleness) this chapter instead looks at how cultural norms for femininity and masculinity shape people's relationship to their own bodies and the bodies of others. Examining the association of masculinity with active bodily subjects—and of femininity with passive bodily objects—this chapter studies the ways bodies reproduce and, sometimes, challenge gendered power dynamics.

male or female. Gender is not determined by the body, yet as social performance it is always evaluated *in reference to* the body. Thus, any attempt to understand gender—particularly gendered inequalities—must ask how gender is embodied.

This chapter addresses the question of how *gender* shapes and is shaped by the physical bodies we live in. Gendered embodiment differs from biological sex. *Bodily sex* generally refers to reproductive organs, hormones, chromosomes, and the meanings we attach to them; in contrast, *gendered embodiment* refers to the ways gender—as an individual identity, as a product of social interactions, and as a component of social institutions (Risman, 1998)—shapes our experiences of living within particular bodies. Gender affects how we learn to use our bodies, how we experience pleasure and pain, and how our bodies exist in relation to others.

The following sections will address these questions as they show up in contemporary embodiment scholarship. “Gendered Subjects, Gendered Objects” looks at theories about the construction of two ideal types for gendered embodiment: the masculine subject and the feminine object, which are defined as opposite and unequal. Subsequent sections look at each of these ideal types in practice, reviewing the literature on how diverse bodies operate within masculine- and feminine-typed institutions and social settings. The final section takes up the

1 Introduction

In one of the foundational texts of the sociology of gender, Candace West and Don Zimmerman define gender as “the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category” (1987, 127). Sex category consists of the bodily displays one presents to the world, which others then use to judge whether one is

K. Mason (✉)
Wheaton College, Norton, MA, USA
e-mail: mason_katherine@wheatoncollege.edu

question of inequality and social change: if feminine embodiment has historically been disempowering, should everyone instead aspire to masculine embodiment—or are there other possibilities for expanding our bodies' capacity to feel, to act, and to relate to others?

2 Gendered Subjects, Gendered Objects

The young girl acquires many subtle habits of feminine body comportment... She is told that she must be careful not to get hurt, not to get dirty, not to tear her clothes, that the things she desires to do are dangerous for her. Thus she develops a bodily timidity that increases with age...The more a girl assumes her status as feminine, the more she takes herself to be fragile and immobile and the more she actively enacts her own body inhibition—Young (1990, 154)

One of the defining features of sex and gender as systems for organizing social life is their binary division of human beings into two “opposite” and unequal biological sexes—female and male—and two corresponding genders—woman/feminine and man/masculine. This binary associates men and masculinity with action, agency, and the status of subject. Masculine embodiment demands bodily competence, control of self and others, and a certain unself-conscious ease: the goal is to think as little about the body as possible, focusing only on what the body can do and not on what can be done to it. In contrast, binary thinking about gender associates femininity with passivity and the status of object. Feminine embodiment manifests as self-consciousness: a constant awareness of the body as vulnerable, as an object of desire (or of violence), and as an imperfect tool for accomplishing one's aims.

Feminist theorists from de Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) to Ortner (1972) and MacKinnon (1982) have long noted this binary, and scholars of visual culture argue that in media representations of gender, “men act and women appear” (Berger, 1972; Mulvey, 1975). As a result, men learn to think of their bodies in terms of capacities and action; women learn to think of their bodies as

objects to be looked at, desired, and acted upon. Feminist philosopher Young (1990) offers one of the most incisive analyses of how gendered expectations shape bodily experience. Young begins with a simple question: what does it mean to “throw like a girl,” and why do women do it? Young is not only interested in throwing ability. Rather, she takes throwing as emblematic of gendered differences in how women and men perform functional movements oriented toward “a definite purpose or task” (Young, 1990, 143). For Young, “throwing like a girl” describes a way of throwing that is mechanically inefficient, engaging only the throwing arm while the rest of the body remains at rest or even resists the throwing motion. This type of movement, she argues, reflects a learned orientation to one's own body and to the world—“feminine body comportment”—in which the body is experienced as subject and object simultaneously. As subjects, women are self-aware actors who initiate movements, make decisions, and engage their bodies in a variety of tasks. Yet, writes Young, “A woman frequently does not trust the capacity of her body to engage itself in physical relation to things. Consequently, she often lives her body as a burden, which must be dragged and prodded along and at the same time protected” (Young, 1990, 148). In this way, feminine embodiment is characterized by the body's alienation from the self.

In contrast, norms for masculine embodiment prioritize physical strength, mastery, and competence. If feminine embodiment is characterized by being both subject and object, masculine embodiment, writes Young, strives toward pure subjectivity. This does not mean that male bodies are more *skilled*; rather, even “the relatively untrained man nevertheless engages in [activity] with more free motion and open reach than his female counterpart,” experiencing his body as the means with which to accomplish his desired ends (Young, 1990, 145). Other scholars of masculinity argue that while physical ease and ability are ideals associated with masculine embodiment, such traits are socially acquired and constructed—and they are not equally achievable for all men (Bordo, 1999; Connell, 2005[1995]). For example, Pascoe

(2007) describes how high school boys she studied equated masculinity with mastery; any sign of clumsiness, physical softness, or sexual inexperience was ruthlessly mocked as unmasculine. Just as feminine body *inhibition* is learned, then, so too is masculine bodily *ease*; just as norms for feminine delicacy teach women to perceive their bodies as ineffective and fragile, so too do norms for masculine efficacy teach men to trust in their bodies as sturdy, capable, and effective.

Thus, the gender binary gives us two ideal types for gendered embodiment: masculine subjecthood and feminine objecthood. This dichotomy not only shapes individuals' relationship to their own bodies, but also defines certain activities, institutions, and even whole racial/ethnic groups and nationalities as masculine or feminine (regardless of individual members' genders). These ideal types oversimplify the realities of embodiment, of course, as all bodies possess both a capacity for effective action and a physical form that can be perceived and acted upon—the ability to be both subject and object. To put it more precisely, we might say that “doing femininity” means engaging in action while remaining highly conscious of one's body—how it feels, how others perceive it, etc.—while “doing masculinity” properly means acting with as little regard for the body as possible. These gendered pressures on action—to attend to the body or to transcend it—carry consequences for people of all genders.

3 Unselfconscious and Active: Masculine Embodiment in Everyday Life

While everyone is born with a body—and while those bodies differ in form and ability—societal institutions further differentiate bodies early on based on gender and other characteristics. In U.S. preschools, for example, Martin (1998) found that teachers were more likely to manage girls' clothing and hair, reprimand girls for inappropriate bodily behavior (such as shouting or

crawling on the floor), recommend specific activities to girls such as doing crafts at a table, and express concern that girls who engaged in rough play might get hurt. While Martin notes that school was likely only one of many institutions shaping children's embodied experiences, the end result was that girls' physicality became increasingly restrained and self-conscious, whereas “boys come to take up more room with their bodies, to sit in more open positions, and to feel freer to do what they wish with their bodies, even in relatively formal settings” (Martin, 1998, 503). Such freedom, however, is complicated by race: U.S. Black and Latino children of any gender are more likely than white children to face bodily surveillance and correction by school officials (Ferguson, 2000; Morris, 2005).

3.1 Training the Masculine Body

Masculine embodiment shows up early and in a wide variety of institutions, but a couple of settings—sports and military training—illustrate this mode of embodiment most acutely. Rules for men's sports—and for masculine embodiment generally—demand that men's bodies be large, powerful, and courageous, “engaging in reckless acts of speed, showing guts in the face of danger, big hits, and violent crashes” (Messner et al., 2000, 389). Masculine embodiment in these settings must be proven by winning and exerting one's bodily will over others (“losers”) in competition, demonstrating the body's strength, skill, and fortitude in the process (Messner et al., 2000; Theberge, 1997). Yet while sports often adopt a rhetoric of celebrating “natural” masculine toughness and aggression, the evidence suggests that these traits—as well as a certain disregard for personal safety—are learned and cultivated through sport-specific training (Malcom, 2006).

Foucault (1995[1977]) theorizes the functions of such training in his study of disciplinary power in the 18th century, looking particularly at military training: “the soldier has become something that can be made ... a calculated

constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit” (p. 135). Rather than teaching soldiers to make individual determinations about the best course of action, the new discipline strove to create automatic movement: the purest distillation of a (masculine) body that acts rather than reflects on itself. This technique remains a powerful component of sports and military training today, and scholars have studied how training reshapes soldiers’ and athletes’ emotional responses to high-stress situations (Samimian-Darash, 2013), how they handle pain (Dyvik, 2016; Samimian-Darash, 2013; Wacquant, 1998), and even how they breathe (Lande, 2007).

The aims of this training are multiple. First is the cultivation of habit, where repetitive drilling creates “automatic, visceral, and instinctive reaction” in the body of the trainee (Dyvik, 2016, 141). A soldier or athlete who acts automatically should, the thinking goes, behave more predictably and without wavering in the face of danger (Samimian-Darash, 2013). Second, training helps to acclimate the body to pain and discomfort, rendering that body capable of both withstanding violence and inflicting violence on others (Samimian-Darash, 2013; Spencer, 2009; Theberge, 1997; Wacquant, 1998). Third, military and sports training are used to facilitate masculine solidarity and allegiance to the group. Dyvik (2016) explains, “The nurturing of traditional masculine values such as physical strength, resilience and action cements the bond between ‘the boys’—as opposed to those who are defined as being outside the operational environment, such as most girls or men who do not live up to the expectations of the ‘combat body’” (p. 141). Interestingly, even as soldiers and athletes train their bodily reactions to become more instinctual and less thought out, discourses within the institutions reframe such training as *agency*: bringing the body under one’s control rather than surrendering to fear. In so doing, these institutions frame their participants’ bodies as fundamentally masculine: aggressive, effective, invulnerable, and controlled.

3.2 Masculinity and Marginalized Bodies

The institutions described above are gendered masculine, and they tend to assume (or nurture) a specific form of masculinity within their participants. Yet masculinities come in multiple forms (Connell, 2005[1995]), and the gender configuration of an institution may not always align with the gendered identities and expressions of all its participants. What happens when diverse bodies enter stereotypically masculine fields?

For women in these institutions, training appears to work similarly as it does for men. Subjected to the same sorts of military or athletic training as their male counterparts, women learn how to physically dominate others (Lande, 2007; Theberge, 1997), shrug off pain and injury (Malcom, 2006), and display “self-control and stoicism” (Silva, 2008, 941). Women who undergo such training experience their bodies as tools for their own use, build identities as athletes or soldiers, and take pleasure in their physical ability to master difficult skills and—in some cases—the bodies of their opponents.

Yet while women can and do cultivate masculine embodiment, that task is complicated by their own and others’ persistent attempts to hold them accountable to norms for femininity (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Silva (2008), for example, interviewed female ROTC cadets who appreciated the military training program’s “more empowering vision of their bodies which emphasized action and achievement over passive decoration” (p. 944), but her respondents did not identify as masculine. Rather, they adopted a “gender neutral” subjectivity or reframed their duties as an extension of nurturant femininity (as when one fighter pilot described combat as a way of caring for her “Air Force family”). In other cases, gender accountability comes from onlookers. Sociologist and amateur boxer Elise Paradis describes her difficulty finding a sparring partner because coaches declared her “too pretty to fight,” simultaneously objectifying her sexually and denying her the chance to develop her body’s

instrumental capabilities (2012, 99). Like their male counterparts, women in sports like tackle football (Carter, 2015), ice hockey (Theberge, 1997), rugby (Ezzell, 2009), and roller derby (Carlson, 2010; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2015) often show off their bruises as evidence of their toughness. Yet outsiders unaccustomed to thinking of women as athletes may instead interpret these bruises as marks of domestic abuse: evidence not of masculine bodily subjectivity but of feminine vulnerability and objectification. Participating in masculine-typed activities requires one to strategically disregard bodily risks; however, it seems likely that developing and maintaining this attitude toward the body will be harder for women—or anyone—who are constantly being reminded of their fragility by others.

If femininity, generally, is marginalized within these masculine-typed activities, intersections of race and gender further complicate participation for people of color. Gendered racialization occurs when entire racial/ethnic groups are stereotyped as being “masculine” or “feminine” relative to the dominant racial group in a society, regardless of an individual’s sex (Collins, 2005; Lei, 2003). In the U.S., for example, Black people have tended to be framed as hyper-masculine relative to whites (Collins, 2005; Trawalter et al., 2012), with significant effects on Black men’s and women’s participation in masculine-typed activities. For example: they are less likely to receive pain medication from health care personnel (Hoffman et al., 2016; Trawalter et al., 2012); Black professional male athletes are given less time to recuperate from injury before returning to play (Trawalter et al., 2012); and Black women are expected to excel in stereotypically masculine sports like basketball while facing barriers to entry in “feminine” activities like ballet and figure skating (Collins, 2005; Cooper, 2015; Malcom, 2006).

3.3 Masculinity and the Feeling Body

Gender norms discipline how bodies *act*, but they also shape how bodies *feel*: how—and

whether—the body experiences pain, pleasure, and a range of other sensations. Participants in masculine-typed activities like the military learn, for example, to disregard pain (Samimian-Darash, 2013), but these activities bring pleasure as well. Soldiers that Dyvik (2016) studied described a near-euphoric experience of feeling their bodies and senses spring into action in combat, reacting even before their conscious minds had registered a threat. Gender norms for sexuality frame proper masculine sexuality as active, desiring, and “hard” (Bordo, 1999; Fausto-Sterling, 1992[1985]). Adolescent boys learning how to perform this masculinity frequently engage in rituals of looking at women’s bodies and speculating about what could be done to them (Pascoe, 2007); groups of college-aged men go out to clubs to “hunt” girls for sex in a ritualized performance of heterosexual desire (Grazian, 2007); and transgender men recount how cisgender (i.e., non-transgender) men signal acceptance by inviting trans men to join them in objectifying conversations about women (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009). These discourses teach men not only that their desires are important, but also that the “correct” way to experience pleasure is by objectifying someone else—never as the object of another person’s desires.

Masculine embodiment encourages some feelings but discourages others such as pain and fear. Training the body to strategically ignore these feelings may help one succeed in masculine-typed activities. However, it has significant consequences for health that are disproportionately borne by men. Boys and men learn from an early age that masculinity requires them to meet risk bravely, even to seek it out (Bordo, 1999). White college-aged men drink excessively to prove their body’s ability to tolerate alcohol and avoid charges of “weakness, homosexuality, or femininity” (Peralta, 2007, 741), and sports coverage in the media lionizes masculine athletes who go against doctors’ orders and play while injured (Messner et al., 2000). While hegemonic masculinity may, in this case, prove self-destructive, it frames the body as impregnable—thus, unfeminine—and capable of

withstanding risk. Sports for the sake of competition are masculine; in contrast, fitness, body consciousness, paying attention to worrying symptoms, and seeking medical care are framed as feminine (Courtenay, 2000; Moore, 2010; Petrzela, 2017). Thus, while embodying hegemonic masculine values carries social privilege and power, it also has a significant downside: men in the U.S. “are more likely than women to die of almost every disease and illness and to die earlier,” particularly due to violence and unintentional injury (Sorenson, 2011, S353).

As this section has demonstrated, masculine embodiment is neither inevitable nor located only within male bodies. Through training, socialization, and discipline, bodies *become* masculine subjects: that is, they develop confidence in their capabilities, focus on what they can do to others, and avoid thinking about what can be done to them. Experiencing the body as subject in this way can benefit both individuals (who find satisfaction through exploring their body’s capabilities) and the institutions to which they belong. At the same time, the link between bodily subjecthood and masculinity carries significant costs. First, this linkage often excludes women from opportunities to develop their bodies’ effective capabilities, then frames their resulting bodily unease as a natural—rather than learned—disability. Second, the linkage with masculinity matters because of *how* masculinity manifests, particularly in the U.S.: as what Kimmel (2005) terms “compulsive masculinity,” which is characterized by “violence, aggression, extreme competitiveness, a gnawing insecurity ...[this is] a masculinity that must always prove itself and that is always in doubt” (p. 93). The masculine bodily subject must not only develop its talents and toughness but also prove them, often by inflicting violence on others and facing violence in turn. Lastly, the linkage of masculinity and bodily efficacy carries over into how society views whole groups of people: as hegemonic discourses gender entire racial and national groups as being excessively masculine or feminine (usually, in the West, relative to whites), they limit those groups’ opportunities for experiencing subjecthood or objecthood.

4 Self-conscious and Objectified: The Ambiguous Subjects of Feminine Embodiment

The converse of the masculine ideal that bodies be self-controlled, active, and taken-for-granted is the ideal of the feminine body-as-object: passive, self-conscious, and aware of itself as a target for others to gaze and act upon. Historically, many believed women’s inhibited embodiment to be a natural consequence of female anatomy. Medical theories in the 19th century viewed women as frail, sickly creatures at the mercy of their delicate reproductive organs (Ehrenreich and English, 2005[1978]; Fausto-Sterling, 1992[1985]). Popular discourses presumed that some degree of disability was inevitable for women, making them unsuited to vote or pursue an education, and subjecting them to male doctors’ authority (Baynton, 2016; Bordo, 2003[1993]; Ehrenreich and English, 2005[1978]; Fausto-Sterling, 1992[1985]; Garland-Thomson, 2002). These discourses essentialized disability in white, class-privileged women (for whom leisure denoted status) while paradoxically (but conveniently) assuming that lower-class and non-white women would be physically fit to perform the hard labor upon which higher-status women’s leisure depended (Ehrenreich and English, 2005[1978]).

Today, social theorists find that feminine embodiment in the West results from a socially enforced body consciousness: the awareness of how one’s body looks, of how it exists in relation to others, and of what can be done to it. Women themselves may participate in this socialization process, holding themselves and one another accountable to bodily norms that place a premium on appearance. At the same time, such surveillance is reinforced externally through a variety of social institutions and interaction rituals.

4.1 Disciplining the Feminine Body

Girls become aware of the gaze trained upon their bodies young. Popular and scholarly

accounts document the sexualization of young girls' clothing, including items like abercrombie's thong underwear for pre-teens (with the phrase "eye candy" written on them), infant onesies printed with phrases like "future wife" and "future bride," and t-shirts for girls declaring "I'm too pretty to do math" (Samakow, 2014). Girls' clothing frequently includes both explicit messages about women's status as objects ("eye candy") and implicit ones, communicated by styles that are neither practical nor comfortable to wear but exist to display the wearer's body. School dress codes often target girls' clothing as "provocative" and "distracting" to boys, teaching girls that their bodies—not boys—are routinely being looked at (Morris, 2005; Raby, 2010).

Formal school rules combine with informal cultural norms to reinforce the objectification of girls' bodies. In Luttrell's (2003) ethnography of pregnant high schoolers, she found that pregnant teens faced particular sexual objectification by peers and school staff alike (their pregnancies marking them as sexually active); administrators responded by making these girls less visible—segregating them into separate classes or having them sit at the back of the auditorium. Sexualization is particularly pronounced for working-class and non-white girls, where cultural differences in style are read by school officials as expressions of deviant or excessive sexuality (Bettie, 2003; Ortner, 1991). Boys and men learn to participate in this objectification as a way of emphasizing their own strength and agency, using both verbal (catcalling, boasting about sexual conquests) and physical means (wrestling, restraining, or fondling female classmates) to demonstrate their status as subjects and girls' status as objects (Pascoe, 2007).

Institutionalized athletics also contribute to women's bodily objectification and inhibition. One place this occurs is in sports that are seen as appropriately "feminine," such as figure skating and gymnastics, which emphasize bodily display in their judging (Lorber, 1993). For example, USA Gymnastics (2016) states that women's floor routines will be performed to music and requires them to intersperse their tumbling passes with dancing. Female gymnasts are then judged

on whether they have a "dancer-like command of music, rhythm, and space," which they may combine with "movements of playful theatrics." Men's floor routines require neither dance nor music, much less "playful theatrics." Mastering the required elements of women's gymnastics (and similar pursuits like figure skating) thus requires a self-conscious display of the body as object, simultaneously active and visually pleasing to the spectator's gaze. A second way athletics contribute to women's inhibited embodiment is through rules designed to protect female bodies and minimize risk. For example, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)'s rules for women's lacrosse forbid intentional body contact between players and permit only light padding and protection, instead urging players to exercise restraint to avoid injuring one another. This rule reflects Young's observation that feminine embodiment requires women to "enact [their] own body inhibition" (1990, 154). In contrast, NCAA rules for men's lacrosse allow body checking and call for more substantial padding and equipment so that men can play roughly. In sports like ice hockey, ski jumping, cross country running, and decathlon/heptathlon, official rules construct the women's version of the sport as of shorter distance or duration, requiring fewer events, and/or limiting contact. In essence, women's sports are regulated to be safer and less strenuous, reflecting the belief that women's bodies are fragile and must be protected.

Bodily objectification takes a different form in the workforce. Within many stereotypically feminine jobs—such as waitresses, secretaries, and flight attendants—women's willingness to flirt, wear form-fitting clothing and make-up, and otherwise appeal to male desire is an unofficial job requirement (Hochschild, 2012[1983]; Rich, 1980; Wolf, 2002[1991]). Women whose bodies fail to achieve mainstream beauty standards face barriers in hiring and professional advancement (Averett & Korenman, 1996; Mason, 2012). Even in fields where women's looks bear no relation to job requirements, Wolf (2002[1991]) argues that employers have an economic interest in targeting women's bodies: keeping women

docile and focused on their bodies as objects may make them less likely to demand higher pay or better working conditions.

4.2 Femininity and Marginalized Bodies

Historically, feminist scholars have generally viewed objectification as a negative for women; the dynamics of objectification and feminization are further complicated when we consider their intersections with other characteristics such as ability/disability, race, and sexuality. Cultural images of disability, for example, frame it as an inherently objectified and feminized status. Many disabled people¹ rely on assistive services, deviating from the masculine ideal of the independent, effective body. Yet if disabled bodies are stereotyped as not sufficiently masculine, neither are they granted the status of desirable feminine objects: disabled people are frequently asexualized by caregivers and popular culture (Garland-Thomson, 2002; Kafer, 2016; Wilkerson, 2002). Some disabled men (such as the wheelchair rugby players in the film *Murderball*) reassert their hegemonic masculinity by emphasizing their heterosexuality, their bodies' ability to participate in violent competition, and their self-sufficiency (Barounis, 2009). For these men, seeking status as masculine subjects is a way of claiming power and gender identity. Disabled women's responses vary: some women reassert their bodies' desirability via conventional heterosexual scripts, rendering themselves objects while claiming feminine identity and

sexuality (Garland-Thomson, 2002; Hammer, 2012). Others welcome the freedom from feminine body expectations that disability brings (Clare, 2015[1999]; Kim, 2011).

Racialized gender norms also shape bodily objectification. While—as noted earlier—Black bodies in the West are often framed as *over*-sexualized and *hyper*-masculine, Asian bodies are more likely to be framed as asexual and feminine. As recently as the 1980s, evolutionary psychologist Philippe Rushton claimed that “Orientals” are innately less interested in sex, are more sexually restrained than either whites or Blacks, and possess smaller genitalia (Rushton & Bogaert, 1987; cf. Fung, 2008). For Asian men, these racialized gender discourses deny them access to hegemonic masculinity, target them for violence and bullying (Lei, 2003), and make it difficult for them to claim not just heterosexual identity but queer sexualities, too (Fung, 2008). Asian women, meanwhile, are often fetishized as *hyper*-feminine in their embodiment: small and delicate-bodied, excessively passive, and responsive to the desires projected upon them (Cho, 1997; Lei, 2003). In her study of high-end sex workers in Vietnam, Hoang (2014) found that women consciously played to these stereotypes for profit, cultivating graceful mannerisms, deferring to clients, and meticulously managing their bodies with make-up, plastic surgery, and more. Even though Hoang's respondents managed to capitalize on their feminized status, the ideal they worked to approximate was a body that could be objectified, touched, and looked at without having any desires of its own—a body that, at best, can be understood to be “bargaining with patriarchy” rather than challenging it (Kandiyoti, 1988).

¹I intentionally use identity-first (“disabled people”) rather than people-first (“people with disabilities”) language here. I do so because the former reflects this chapter's larger argument that the body—including its abilities and disabilities—is co-constitutive of self and identity, not merely a fleshy container for the self. This does not, however, mean that identity-first language is always correct; many people with disabilities prefer to use people-first language for self-identification and activism. See Liebowitz (2015) for further discussion of these two terms. <https://thebodyisnotanapology.com/magazine/i-am-disabled-on-identity-first-versus-people-first-language/>.

4.3 Femininity and the Feeling Body

Whereas normative masculine bodies are expected to ignore pain and actively pursue their desires, feminine body norms place a high premium on ignoring one's own desires while being highly sensitive to physical and emotional pain. Fairy tales like *The Princess and the Pea* teach

children that the most desirable, feminine women are those who are so sensitive that their sleep will be disrupted by a single pea hidden under a stack of mattresses; as Nancy Malcom (2006) explains, “traditionally feminine attitudes toward pain ... permit[] and even encourage [girls] to react to minor injuries by emphasizing their frailty” (p. 520).

Even as gender norms sensitize feminine bodies to respond to certain feelings, they deemphasize the importance of other feelings like desire. Bordo (2003[1993]) explains, the “general rule governing the construction of femininity [is] that female hunger—for public power, for independence, or sexual gratification—be contained” (p. 171). Bordo connects the ideal of passive female sexuality to a range of feminine norms: being thin, effortlessly pretty, and taking up little space. Rubin (1975) suggests the political uses of taboos on female desire: “From the standpoint of [patriarchal marriage systems], the preferred female sexuality would be one which responded to the desires of others, rather than one which actively desired” (p. 182).

While the legal, cultural, and political status of women in the West does not fall under traditional patriarchy, elements of that system still exist today. Armstrong et al. (2012) find that an “orgasm gap” exists on college campuses, particularly among men and women in casual sexual relationships: “men may be more selfish because of their tacit lack of respect for women’s right to pleasure in a casual context. Women participating in hookups may not feel entitled to communicate their sexual desires” (Armstrong et al., 2012, 438). Women who enjoy sex too much or who participate too enthusiastically in their own objectification are frequently shamed (Bogle, 2008), and Waskul et al. (2007) note that basic misunderstandings and societal silences about female anatomy—specifically, the clitoris—often leave women unprepared to satisfy their sexual desires alone or with partners. In short, gender norms sexually objectify women’s bodies within sexual encounters—limiting women’s bodily autonomy and access to pleasure—but this objectification also carries over into non-sexual

realms, with consequences for self-esteem, educational outcomes, and career success.

5 Gender Subversion and Bodily Joy

People are sexual objects, but they are also subjects, and are human beings who appreciate themselves as object and subject. This use of human bodies as objects is legitimate (not harmful) only when it is reciprocal. If one person is always object and the other subject, it stifles the human being in both of them.—Wittman (1997[1970], 385)

The association of masculinity with embodied subjecthood and femininity with bodily objecthood is a primary means through which gendered power differentials are created and maintained. Experiencing one’s body as strong and capable can reinforce a person’s sense of power and efficacy; experiencing the body as violable and incapable can be disempowering. Thus, feminist scholars have long viewed feminization and objectification as undesirable. Writes Young, “it is not necessary that *any* women be ‘feminine’—that is, it is not necessary that there be distinctive structures and behavior typical of the situation of women” (1990, 144–5). Young’s comment raises the question: is it preferable that women—or anyone—be *masculine subjects*?

For several reasons, the answer to this question may be no. First, masculine embodiment ideals demand mastery and control, not just over oneself but over one’s surroundings and other people. The ability to use one’s body skillfully in competition with others may be satisfying, but it also entails dominating and turning other people into objects: one’s own subjectivity comes at the cost of another person’s. Second, masculine embodiment frequently normalizes pain and violence, indeed often frames these as the necessary preconditions for achieving subject status. This holds true even when women enter masculine-typed occupations and activities. Third, the requirement that one’s body be always controlled, always effective, privileges productive embodiment while minimizing the pleasures of losing control or enjoying leisure. Finally, the

expectation that one pay as little attention to one's body as possible brings increased risks to health and wellbeing. Thus, while feminine objectification is disempowering, normative masculine embodiment may not be desirable, either.

Many theorists (including Carl Wittman, cited above) suggest that it is enforcement of the binary itself that is the problem. Wittman, writing at the start of Gay Liberation in the U.S., believed that gay men needed to reject the requirements of compulsory heterosexuality and hegemonic masculinity, including the requirement that men should dominate and desire others (but never be desired in turn). In the decades since Wittman penned his manifesto, scholars have asked what a more integrated embodiment of subjecthood and objecthood might look like.

Some of the most compelling attempts to answer this question come from the marginalized communities described in earlier sections: queer people, disabled people, and people of color. For example, while dance has often been feminized—and thus deemed inappropriate for men—Maxine Leeds Craig notes that this “supposition ... was never about all men” (2014, 4). Rather, that assumption relied on “a chain of signifiers that support long-standing racist associations between blackness, femininity, sensuality, the body, emotional expressiveness, and lack of control” (p. 4). In other words, *white* men often don't dance, but men of color—who are already excluded from hegemonic masculinity—are more likely to be comfortable expressing sensuality with their bodies. Halberstam (1997) notes something similar in the performances of racially diverse drag kings (usually cisgender women entertainers performing as men): while Black, Latinx, and Asian drag kings she studied drew on tropes of “rapping and dancing” or a “cool gangsta aesthetic” to perform masculinities of color, white drag kings often struggled to perform a masculinity that was basically nonperformative: “masculinity in white men often depends on a relatively stable notion of the realness and naturalness of ... the male body”

(p. 111). Indeed, given their position on the margins of power, racial and gender/sexual minorities may be well positioned to challenge binary divisions between subject/object and masculine/feminine.

Not all such challenges manage fully to escape heteronormative gender binaries, though. Legendary drag queen Willi Ninja, who pioneered the gender-subversive dance style of voguing, described his work teaching women to model, saying, “Basically, I'm trying to bring [my students'] femininity back, and bring some grace and poise ... because it's more attractive to men” (Livingston, 1990). In this way, Ninja encouraged his students to adopt a traditionally feminine orientation to their bodies as objects of male desire, but did so by using his own (Black, queer, male) body to demonstrate. More recently, Stone and Shapiro (2017) examined how queer drag kings and BDSM (bondage/discipline, dominance/submission, and sadism/masochism) practitioners continued to privilege masculinity in their subcultural scenes, even as they sought bodily pleasure and performed gender in decidedly non-normative ways. And recent work on hybrid masculinities (e.g., Bridges & Pascoe, 2014; Barber & Bridges, 2017) notes that while the boundaries of hegemonic masculinity have expanded to incorporate elements of “various marginalized and subordinated masculinities and—at times—femininities into privileged men's gender performances” (such as the rise of the “metrosexual” male who combines heterosexuality with a stereotypically feminine attention to grooming), this expansion has not led to greater power for racial, sexual, and gender minorities (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014).

Instead, some of the most promising work on expanding the possibilities for gendered bodies come from scholars and practitioners who look beyond *styles* of gendered embodiment—that is, gendered bodily aesthetics—and return to the question of *power*. After all, at the root of the gender body binary is a persistent inequality between subject and object, masculine and feminine. Sports sociologists like Theberge (1997)

argue that it is not enough for women to enter masculine-typed sports and adopt the sport's existing values; rather, "a more fully transformative vision ... would offer empowerment in a setting that rejects violence and the normalization of injury in favor of an ethic of care" (p. 85), thus unsettling the masculine ethics that underlie the institution. Further challenging the ideal of the competitive, successful, and capable masculine body, queer theorists in recent years have noted the importance—even, sometimes, the joy—to be found in *failing*, in being unproductive, and in feeling melancholy (Edelman, 2004; Halberstam, 2011; Love, 2007). While hegemonic masculine value systems uphold winning as the "right" way to experience joy, Halberstam suggests that "maybe failure is easier in the long run and offers different rewards" (Halberstam, 2011, 3). *Queer*, as a political stance, marks a resistance to the normal that we might also call failure; instead of finding happiness within the status quo, feminist queer theorists have suggested that the "different rewards" of failure might include authenticity, political consciousness, and a greater freedom to explore one's body and its desires (Ahmed, 2010; Halberstam, 2011; Simula, 2013). Similarly, disability scholars argue for the value of bodies that are sick, broken, or disabled—bodies that may need care, but which may not need or want a cure (Clare, 2017; Garland-Thomson, 2002). Feminist disability perspectives note that the stigma borne by people framed as "dependent"—usually women, disabled people, and other objectified bodies on the margins—is premised on the unrealistic expectation that everyone, at all times, must be independent and self-sufficient, an impossible standard for anyone who has ever been a child, been sick, or who will grow old (Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Garland-Thomson, 2002). As these perspectives show, the most interesting challenges to gendered body binaries do so not merely by showing how people can combine or transgress gendered body aesthetics but by questioning body *ethics*: the values we hold for what a whole, empowered, body should be.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2010). *The promise of happiness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Armstrong, E. A., England, P., & Fogarty, C. K. (2012). Accounting for women's orgasm and sexual enjoyment in college hookups and relationships. *American Sociological Review*, 77(3), 435–462.
- Averett, S., & Korenman, S. (1996). The economic reality of the beauty myth. *Journal of Human Resources*, 31, 304–330.
- Barber, K., & Bridges, T. (2017). Marketing manhood in a 'post-feminist' age. *Contexts*, 16(2), 38–43.
- Barounis, C. (2009). Crippling heterosexuality, queering able-bodiedness: murderball, brokeback mountain and the contested masculine body. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 8(1), 54–75.
- Baynton, D. C. (2016). Disability and the justification of inequality in american history. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (5th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of seeing*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Bettie, J. (2003). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bogle, K. (2008). *Hooking up: Sex, dating, and relationships on campus*. New York: NYU Press.
- Bordo, S. (1999). *The male body: A new look at men in public and in private*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Bordo, S. (2003[1993]). *Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture, and the body, 10th anniversary edition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bridges, T., & Pascoe, C. J. (2014). Hybrid masculinities: New directions in the sociology of men and masculinities. *Sociology Compass*, 8(3), 246–258.
- Carlson, J. (2010). The female significant in all-women's amateur roller derby. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27, 428–444.
- Carter, J. A. (2015). Revealing the 'Absent Body': Embodied participant observation in women's tackle football. <http://sectionbodyembodiment.weebly.com/blog/revealing-the-absent-body-embodied-participant-observation-in-womens-tackle-football>.
- Cho, S. K. (1997). Converging stereotypes in racialized sexual harassment: Where the model minority meets Suzie Wong. *Journal of Gender, Race, & Justice*, 1, 177–211.
- Clare, E. (2015[1999]). *Exile and pride: Disability, queerness, and liberation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Clare, E. (2017). *Brilliant imperfection: Grappling with cure*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Collins, P. H. (2005). *Black sexual politics: African Americans, gender, and the new racism*. New York: Routledge.

- Connell, R.W. (2005[1995]). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cooper, M. (2015). Misty Copeland is promoted to principal dancer at American Ballet Theater. *New York Times*, June 30, 2015.
- Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's wellbeing: A theory of gender and health. *Social Science and Medicine*, 50(10), 1385–1401.
- Craig, M. L. (2014). *Sorry I don't dance: Why men refuse to move*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- de Beauvoir, S. (2011[1949]). *The second sex* (C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Dyvik, S. (2016). 'Valhalla rising': Gender, embodiment, and experience in military memoirs. *Security Dialogue*, 47(2), 133–150.
- Edelman, L. (2004). *No future: Queer theory and the death drive*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ehrenreich, B., & English, D. (2005 [1978]). *For her own good: Two centuries of the experts' advice to women*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Ezzell, M. (2009). 'Barbie Dolls' on the pitch: Identity work, defensive othering, and inequality in women's rugby. *Social Problems*, 56(1), 111–131.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (1992[1985]). *Myths of gender: Biological theories about women and men* (2nd ed.). New York: Basic Books.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2000). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Foucault, M. (1995[1977]). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Fraser, N., & Gordon, L. (1994). A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the U.S. welfare state. *Signs*, 19(2), 309–336.
- Fung, R. (2008). Looking for my penis: The eroticized asian in gay video porn. In K. A. Ono (Ed.), *A companion to Asian American studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Garland-Thomson, R. (2002). Integrating disability, transforming feminist theory. *NWSA Journal*, 14(3), 1–32.
- Grazian, D. (2007). The girl hunt: Urban nightlife and the performance of masculinity as collective activity. *Symbolic Interaction*, 30(2), 221–243.
- Halberstam, J. (1997). Mackdaddy, superfly, rapper: Gender, race, and masculinity in the drag king scene. *Social Text*, 52(53), 104–131.
- Halberstam, J. (2011). *The queer art of failure*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hammer, G. (2012). Blind women's appearance management: Negotiating normalcy between discipline and pleasure. *Gender & Society*, 26(3), 406–432.
- Hoang, K. (2014). Competing technologies of embodiment: Pan-asian modernity and third world dependency in vietnam's contemporary sex industry. *Gender & Society*, 28(4), 513–536.
- Hochschild, AR. (2012[1983]). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoffman, K., Trawalter, S., Axt, J., & Normal Oliver, M. (2016). Racial bias in pain assessment and treatment recommendations, and false beliefs about biological differences between blacks and whites. *PNAS*, 113(16), 4296–4301.
- Kafer, A. (2016). At the same time, out of time: Ashley X. In Lennard Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (5th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender & Society*, 2(3), 274–290.
- Kim, E. (2011). Asexuality in disability narratives. *Sexualities*, 14(4), 479–493.
- Kimmel, M. (2005). *The history of men: Essays on the history of American and British masculinities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lande, B. (2007). Breathing like a soldier: Culture incarnate. *The Sociological Review*, 55(1), 95–108.
- Lei, J. L. (2003). (Un)necessary toughness?: Those 'loud Black girls' and those 'quiet Asian boys'. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 34(2), 158–181.
- Livingston, J. (1990). *Paris is burning* (film). Miramax.
- Lorber, J. (1993). Believing is seeing: Biology as ideology. *Gender & Society*, 7(4), 568–581.
- Love, H. (2007). *Feeling backward: Loss and the politics of queer history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Luttrell, W. (2003). *Pregnant bodies, fertile minds: Gender, race, and the schooling of pregnant teens*. New York: Routledge.
- MacKinnon, C. (1982). Feminism, marxism, method, and the state: An agenda for theory. *Signs*, 7(3), 515–544.
- Malcom, N. (2006). 'Shaking it off' and 'toughing it out': Socialization to pain and injury in girls' softball. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(5), 495–525.
- Martin, K. (1998). Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. *American Sociological Review*, 63(4), 494–511.
- Mason, K. (2012). The unequal weight of discrimination: Gender, body size, and income inequality. *Social Problems*, 59(3), 411–435.
- Messner, M., Dunbar, M., & Hunt, D. (2000). The televised sports manhood formula. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 24(4), 380–394.
- Moore, S. E. H. (2010). Is the healthy body gendered? Toward a feminist critique of the new paradigm of health. *Body and Society*, 16(2), 95–118.
- Morris, E. (2005). 'Tuck in that shirt!' Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives*, 48(1), 25–48.
- Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6–18.
- Ortner, S. (1972). Is female to male as nature is to culture? *Feminist Studies*, 1(2), 5–31.
- Ortner, S. (1991). Reading America: Preliminary notes on class and culture. In R. G. Fox (Ed.), *Recapturing*

- anthropology: Working in the present*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Paradis, E. (2012). Boxers, briefs, or bras? Bodies, gender, and change in the boxing gym. *Body & Society*, 18(2), 82–109.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pavlidis, A., & Fullagar, S. (2015). The pain and pleasure of roller derby: Thinking through affect and subjectification. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 18(5), 483–499.
- Peralta, R. (2007). College alcohol use and the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity among European American men. *Sex Roles*, 56(11–12), 741–756.
- Petrzela, N. M. (2017). Why Trump's diet is bad for America's health. *The Washington Post*. June 28, 2017.
- Raby, R. (2010). 'Tank tops are OK but I don't want to see her thong': Girls' engagements with secondary school dress codes. *Youth & Society*, 41(3), 333–356.
- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs*, 5(4), 631–660.
- Risman, B. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffic in women: Notes on the 'political economy' of sex. In R. R. Reiter (Ed.), *Toward an anthropology of women*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Rushton, J. P., & Bogaert, A. F. (1987). Race differences in sexual behavior: Testing an evolutionary hypothesis. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 21(4), 529–551.
- Samakow, J. (2014). You are what you wear: The dangerous lessons kids learn from sexist t-shirts. *The Huffington Post*, December 4, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/12/03/dangerous-lessons-from-sexist-shirts_n_6102096.html.
- Samimian-Darash, L. (2013). Rebuilding the body through violence and control. *Ethnography*, 14(1), 46–63.
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: 'Gender normals', transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, 23(4), 440–464.
- Silva, J. M. (2008). A new generation of women? How female ROTC cadets negotiate the tension between masculine military culture and traditional femininity. *Social Forces*, 87(2), 937–960.
- Simula, B. (2013). Queer utopias in painful spaces: BDSM participants' interrelational resistance to heteronormativity and gender regulation. In A. Jones (Ed.), *A critical inquiry into queer utopias*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sorenson, S. (2011). Gender disparities in injury mortality: Consistent, persistent, and larger than you'd think. *American Journal of Public Health* 101(Supplement 1): S353-S358).
- Spencer, D. (2009). Habit(us), body techniques and body callusing: An ethnography of mixed martial arts. *Body & Society*, 15(4), 119–143.
- Stone, A., & Shapiro, E. (2017). 'You're really just a gay man in a woman's body!' The possibilities and perils of queer sexuality. *Men and Masculinities*, 20(2), 254–272.
- Theberge, N. (1997). 'It's part of the game': Physicality and the production of gender in women's hockey. *Gender & Society*, 11(1), 69–87.
- Trawalter, S., Hoffman, K., & Waytz, A. (2012). Racial bias in perceptions of others' pain. *PLoS ONE*, 7(11), e48546.
- USA Gymnastics. (2016). <https://usagym.org/pages/gymnastics101/women/events.html>.
- Wacquant, L. (1998). The prizefighter's three bodies. *Ethnos*, 63(3–4), 325–352.
- Waskul, D., Vannini, P., & Wiesen, D. (2007). Women and their clitoris: Personal discovery, signification, and use. *Symbolic Interaction*, 30(2), 151–174.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, Don H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- Wilkerson, A. (2002). Disability, sex radicalism, and political agency. *NWSA Journal*, 14(3), 33–57.
- Wittman, C. (1997 [1970]). A gay manifesto. In RN. Lancaster & M. di Leonardo (Eds.), *The gender/sexuality reader: Culture, history, political economy*. New York: Routledge.
- Wolf, N. (2002 [1991]). *The beauty myth: How images of beauty are used against women*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Throwing like a girl and other essays in feminist philosophy and social theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Katherine Mason is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Women's and Gender Studies at Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts. She received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley in 2012. Her work on bodies, gender, and the reproduction of social inequality has been published in journals including *Social Problems*, *Social Politics*, and *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*.

Does Biology Limit Equality?

8

Shannon N. Davis and Alysia Blake

Abstract

This chapter provides a brief overview of theory and research that has investigated the relationship between physiology and gender difference with an eye toward understanding the role that biology may play in facilitating or inhibiting social equality. We present one extended example that simultaneously examined biological and social theories as structuring individual-level variation in women's personality traits to document the complicated interplay of the biological and the social across the life course. We extend our analysis to discuss implications for the study of race and acknowledge the beneficial contributions that intersex and transgender individuals' experiences bring to bear on the study of the relationship between physiology and gender difference. We conclude by noting that though the road to equality is hard and paved with setbacks, it is not bound by biology.

For almost 100 years, research has attempted to document not only how and why biological women and men differ physiologically but how those physiological differences are correlated with social differences (see summary in Fine (2010)). The argument goes like this: women and men (girls and boys) are physically different, which leads them to be able to do different tasks with more or less ease and be interested in different things. Therefore any social differences between women and men are a function of their physiological differences, including body type, mass, and shape, and brain structure. This “just so” story roots gender inequality in biology, and if believed, suggests that biology limits our ability to create gender equality in the social realm.

This chapter provides a brief overview of theory and research that has investigated the relationship between physiology and gender difference. We then present one extended example that simultaneously examined biological and social theories as structuring individual-level variation in personalities (at least among women) to document the complicated interplay of the biological and the social across the life course. After an important caveat highlighting the crucial role that transgender individuals play in constructing our understanding of the connection between biology and social difference, we conclude with remarks about the implications of theory and research that connect physiology and

S. N. Davis (✉)
George Mason University, Fairfax, USA
e-mail: sdaviso@gmu.edu

A. Blake
U.S. Census Bureau, Prince George's, USA
e-mail: alysia.d.blake@census.gov

biology to social outcomes by extending our analysis to the study of race.

One important note to keep in mind while reading this chapter is that we are discussing literature and theoretical arguments that are based on understandings of sex category as a binary where individuals present themselves socially in a manner that is consistent with their sex category. We acknowledge the limitation of this approach given the burgeoning literature on transgender and intersex individuals and experiences. However, in our efforts to provide understanding of the history and logic of the “just so” story connecting biology and gender inequality, we begin with the notion that sex category is comprised of female and male with individuals presenting as female and male in their interactions. We discuss the insights gained in the scholarship documenting transgender experience in the United States later in the chapter as an important caveat to our overall summary of findings.

1 Overview

We frame the study of the intercorrelations between physiology (as a biological phenomenon) and gender difference (as a social phenomenon) through the lens of gender as a social structure (Risman, 1998, 2004). This framework situates gender at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels as something that is constantly shifting and under construction (Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004; Risman, 1998). Rather than a way of classifying individuals (e.g., people having a gender), gender has consequences for the self through the construction of identities, expectations held by others that are accompanied with rewards and sanctions, and macro-level organizational and ideological components.

This multi-level conceptualization of gender is useful for empirical modeling because it allows for consideration of causal relationships within and across levels of analysis. That is to say, the construction of a gendered self, or how one identifies oneself along the multiple continua femininity and

masculinity through the interpretation of one’s own body, is also shaped by the internalized expectations of others for them as someone housed in a particular body and how that body is regulated directly and indirectly in the contemporary social and legal landscape. Our review of relevant theoretical frameworks and empirical research connecting physiology and gender difference is comprised of work that has focused largely on the individual-level, with some scholarship examining the ways that social expectations shape how people behave and how they come to understand themselves in relation to others.

2 Current State of Understanding

Berenbaum, Blakemore, and Beltz (2011) provide a succinct history of research on the role biology plays in constructing gender difference. They also provide an excellent summary of the current state of knowledge around the role that biology does and does not play in constructing gender difference. Our summary draws heavily upon theirs; we strongly recommend that individuals interested in learning more about this topic review their excellent article.

Gender differences have long been studied by philosophers, scientists, and social scientists alike (Galton, 1883; Quetelet, 1830/1969; Hall, 1905). Hall (1905), like his contemporaries, concluded that women were inferior and this inferiority was attributed to their biology. As psychological research matured, the role that biology played in creating gender differences in behavior began to be the topic of examination. The earliest examination was conducted using laboratory animals. Phoenix, Goy, Gerall, and Young (1959) found that female guinea pigs exposed to prenatal androgens were masculinized in their mating behavior. Much research has extended the paradigm proffered by Phoenix et al. (1959), focusing on androgen exposure and human behavior.

Contemporary research has moved beyond this limited focus. Contemporary work has improved methodologically, incorporated

alternative explanations, as well as situated biology within a social context.

2.1 Evolution

The focus of evolutionary psychology is that behavior results from historical adaptive pressures (Berenbaum et al., 2011). Behavior, as influenced by the brain, is believed to have developed to solve problems over time, thus enabling survival. So, gender differences in adaptive pressures are believed to underpin present-day differences in behavior. Trivers' (1972) theory of sexual selection is the basis for most approaches in evolutionary psychology. In Trivers' (1972) paternal investment theory, differences in paternal investment influences sexual behaviors. Sexual selection is then used to explain gendered behaviors.

Other scholars have since taken a broader evolutionary approach to gendered behavior, as sexual selection is more complex than as implicated by Trivers (1972). Many studies have not been able to support his predictions (Gowaty, 2003; Hrdy, 1997; Parish & De Waal, 2000).

2.2 Genetics

Genes on sex chromosomes have also been examined as a source influencing gendered behavior (Berenbaum et al., 2011). Early on, there was interest in the effect of spatial ability of genes on the X-chromosome (Wittig, 1976). However, there were subsequent failures in attempts to replicate that finding. Therefore, the attribution of gender differences in spatial ability to X-chromosomes lost traction. However, work with those who have sex-chromosome abnormalities has provided new support for that genes on the X-chromosome may affect aspects of cognition, which includes spatial ability (Ross, Roeltgen, & Zinn, 2006). There has also been a renewed interest in the sex chromosome genes and behavior, but the focus has shifted to the Y-chromosome rather than the X-chromosome (Arnold, 2009; Arnold & Chen, 2009).

2.3 Hormones and Animal Models

Sex hormones have been at the heart of most of the research on biological mechanisms underlying gendered behavior. Most of this work has built on research by Phoenix and Goy (Gibber & Goy, 1985; Phoenix et al., 1959, 1973), which utilized rodents and primates. Research with nonhuman animals has demonstrated that hormones affect behavior in two ways (Becker et al., 2008; Goy & McEwen, 1980): (1) sex hormones make permanent changes to the brain and subsequently impacts the behaviors associated the brain structures (organizational effects), and (2) sex hormones temporarily alter the brain and behavior as they circulate through the body during adulthood and adolescence (activational effects). The primary difference between the two are permanence and timing (Arnold & Breedlove, 1985).

2.4 Prenatal Sex Hormones in Humans

Jordan-Young (2010), especially chapter two, provides a detailed discussion of the application of brain organization theory to humans; we strongly recommend her work for individuals interested in learning more about this topic. One important historical development in this area has focused on individuals with hormone related disorders. Individuals with congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH) have provided a natural experiment for examining the influence of hormones on gendered behavior (Berenbaum et al., 2011). First studied by Money and his colleagues (see Money & Ehrhardt, 1972), CAH is a genetic disease that results in exposure to large amounts of androgens. So, females with CAH should behave more male-typed than those without CAH if gendered behaviors are influenced by the presence of androgens during important developmental periods. Prenatal androgen exposure is associated with a preference for male-typed activity in females (Meyer-Bahlburg, Dolezal, Baker, Ehrhardt, & New, 2006; Nordenström, Servin, Bohlin, Larsson, & Wedell, 2002;

Pasterski et al., 2005). Females with CAH also have other male-typed behaviors and characteristics, such as: higher spatial abilities, more aggressive behavior, and less interest in babies.

2.5 Adolescent Hormones in Humans

There have been three approaches to biological based work in adolescence. The first of these approaches has centered around the effect of increased sex hormone levels on characteristics that become more gender-typed in adolescence, such as cognition (Galambos, Berenbaum, & McHale, 2009). The second approach looks at the how the timing of pubertal development, such as the onset of puberty (Susman & Dorn, 2009), impact behavior. The third approach, which is recent in its development, is based on rodent studies that demonstrate how sex hormones at puberty permanently change the brain. However, the association between hormones to adolescent behavior is less established as that linking prenatal exposure and gender typing (Berenbaum et al., 2011).

2.6 Circulating Hormones in Humans

There is an established body of literature investigating the link between circulating hormones and gendered characteristics, such as cognition and aggression (see Buchanan, Eccles, & Becker, 1992; Hampson, 2007; Maki & Sundermann, 2009; Puts et al., 2010). Most of these studies have been done on adults and adolescents, using observational studies to examine the bidirectional effects of hormones and behavior. The findings have been complex, as hormones do not have simple causal effects. The studies that are most beneficial are those that examine the indirect impact of hormones and situate the results within a social context (Berenbaum et al., 2011).

2.7 The Brain

The early study of gender differences in the brain primarily focused on cerebral hemispheric

specialization (lateralization) (Berenbaum et al., 2011). While it still is a topic of study, the differences are small and it is not known how they impact the differentiation of gendered behavior (see Blakemore et al., 2009). However, technological innovations, such as magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) and fMRI, that allow for brain imaging has increased research on brain gender differences in the size of specific brain regions and the activity of those regions while doing a particular emotional or cognitive task (see Goldstein et al., 2001; Hamann & Canli, 2004; Lenroot et al., 2007; Resnick, 2006). For example, gender differences have been found in brain activation relating to spatial ability (Grön, Wunderlich, Spitzer, Tomczak, & Riepe, 2000), as well as in brain responses to sexual stimuli (Hamann, Herman, Nolan, & Wallen, 2004). However, because the brain is dynamic and changes in response to its environment, it is hard to know the which came first, gender differences in the brain or gender differences in behavior (Berenbaum et al., 2011).

2.8 Gene-Environment (GE) Interaction

There is evidence to support that the interplay between genes and the environment can impact non-gendered components of behavior (Rutter, Moffitt, & Caspi, 2006). Behaviors may be impacted by genes in the same way the presentation of genes may depend on an individual's environment. While the behavioral work surrounding GE interactions are nestled in psychopathology, gender differences can be seen (Berenbaum et al., 2011). The integration of genes and the environment can potentially lend insight into gendered psychological processes. The environment can impact the genome without changing DNA (Berenbaum et al., 2011). Instead, it can alter the way the genes are expressed. This process is called epigenetics. In this process, genes can be turned on or turn off by the environment, which impedes or allows making of a protein. Most of this research has been with rodents. However, Champagne (2008)

provides an example of epigenetics via the transgenerational effects of maternal care in her research with rodents.

The field of epigenetics has opened up substantial lines of inquiry, especially with the deeper understanding of how genes are activated or deactivated in certain social and physical environments, leading to genetic changes in biological inheritance across one or two generations (see Wade (2013) for a detailed description of this burgeoning area of scholarship among humans). Thus the impact of social circumstances on biological predispositions resulting from activated genes is a key new area of research, especially among scholars interested in the connection between biology and gendered behavior.

2.9 Effects of Both Physiology and the Social Environment

Both physiology and the social environment impact gendered characteristics. In sex hormones, this can be seen in hormone-environment interaction and hormone-environment correlation (Berenbaum et al., 2011). The former refers to a statistical interaction between the environment and hormones. An example is the masculinization of behavior in females by the presence of male siblings and the demasculinization of behavior of males by the presence of female siblings. This was also found in nonhuman animals. For example, male rats reared in a primarily female litter were found to demasculinize sexual behavior even though it is influenced by testosterone (de Medeiros, Rees, Llinas, Fleming, & Crews, 2010).

Meanwhile, hormone-environment correlation refers to a correlation between the individual's social environment and their hormones, with hormones influencing selection of responses from the environment (Berenbaum et al., 2011). An example of this is those with early exposure to sex-atypical hormones being less attracted to animals of the opposite sex. Consequently, they exhibit less sexual behavior (Clark & Galef, 1998; Pomerantz, Roy, Thornton, & Goy, 1985).

This early exposure also seems to influence the social interactions of humans.

Physiology related to self-regulation also appears to have gendered differences. Research has shown that girls have more emotional self-regulation and better effortful control than boys (Else-Quest, Hyde, Goldsmith, & Van Hulle, 2006; Matthews, Ponitz, & Morrison, 2009). Children's social interactions, particularly with their peers, further amplifies these differences (Fabes, Shepard, Guthrie, & Martin, 1997; Fabes, Martin, Hanish, Anders, & MaddenDerdich, 2003).

2.10 Summary

Previous research has examined the connection between biology and social difference through many possible pathways. Theoretical perspectives largely are derived from an evolutionary framework, highlighting the notion that gender differences are responses to evolutionary needs, fueling the "just so" story of gender difference today. However, from the expression of genes and how they interact with the environment to construction of the brain and how it is formed in utero, researchers have found inconclusive evidence for how individuals' behavior (largely women's behavior) is shaped by biological mechanisms. Other research on humans has documented the complicated nature of the relationship between hormones and behavior. In sum, then, previous research focusing on the construction of gender at the individual level has incorporated biological mechanisms with mixed results.

3 Extended Case Study

Research documenting the connection between biological variation and gender at the individual level has focused at times on comparing across sex category, that is comparing women and men (or girls and boys). However, research has also documented that comparing variation in

outcomes within sex category (that is, looking at how biological variation is correlated with differences in women's experiences) also provides a key insight into the extent to which biology can and has shaped social outcomes. Here is the logic. There are average differences in biological components, such as hormone levels, that are tied to sex category. Individuals who are male have higher levels of testosterone and sex hormone binding globulin (SHBG) than do individuals who are female, and individuals who are female have higher levels of estrogen and progesterone than do individuals who are male. Almost all individuals have all of those hormones; the average amount in the circulating bloodstream varies across sex category (as noted above, studies on unique individuals missing hormones has been the basis of many studies on biological connections to social gender differences—see Money & Ehrhardt, 1972). When comparing within sex category on characteristics that may vary, such as levels of circulating hormones, researchers can more clearly make claims about how potential biological mechanisms shape social outcomes. Comparing women to women on social outcomes at least controls for the fact that others likely perceive them as women and treat them accordingly in social interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

As summarized above, brain organization theory argues that hormones wash over the fetal brain during the second trimester of pregnancy, organizing it in particular ways that manifest themselves as gendered predispositions and/or behaviors later in life (Phoenix et al., 1959). One sociological study building on brain organization theory (Udry, 2000) drew heavy criticism from other sociologists (Kennelly, Merz, & Lorber, 2001; Miller & Costello, 2001; Risman, 2001), in part because of the author's direct claims about biology potentially limiting women's desires for gender equality.

The first author and a colleague (Davis & Risman, 2015) decided to approach the implication that biology can limit women's potential for equality by reanalyzing the data originally used to make such a claim (Udry, 2000). We asked whether and how biology (measured by prenatal

maternal circulating testosterone and SHBG and adult testosterone and SGBG), parental socialization, and adult situational expectations shaped adult women's reported personality traits. Specifically we examined whether adult personality traits were responsive to social outcomes that are typically used as measures of (or related to) gender equality, such as occupational status, motherhood status, division of household labor, and attitudes toward gender equality. Our findings were complicated, and supported the idea that social outcomes and experiences are constructed through complicated interconnections of biology, socialization, and responses to current circumstances across the life course (Davis & Risman, 2015). Childhood socialization was unequivocally the most important predictor of adult women's reported personality traits. Prenatal maternal circulating hormones shaped adult women's reported personality traits, but shaped their reported masculine personality traits more than their reported feminine personality traits. And our expectations of a situationally flexible self that was responsive to adult expectations was supported for reported feminine personality traits but not reported masculine personality traits.

We determined through our research that biology does not directly limit gender equality. But we did find that prenatal maternal circulating hormones did contribute in a small way to the extent to which women in the contemporary United States later identified themselves as more or less masculine or feminine. We hypothesize that there are potentially a few mechanisms at work here, connected to biology, but residing largely in the social sphere. First, maternal circulating hormones are measures of mother's biology. It is likely that mothers with higher levels of testosterone would be more likely to socialize their daughters in ways that are more consistent with identifying oneself as more masculine, as argued by Cohen-Bendahan, van de Beek, and Berenbaum (2005). Certainly we found that maternal socialization and behaviors in childhood were of significantly more importance in constructing personality traits than were prenatal maternal circulating hormones and women's own circulating hormones. Second, if

there are potential biological mechanisms that predispose women to have certain personality traits, their behavior is reinforced and reaffirmed through socialization in childhood and beyond. Interactions with others in childhood and adulthood were significantly more influential in overall influence on adult personality traits than were the combined influences of biology. If biology could limit equality, then, our research suggests it is due to the social responses to biology rather than biology as a primary factor.

These findings, focused on hormones as the biological mechanism through which gender differences occur, are not inconsistent with those studies in epigenetics that have found how genetic imprinting through activation/deactivation in response to the social environment can occur over a span of one-to-two generations (Pembrey et al., 2006; Wade, 2013). Modifications to the maternal genome that respond to changing social environments for more women (e.g., more social circumstances marked by competition and self-reliance) could potentially have been transferred to the participants in this study. This theorized alternative explanation of the interaction between genes and the social environment reinforces the primacy of social circumstances in shaping social outcomes, as social circumstances may facilitate or inhibit the expression of genetic predispositions.

4 Important Caveat

Studies that follow the experiences of transgender individuals as they transition across sex categories complicate our understanding of how biological differences as tied to sex category are connected to differences in social outcomes (Connell, 2010; Westbrook & Schilt, 2014). So too does the burgeoning scholarship on intersex individuals (e.g., Davis & Murphy, 2013; Davis, 2015) challenge scholars' understandings of how biology and social outcomes could and have been connected. Our goal in this chapter has been to highlight the direction of scholarship in the past; the future of scholarship in this area has opportunities for greater interrogation of the

interrelationships among sex category, gender, and biology.

5 Conclusions and Implications

Scholarship documenting gender difference has historically been used as evidence for how and why gender inequality is maintained (Jordan-Young & Rumiati, 2012). The notion of being hardwired for difference makes for an easy explanation for how and why inequality based on perceived sex categories evolved and continue to exist. Yet, scholarship has documented how hard we as humans work to maintain the connection between the biological and the social. We as humans continue to look for biological differences to explain social inequalities because biological explanations for social inequalities are easier to accept than is our own culpability in constructing those inequalities. This is one explanation for why the just-so stories of brains hardwired for difference (Jordan-Young & Rumiati, 2012) resonate with the public. And this is one reason why working toward greater gender equality is an uphill battle as it is difficult to create greater opportunities at the institutional level when interactions are fraught with beliefs about immutability at the individual level.

However, research has shown how to undermine beliefs about inherent difference: put people who are different from one another together (with equal footing) and ask them to work together. There is voluminous evidence that diversity in work groups undermines beliefs about gender, racial, ethnic, religious, and other "inherent" differences that lead to hierarchical relationships (see review in Ridgeway and Correll (2004)). There is also much to be learned from scholars of race and ethnicity who continue to battle the insidious perceived connection between biology and inequality regarding race and racial differences (e.g., Benjamin, 2015; Morning, 2014).

As our world is complex, so too are the explanations for how to understand the world. Biology matters, if for no other reason that human beings are embodied (Lorber, 1994; Connell, 1987). We respond in interactions to the bodies of the others,

holding them accountable to the categories we perceive they inhabit, be it sex, race, age, or some other biologically related or socially constructed category. Therefore one key way to work toward decoupling the just-so story of biology leads to inequality is to provide evidence through interaction that changes understandings of what it means to inhabit a certain category (see West and Zimmerman (1987) and West and Fenstermaker (1995) for more information). This is hard in a complicated world where fear and distrust of perceived difference permeates the cultural landscape. However, the road to equality is hard and paved with setbacks but as we have documented here, is not bound by biology.

References

- Arnold, A. P. (2009). Mouse models for evaluating sex chromosome effects that cause sex differences in non-gonadal tissues. *Journal of Neuroendocrinology*, *21*, 377–386.
- Arnold, A. P., & Breedlove, S. M. (1985). Organizational and activational effects of sex steroids on brain and behavior: A reanalysis. *Hormones and Behavior*, *19*, 469–498.
- Arnold, A. P., & Chen, X. (2009). What does the “four core genotypes” mouse model tell us about sex differences in the brain and other tissues? *Frontiers in Neuroendocrinology*, *30*, 1–9.
- Becker, J. B., Berkley, K. J., Geary, N., Hampson, E., Herman, J., & Young, E. (Eds.). (2008). *Sex differences in the brain: From genes to behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Benjamin, R. (2015). The emperor’s new genes science, public policy, and the allure of objectivity. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *661*(1), 130–142.
- Berenbaum, S. A., Blakemore, J. E. O., & Beltz, A. M. (2011). A role for biology in gender-related behavior. *Sex Roles*, *64*, 804–825.
- Blakemore, J. E. O., Berenbaum, S. A., & Liben, L. S. (2009). *Gender development*. New York: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis.
- Buchanan, C. M., Eccles, J. S., & Becker, J. B. (1992). Are adolescents the victims of raging hormones: Evidence for activational effects of hormones on moods and behavior at adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin*, *111*, 62–107.
- Champagne, F. A. (2008). Epigenetic mechanisms and the transgenerational effects of maternal care. *Frontiers in Neuroendocrinology*, *29*, 386–397.
- Clark, M. M., & Galef, B. G. (1998). Effects of intrauterine position on the behavior and genital morphology of litter-bearing rodents. *Developmental Neuropsychology*, *14*, 197–211.
- Cohen-Bendahan, C. C. C., van de Beek, C., & Berenbaum, S. A. (2005). Prenatal sex hormone effects on child and adult sex-typed behaviors: Methods and findings. *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Review*, *29*, 353–384.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person, and sexual politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, C. (2010). Doing, undoing, or redoing gender? Learning from the workplace experiences of transpeople. *Gender & Society*, *24*(1), 31–55.
- Davis, G. (2015). *Contesting intersex: The dubious diagnosis*. New York: New York University Press.
- Davis, G., & Murphy, E. L. (2013). Intersex bodies as states of exception: An empirical explanation for unnecessary surgical modification. *Feminist Formations*, *25*(2), 129–152.
- Davis, S. N., & Risman, B. J. (2015). Feminists wrestle with testosterone: Hormones, socialization, and cultural expectations as predictors of women’s gendered selves. *Social Science Research*, *49*, 110–125.
- de Medeiros, C. B., Rees, S. L., Llinas, M., Fleming, A. S., & Crews, D. (2010). Deconstructing early life experiences: Distinguishing the contributions of prenatal and postnatal factors to adult male sexual behavior in the rat. *Psychological Science*, *21*, 1494–1501.
- Else-Quest, N. M., Hyde, J. S., Goldsmith, H. H., & Van Hulle, C. A. (2006). Gender differences in temperament: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *132*, 33–72.
- Fabes, R. A., Martin, C. L., Hanish, L. D., Anders, M. C., & MaddenDerdich, D. A. (2003). Early school competence: The roles of sexsegregated play and effortful control. *Developmental Psychology*, *39*, 848–859.
- Fabes, R. A., Shepard, A. S., Guthrie, I. K., & Martin, C. L. (1997). Roles of temperamental arousal and gender segregated play in young children’s social adjustment. *Developmental Psychology*, *33*, 693–702.
- Fine, C. (2010). *Delusions of gender: How our minds, society, and neurosexism create difference*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Galambos, N. L., Berenbaum, S. A., & McHale, S. M. (2009). Gender development in adolescence. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology: Vol. 1: Individual bases of adolescent development* (3rd ed., pp. 305–357). Hoboken: Wiley.
- Galton, F. (1883). *Inquiries into human faculty and its development*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Gibber, J. R., & Goy, R. W. (1985). Infant-directed behavior in young rhesus monkeys: Sex differences and effects of prenatal androgens. *American Journal of Primatology*, *8*, 225–237.
- Goldstein, J. M., Seidman, L. J., Horton, N. J., Makris, N., Kennedy, D. N., Caviness, V. S., et al. (2001). Normal sexual dimorphism of the adult human brain

- assessed by in vivo magnetic resonance imaging. *Cerebral Cortex*, 11, 490–497.
- Gowaty, P. A. (2003). Sexual natures: How feminism changed evolutionary biology. *Signs*, 28, 901–921.
- Goy, R. W., & McEwen, B. S. (1980). *Sexual differentiation of the brain*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Grön, G., Wunderlich, A. P., Spitzer, M., Tomczak, R., & Riepe, M. W. (2000). Brain activation during human navigation: Gender different neural networks as substrate of performance. *Nature Neuroscience*, 3, 404–408.
- Hall, G. S. (1905). *Adolescence*. New York: Appleton.
- Hamann, S., & Canli, T. (2004). Individual differences in emotional processing. *Current Opinion in Neurobiology*, 14, 233–238.
- Hamann, S., Herman, R. A., Nolan, C. L., & Wallen, K. (2004). Men and women differ in amygdala response to visual sexual stimuli. *Nature Neuroscience*, 7, 411–416.
- Hampson, E. (2007). Endocrine contributions to sex differences in visuospatial perception and cognition. In J. B. Becker, K. J. Berkley, N. Geary, E. Hampson, J. Herman, & E. Young (Eds.), *Sex differences in the brain: From genes to behavior* (pp. 311–328). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hrdy, S. B. (1997). Raising Darwin's consciousness: Female sexuality and the prehuman origins of patriarchy. *Human Nature*, 8, 1–49.
- Jordan-Young, R. M. (2010). *Brain storm*. Harvard University Press.
- Jordan-Young, R., & Rumiati, R. I. (2012). Hardwired for sexism? Approaches to sex/gender in neuroscience. *Neuroethics*, 5(3), 305–315.
- Kennelly, I., Merz, S., & Lorber, L. (2001). What is gender? *American Sociological Review*, 66, 598–605.
- Lenroot, R. K., Gogtay, N., Greenstein, D. K., Wells, E. M., Wallace, G. L., Clasen, L. S., et al. (2007). Sexual dimorphism of brain developmental trajectories during childhood and adolescence. *NeuroImage*, 15, 1065–1073.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Maki, P. M., & Sundermann, E. (2009). Hormone therapy and cognitive function. *Human Reproduction Update*, 15, 667–681.
- Martin, P. Y. (2004). Gender as social institution. *Social Forces*, 82, 1249–1273.
- Matthews, J. S., Ponitz, C. C., & Morrison, F. J. (2009). Early gender differences in self-regulation and academic achievement. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 101, 689–704.
- Meyer-Bahlburg, H. F. L., Dolezal, C., Baker, S. W., Ehrhardt, A. A., & New, M. I. (2006). Gender development in women with congenital adrenal hyperplasia as a function of disorder severity. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 35, 667–684.
- Miller, E., & Costello, C. Y. (2001). The limits of biological determinism. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 592–598.
- Money, J., & Ehrhardt, A. A. (1972). *Man and woman, boy and girl: Differentiation and dimorphism of gender identity from conception to maturity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Morning, A. (2014). And you thought we had moved beyond all that: Biological race returns to the social sciences. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37, 1676–1685.
- Nordenström, A., Servin, A., Bohlin, G., Larsson, A., & Wedell, A. (2002). Sex-typed toy play behavior correlates with the degree of prenatal androgen exposure assessed by CYP21 genotype in girls with congenital adrenal hyperplasia. *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism*, 87, 5119–5124.
- Parish, A. R., & De Waal, F. B. M. (2000). The other “closest living relative”: How bonobos (*Pan paniscus*) challenge traditional assumptions about females, dominance, intra- and intersexual interactions, and hominid evolution. In D. LeCroy & P. Moller (Eds.), *Evolutionary perspectives on human reproductive behavior* (pp. 97–113). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Pasterski, V. L., Geffner, M. E., Brain, C., Hindmarsh, P., Brook, C., & Hines, M. (2005). Prenatal hormones and postnatal socialization by parents as determinants of male-typical toy play in girls with congenital adrenal hyperplasia. *Child Development*, 76, 264–278.
- Pembrey, M., Bygren, L., Kaati, G., Edvinsson, S., Northstone, K., Sjöström, M. et al. (2006). Sex-specific, male-line transgenerational responses in humans. *European Journal of Human Genetics*, 14, 159–66.
- Phoenix, C. H., Goy, R. W., Gerall, A. A., & Young, W. C. (1959). Organizing action of prenatally administered testosterone propionate on the tissues mediating mating behavior in the female guinea pig. *Endocrinology*, 65, 369–382.
- Phoenix, C. H., Slob, A. K., & Goy, R. W. (1973). Effects of castration and replacement therapy on sexual behavior of adult male rhesuses. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 84, 472–481.
- Pomerantz, S. M., Roy, M. M., Thornton, J. E., & Goy, R. W. (1985). Expression of adult female patterns of sexual behavior by male, female, and pseudo-hermaphroditic female rhesus monkeys. *Biology of Reproduction*, 33, 878–889.
- Puts, D. A., Cárdenas, R. A., Bailey, D. H., Burriss, R. P., Jordan, C. L., & Breedlove, S. M. (2010). Salivary testosterone does not predict mental rotation performance in men or women. *Hormones and Behavior*, 58, 282–289.
- Quetelet, L. A. J. (1830/1969). *A treatise on man and the development of his faculties* (R. Knox & F. L. Gainesville, Trans.). Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints. (Original work published 1830; trans. 1842).
- Resnick, S. M. (2006). Sex differences in regional brain structure and function. In P. W. Kaplan (Ed.), *Neurologic disease in women* (2nd ed., pp. 15–26). New York: Demos Medical Publications.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system a theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 510–531.

- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2001). Calling the bluff of value-free science. *American Sociological Review*, *66*, 605–611.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, *18*, 429–450.
- Ross, J., Roeltgen, D., & Zinn, A. (2006). Cognition and the sex chromosomes: Studies in turner syndrome. *Hormone Research*, *65*, 47–56.
- Rutter, M., Moffitt, T. E., & Caspi, A. (2006). Gene–environment interplay and psychopathology: Multiple varieties but real effects. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *47*, 226–261.
- Susman, E. J., & Dorn, L. D. (2009). Puberty: Its role in development. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology: Vol. 1: Individual bases of adolescent development* (3rd ed., pp. 116–151). Hoboken: Wiley.
- Trivers, R. L. (1972). Parental investment and sexual selection. In B. Campbell (Ed.), *Sexual selection and the descent of man* (pp. 136–179). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Udry, J. R. (2000). Biological limits of gender construction. *American Sociological Review*, *65*, 443–457.
- Wade, L. (2013). The new science of sex difference. *Sociology Compass*, *7*(4), 278–293.
- West, C., & Fenstermaker, S. (1995). Doing difference. *Gender & Society*, *9*(1), 8–37.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, *1*, 125–151.
- Westbrook, L., & Schilt, K. (2014). Doing gender, determining gender: Transgender people, gender panics, and the maintenance of the sex/gender/sexuality system. *Gender & Society*, *28*(1), 32–57.
- Wittig, M. A. (1976). Sex differences in intellectual functioning: How much of a difference do genes make? *Sex Roles*, *2*, 63–74.

Shannon N. Davis is Associate Professor of Sociology at George Mason University. Her research focuses on the reproduction of gender inequality in institutions, in particular within families and higher education as well as the construction and maintenance of beliefs about gender (gender ideologies). In addition to numerous publications in scholarly journals such as *Journal of Family Issues*, *Marriage & Family Review*, and *Community, Work, & Family*, she is co-editor (with Sarah Winslow and David J. Maume) of *Gender in the Twenty-First Century*, *The Stalled Revolution and the Road to Equality* (University of California Press) and co-author (with Theodore N. Greenstein) of *Methods of Family Research* (3rd edition, Sage).

Alysia Blake is a Survey Statistician at the U.S. Census Bureau. She is also a doctoral student of Sociology at George Mason University. Her doctoral research focuses on mental illness and stigma, as well as the intersection of race, gender, and disability.

Natalie N. Castañeda and Carla A. Pfeffer

Abstract

In the following reading, we provide an overview of prevailing approaches to the study of gender identities across multiple disciplines. For the purposes of this chapter we focus on biological, psychological, and sociocultural approaches to gender identities, across which exists considerable overlap. Within the biological sciences, there is a focus on genetics, hormones, and physiology to determine gender identity. Psychological approaches examine evolutionary foundations for gender-linked characteristics, sensitive periods across the lifecourse, and gender schemata. Sociocultural approaches concentrate on the construction of gender and gender identities, how they are experienced and enacted, and their intersections with social institutions and culture. Some theories within this approach aim to deconstruct gender, gender identities, and provoke greater consideration of gender fluidity in cultures across the globe. Biological, psychological, and sociocultural approaches to understanding gender identities are by no means mutually exclusive

and we discuss the critical importance of engaging in multi- and interdisciplinary empirical and theoretical dialogues. We close the chapter by considering possible future directions for innovative theoretical and empirical work on gender identities in the twenty-first century.

1 Introduction

Sociologists have been at the vanguard of sketching out terminology to conceptually differentiate various aspects of sex and gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987). For example, “sex” refers to one’s categorization as “female” or “male” at birth, typically based on the appearance of one’s genitalia, considered largely a biological characteristic. “Gender,” on the other hand, refers to characteristics associated with femininity and masculinity that are largely considered social. Social scientists have also worked to broaden our understandings of sex and gender beyond binary categorization (female/male and woman/man) to consideration of these characteristics along a spectrum that includes those who are intersex, gender-variant, and/or transgender; further, studying how sex categorization happens for intersex people complicates the very notion that sex is a purely biological characteristic (Davis, 2015; Diamond, 2002).

N. N. Castañeda (✉) · C. A. Pfeffer
University of South Carolina, Columbia, USA
e-mail: castanen@email.sc.edu

C. A. Pfeffer
e-mail: pfefferc@mailbox.sc.edu

While sex and gender are characteristics that are often attributed by others, “gender identity” refers to one’s felt sense of being a woman, a man, somewhere in-between, or something else altogether (Pfeffer, 2017). Others have described gender identity as the degree to which one identifies with masculinity or femininity (Diamond, 2002). “Cisgender” is a term used to refer to those whose sex categorization and gender identity align, while “transgender” refers to those for whom they do not (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). In some instances, the sex into which one is categorized may not correspond with their gender identity—for example, a person whose birth certificate reads “female,” but who self identifies as a man. Once gender identity has been defined, the next questions to arise are often: From where or what does gender identity originate? How does gender identity develop? Theories of gender identity development span across many academic realms and while perspectives from various fields may starkly diverge, there is sometimes considerable overlap. In the following sections, we provide a brief overview of perspectives that understand gender identity as variously biological, psychological, and sociocultural. Rather than emerging in a straightforward fashion from specific disciplines, these perspectives may be considered multidisciplinary, overlapping, and contested. In the following sections, we address how sociologists and sociological research have critically engaged with (and contributed to) various key debates around gender and gender identity.

2 Biological Approaches

Sociological engagement with biological approaches for understanding and explaining gender identity have largely focused on complicating biologically determinist understandings of sex and its relationship to human experience and behavior. Productive and necessary sociological questions in this context include: Just what constitutes sex and who decides? How do biologists understand the interplay between determining sex and human development of particular

gender identities? One biological approach for determining sex might rely upon genetic karyotyping, mapping out the genome to determine if one has sex cells that are XX (typically associated with females) or XY (typically associated with males). Another approach could define sex based on hormonal levels, usually focusing on testosterone and estrogen at many points in life, beginning at the fetal stage. Still another approach might consider external genitalia or secondary sexual characteristics, such as breasts, determinative of sex.

For many, all of these biological characteristics related to sex align in a similar direction. Even among such people, however, not all will hold a gender self-identification (or identity) congruent with their sex categorization. Feminist biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling proposes that biological sex and gender identity are immensely more dynamic and complex than that captured through binary categorization (Fausto-Sterling, 1993, 2000). Rather, she argues, sex manifests along a biologically natural spectrum across hormonal, chromosomal, genital, and other somatic contexts. Using the example of intersex traits, Fausto-Sterling proposes a multi-dimensional understanding of sex, asserting that a binary or dimorphic approach is constrained and even unnatural. Fausto-Sterling identifies “the five sexes” as; female, male, herm, ferm, and merm. The ferm, herm, and merm categories bring attention to the biological diversity of sex, providing evidence that they should be neither ignored nor surgically altered at birth (Fausto-Sterling, 1993, 2000).

According to biological approaches, gender and gender identity are natural continuations of sex characteristics (genitals, reproductive organs, genes, hormones, and secondary sex characteristics and sex-related somatic traits). Evolutionary psychological approaches, for example, argue that gender identity is at least partially coded into our genes, serving as an adaptive feature for humans to survive in hunter-gatherer societies (Buss, 1995). Women and men, according to this perspective, reflect discrete social categories with differing gender-based behavioral tendencies, strengths, and weaknesses that generally

correspond with biological sex and serve as natural and necessary complements to one another (Buss, 1995). As we will outline in the following sections, however, sociologists have made critical contributions to disentangle sex and gender and a broad array of research by social scientists (including sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and historians) challenges such biologically-determinist notions of gender.

A key question many sociologists ask is: If gender and gender identity are biological constructs, then why have we seen such diversity in these constructs across time and across cultures? Contrary to what biological perspectives might predict, people in everyday interactions do not primarily rely on others' biological characteristics to make gender attributions (Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Rather, they rely upon historically and culturally-variable social cues (such as clothing, hairstyles, bodily comportment, and behavior) to determine if someone is a man or a woman. Kessler and McKenna (1978) refer to this process of attributing gender using social cues as "cultural genitals." In other words, "biological theories of gender actually rely on the social processes of gender attribution" (Elson, 2004:10). As such, biological perspectives may be seen as important but insufficient for developing comprehensive understandings of gender and gender identity. For exploring intersections between biology and environments, multidisciplinary perspectives on gender identity have emerged. Most of the following perspectives offer ways to understand how sex categorization is distinct from gender identity, revealing the limits of biological perspectives to explain and make sense of the complexity of human sex and gender diversity.

3 Psychological Approaches

While evolutionary psychological perspectives on gender and gender identity tend to be relatively underdeveloped and are often empirically untestable, cognitive, developmental, and social psychological perspectives are more robust, though still contentious among sociologists.

According to cognitive and developmental psychological approaches, there are sensitive periods of time in infants' and children's lives when they begin to associate various behaviors or objects with different "types" of people—women, girls, men, and boys (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). In other words, infants' and children's gender schemas (or notions of gender) first emerge in the form of gendering behaviors and objects. According to researchers, beginning at six months of age, infants can differentiate between male and female voices. Beginning at nine months, they can identify men and women in pictures. By eleven months they are able to link voices with faces of men and women in photographs in ways that are concordant with normative sex-typed expectations for these characteristics (Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002).

Children younger than three years of age tend to associate long hair with girls and women and may assume that any person who has long hair is a girl or a woman—even if that person also has a beard or a masculine name (Kohlberg, 1966). Children reveal these assumptions through their word choices—including pronoun usage. Developmental theories suggest that gender identity is firmly formed by age three, when children may begin to identify their own gender and choose stereotypically gendered toys and games (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Sociologists responding to such findings, however, attend to the various ways in which parents and other caregivers provide gender-normative feedback to young children, often steering them toward or away from particular clothing choices, toys, types of play and bodily comportment, or "correcting" their pronoun usage and the gender attributions they make for themselves and others (Kane, 2012; Martin, 2005).

Social psychological approaches for understanding gender identity may serve as a bridge between psychological and sociological approaches. Social identity theory understands identity as the basis of group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Various group memberships—including in-group versus out-group status—become more or less salient depending upon

social context. After determining one is a member of the in-group, a desire for self-enhancement often occurs, sometimes at the expense of the out-group. This desire for self-enhancement is stronger when categorization pertains to ascribed characteristics such as gender (Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin, 2010).

According to Martin et al. (2002), children search for external cues to help create their gender self-conception. After being consistently attributed (by others) to a particular gender category, they develop motivation to more strongly identify with that group by performing gender-typical behaviors, surrounding themselves with other gender category members, and developing selective attention toward their own gender group (Martin et al. 2002; Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2004). In essence, children become young gender scholars, cognitively absorbing self-relevant, gendered, behavioral cues that society provides. Once the identification of one's own gender occurs, in-group connection begins and a self-enhancement effect activates in-group biases and enhanced motivation to learn as much about their own social category as possible (Martin et al. 2002).

The social cognitive approach to gender identity development includes Sandra Bem's (1981) Gender Schema Theory. Once children realize they are categorized by others into a particular gender, they develop feminine or masculine schemas, attempting to internalize as many gendered behaviors as possible. Schemas are cognitive shortcuts or frameworks under which one operates to more easily attend to and acquire new knowledge that is directly relevant to oneself (Bem, 1981). People are more likely to remember schema-relevant information than schema-non-relevant information. Further, people tend to misremember information so that it remains in alignment with their schemas, thereby altering their perception of reality (Bem, 1981). Schemas are regularly utilized in psychological research, but they are relevant to sociological literatures as well. Prominent social psychological research that draws upon the notions of cognitive schemas or schemata processes includes sexual scripting theory (Simon &

Gagnon, 1986) and research focusing on the acceptance of rape myths (Burt 1980).

Bem (1981) offers a four-point typology of gendered behavior: sex-typed, cross-sex-typed, androgynous, and undifferentiated. Through socialization and learning, children develop gender schemata that help to clarify and guide gendered behavior. For example, young girls may learn feminine behaviors from interactions with their mothers. Sex-typed behaviors are those wherein one's actions are stereotypically aligned with their biological sex. For example, girls may display feminine-typed characteristics such as being nurturing and boys may display masculine-typed characteristics such as aggression. Cross-typed behaviors exist when one's actions are aligned with those stereotypically associated with those of the "opposite" sex; for example, when girls display masculine-stereotyped characteristics or boys display feminine-stereotyped characteristics. Those characterized as androgynous display both feminine and masculine-typed characteristics while those characterized as undifferentiated do not display an abundance of either feminine or masculine-stereotyped behaviors (Bem, 1981). To differentiate between sex-types, Bem developed the Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), a measure of gendered behaviors (1981).

Sociologists note that individual enactments of gendered behaviors do not emerge in a social vacuum; rather, social norms strongly encourage gender-normative behavior and strongly discourage gender counter-normative displays, particularly for boys and men (Kane, 2012; Kimmel, 2008; Martin, 2005; Pascoe, 2011; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Infants are gendered before they are even born as parents choose gendered names, toys, and colors for nurseries and clothing. In some research studies, when participants believe a child to be a girl (because they are introduced using pronouns or a name associated with girls or are wrapped in a pink blanket or dressed in pink clothing), they describe them using feminine adjectives and encourage them to play with feminine-stereotypical toys such as dolls. (Seavey, Katz, & Zalk, 1975; Bell and Carver 1980). When the child is believed to be a

boy, however, research participants describe the three-month-old infant using masculine adjectives such as “strong” and present the infant with stereotypically-masculine toys (Seavey et al., 1975; Bell & Carver, 1980). While the biological sex of infants in such studies was relatively inconsequential, social beliefs about an infant’s perceived sex and gender largely determined how a given child would be treated, approached, and interacted with by others.

Because people develop and are affected by society differently, gender schema theory may be more relevant to some than others. Sex-typed populations are more likely to develop gender schemas that have a larger impact on the development of their gender identity than those in the remaining three categories (cross-typed, androgynous, and undifferentiated) (Bem, 1981). The sex-typed individuals in Bem’s study grouped more words based on gender in recall tests than the other categories, relied on gender schemas for processing new information more than the other categories, and were the fastest to judge their self-concept in gendered ways (Bem, 1981). In other words, conforming to and displaying societal prescriptions for gender is often critically important to one’s sense of self (as well as how one views, experiences, and processes the world and its meanings) (Bem, 1981). Sociologists often draw upon Bem’s research to illustrate the degree to which our understandings of gender identity are linked to normative understandings of masculinity and femininity that shift over time, are relational, and are dependent on the societies and cultures in which social actors are embedded. In the next section, we focus more directly on these social and relational components of gender identity.

4 Sociocultural Approaches

Sociologist Charles Horton Cooley’s (1902) concept of the “looking-glass self” theorizes that people form their self-concept in response to others’ actual and imagined perceptions of them, as if all of society existed as a mirror, reflecting back one’s social value and identity. While

Cooley’s theorizing certainly underlines the critical importance of society and social others in determining one’s identity, social scientists have expanded upon the social processes that produce identity to focus on gender identity more specifically. According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is not an aspect possessed by an individual but, rather, something that arises through repeated and everyday interactions. In other words, gender is a social accomplishment that is interactively produced (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009). In this process-based understanding, gender is not something that we *are* or that we *have*, but something that we *do*. Additionally, one has no choice in doing gender “because of the social consequences of sex-category membership: the allocation of power and resources not only in the domestic, economic, and political domains but also in the broad arena of interpersonal relations” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 145). By “doing gender” we legitimate, reinforce, and perpetuate gender distinctions (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

While gender identity is often discussed as an aspect or characteristic of a person, or an interactive social process, sociologists have also made important inroads for demonstrating how gender permeates social institutions, systems, and structures, implicating them in the very processes that produce gender and gendered identities (Kimmel, 2008; Lucal, 1999; Martin, 2004; Risman, 2004). While some sociologists understand gender as a social institution (Martin, 2004), others view it as social structure (Risman, 2004). Understanding gender as a social institution or structure helps us to better understand the social processes that both construct and reproduce gender-based inequalities, making them more possible to both identify and target. Risman (2004, p. 432; 434) writes:

As long as women and men see themselves as different kinds of people, then women will be unlikely to compare their life options to those of men. Therein lies the power of gender. In a world where sexual anatomy is used to dichotomize human beings into types, the differentiation itself diffuses both claims to and expectations for gender equality. The social structure is not experienced as oppressive if men and women do not see

themselves as similarly situated.... Can we refuse to do gender or is rebellion simply doing gender differently, forging alternative masculinities and femininities?

One of the ways to study gender as a social structure and institution is to explore the way in which gender identity becomes understood by and through social institutions and structures with power.

Patricia Hill Collins asserts that an intersectional approach to identity is vital to examine and understand the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender (1993). Collins opposes an additive approach of oppressions which can lead down a path of competition—or the “oppression Olympics.” One must consider “how do race, class, and gender function as parallel and interlocking systems that shape this basic relationship of domination and subordination?” (Collins, 1993, p. 29). Because we live in a society of institutions that perpetuate oppression along race, class, and gender, all the choices we make are “political acts” (Collins, 1993). Similar to West and Zimmerman (1987, 2009) and Risman (2004), Collins (1993) asserts that our actions as gendered individuals are statements. We have no choice but to embody a gendered identity in a society where power relations so heavily rely on binary gender categorization. Consequently, any action becomes a vehicle or political act to perpetuate or to resist various social systems, hierarchies, institutions, and structures.

For example, we might view the ways in which the psychological and psychiatric profession, as a social institution, has worked to either medicalize or normalize various aspects of sexual and gender identities by tracking iterations of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) across time. Homosexuality was pathologized in the DSM prior to 1973 and not fully removed from the list of associated pathologies until 1987. Once lesbian and gay forms of sexual identity were professionally normalized, Gender Identity Disorder (GID) emerged to take its place. Until the most recent iteration of the DSM was published in 2013, Gender Identity Disorder was the term used by psychiatrists to diagnose and treat those with “a strong and persistent cross-gender

identification” (Bressert, 2016). In the DSM V, the newest clinical designation is “Gender Dysphoria.” The transition from identity disorder to dysphoria emphasizes that cross-gender identification is not a mental disorder per se; however, the potential dysphoria one experiences as a result of gender nonconformity (such as depression, anxiety, stress, and unhappiness) may be considered pathology that necessitates professional psychological or psychiatric care.

We might consider the power of some social institutions and structures to pathologize or normalize gender and sexual identities to be a critical and particularly impactful component of identity policing (Scherrer & Pfeffer, 2016). Gender policing refers to the societal application of negative consequences to people who perform or enact gender in non-conforming ways (Pascoe, 2011). Gender policing may occur daily through the enforcement of norms related to one’s style of dress, bodily comportment, or even manner of speech. Gender policing may take the form of disapproving comments, exclusion from groups, and even physical violence (Pascoe, 2011). Gender policing also occurs through institutions and structures such as law enforcement and social policy. Consider, for example, the “bathroom bills” proposed across many states that call for individuals to use only the restroom that corresponds to the sex into which they were legally categorized at birth, regardless of the current legal status of their identification documents, their physical appearance, their embodiment of gender, or their gender identity (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014). These laws particularly target transgender, crossdressing, and gender non-conforming people in order to enforce the gender binary and prevent any deviation from that norm. Bathroom gender segregation, which occurs almost exclusively in public (rather than private) spaces is a social and cultural tactic for reinforcing supposedly “natural” distinctions between the sex-classes, contributing to their reification and calcification (Goffman, 1977). Perhaps unexpectedly, bathroom gender segregation reinforces gender binary essentialism and the “born in the wrong body” narrative which is not fully representative

of all trans and non-“gender normal” people (Brubaker, 2016). Objective distinctions between sex and gender and an explanation of a misalignment between the two is a simpler description of a transgender person’s experience than a “messier,” nonbinary, in-between, beyond, or even rejection of any personal gender spectrum identification (Brubaker, 2016).

Sociologists note that gender identity is always socioculturally embedded, constructed, and situated, often in ways that defy simple understanding and characterization. Despite the efforts of some social scientists to strictly delineate sex, gender, gender identity, and sexual identity, these constructs intertwine at the level of culture and in everyday practice and experience. For example, butch and femme identities exist at the intersection of both gender and sexual identities. As Levitt and Heistand (2004) write: “Lesbian gender causes social scientists to wrestle with the conundrum of social construction and essentialism and challenges proponents of both positions” (606). Butch and femme gender-sexual identities emerged in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. Butch lesbians were sometimes perceived as men and granted access to opportunities from which women were otherwise excluded (Levitt & Heistand, 2004). In the 1960s and 1970s, some feminists bemoaned butch/femme enactments of gender, arguing that they symbolized patriarchal reenactments of heterosexual relationship dynamics; contemporary theorists, however, provide ample evidence for the diversity and opportunities for empowerment that often exist across such relationships (Levitt & Heistand, 2004; Moore, 2008). The “cultural turn” taken by some social scientists and humanists in the 1970s and onward meant that these scholars paid increasing attention to the ways in which individuals engaged in complex identity construction and meaning making as situated within their relative cultures—on both global and local levels.

The cultural turn was predated and galvanized by a number of important thinkers whose work would shape subsequent sociological (and social scientific more broadly) theorizing on the cultural

embeddedness and production of identity. de Beauvoir (1949), a French philosopher, served as one of the founders of social constructionist perspectives on gender identity through her contention that “one is not born, but rather becomes a woman” (1949, p. 295). The “other” in de Beauvoir’s theorizing is similar to the notion of “out-grouping” that would develop in social identity theory and automatic cognitive biases against marginalized gender groups theorized under expectation states theory decades later (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004); while the “becomes” in de Beauvoir’s theorization would serve as an antecedent to the “doing gender” (West & Zimmerman, 1987) framework for understanding gender and gender identity.

Queer and poststructural theories focusing on gender are often subsumed under the category of social constructionist approaches and their aims are, generally, to deconstruct claims that gender and sexual identities are static and biologically-determined aspects of being and belonging. As Judith Butler writes:

[G]ender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts*. Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (1988, p. 519).

Under social constructionist theorization, then, gender identity is socially constructed, in flux, and often under negotiation and contest.

Sociologists have applied some of the methodological techniques and strategies of critical feminist and social construction and deconstructionist analysis to approach the study of gender identity from unique angles. This might include focusing on the gender or sexual identity processes of heterosexuals and cisgender people (or “gender normals”) rather than those with gender or sexual identities considered on the margins of society (Pfeffer, 2017; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; Ward, 2015). Indeed, many “gender normal” people may never question the

source or substance of their gender identity, simply considering themselves average men and women. However, when faced with a medical crisis that might challenge or disrupt their gender identity, for example, individuals may be prompted to evaluate what makes them a “real” man or woman.

Sociologist Jean Elson identifies such moments as “turning points” or “biographical disruptions” (2004, p. 14). Indeed, disruptions to the body can shake people’s sense of not only their mortality but their identity altogether (Turner, 1992). Examining cisgender women who have undergone hysterectomies reveals their shifting perspectives on exactly what constitutes, destabilizes, and reaffirms their sense of gender and gender identity. As Elson writes: “A cluster of respondents initially felt losses to their female identity, but over time, these women were able to reclaim their gender identities through forms of biographical work ... A final category of women felt that surgery made their gender identities even more secure” (Elson, 2004:25). In this way, gender identity is often neither stable nor fixed, even among “gender normals.” Rather, it requires continuous and repetitious engagements with both oneself, others, and various social systems, structures, and institutions.

While some sociologists have begun to carve out theoretical and empirical investigations of gender identity focusing on the normative center, much research has also engaged with those along the margins. Beginning in the late twentieth century, transgender people were identified by social scientists and humanists alike as an ideal group for increased empirical and theoretical focus insofar as gender and gender identity were concerned. This practice has not been without critique and at least part of this critique focuses on the need to broaden understandings of gender and gender identity beyond its current focus in the United States. Whereas United States culture offers largely binary possibilities for sex and gender identities, other cultures offer more expansive or non-binary approaches for understanding gender identity and diversity.

Transgender identities and “third genders” exist across many cultures around the world. For

example, individuals who are categorized male at birth and who later exhibit both feminine and masculine behaviors are termed “fa’afafine” in American Samoa culture. Rather than being seen as counternormative and subjected to gender policing, the fa’afafine are generally accepted in Samoan culture and respected for their hard work and dedication to their families (Vasey, VanderLaan, Gothreau, & Bartlett, 2011). Similar to the fa’afafine, the “muxes” in Oaxaca occupy a third gender status wherein they are also respected within their communities (Mirandé, 2016). The “hijra” of India and Pakistan are also recognized as a third gender group that is granted legal recognition and protection (Khan et al., 2009). In Albania, “sworn virgins” (or “burnesha”) may take a vow of chastity and assume the social roles and rights of men in their culture (Dickerson, 2015). In Navajo culture, the term given to those who were born intersex and who may live across a number of different gender identities, is “nadle” (Segal, 2003).

While cross-cultural examples provide insights and understandings that expand assumptions around gender identity as invariably binary, and gender counter normativity as always a social problem, there are concerns that some characterizations of gender diversity around the world may offer an overly idealized picture (Towle & Morgan, 2002). Indeed, gender-nonconforming people in cultures across the world often face violence, gender policing, social backlash, accessibility issues, and limitations on basic human rights—some of which are even state-sanctioned or legally-permitted. Consequently, there have been attempts to institute sets of rules and guidelines through which to protect transgender and gender non-conforming populations around the world.

For example, in 2006 in Indonesia, the Yogyakarta Principles were introduced by gender activists, scholars, lawyers, and experts from 25 countries around the world (International Commission of Jurists, 2007). The intention of the Yogyakarta Principles was to outline 29 universal human rights as they apply to gender and sexual identity, including that: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and

rights. All human rights are universal, interdependent, indivisible and interrelated. Sexual orientation and gender identity are integral to every person's dignity and humanity and must not be the basis for discrimination or abuse" (International Commission of Jurists, 2007, p. 10). However, the categories of "gender identity" and "sexual orientation" have not been accepted as categories of discrimination to adopt as universal laws by the United Nations, General Assembly, or the United Nations Human Rights Council. It remains to be seen how these categories will be taken up or adopted in the future as discrimination and violence against gender non-conforming populations continues across the globe.

5 Directions for Future Theoretical and Empirical Work

Gender and gender identity suffuse society and are endemic to how we think about and interact with the world. As such, it would be highly unlikely for any single theory to encompass definitive answers about how to best understand gender and gender identity. A major obstacle to creating theories of gender and gender identity, whether rooted in biological, psychological or sociocultural understandings, is that they cannot be fully comprehensive if they employ singular, essentialist, or reductive approaches. We argue that future theoretical and empirical work in gender and gender identities might strive to be multi-disciplinary and willing to evolve to incorporate, synthesize, and grapple with new findings and data from numerous disciplines (Pfeffer, Rogalin, & Gee, 2016). Gender and gender identity are shaped by myriad variables that fall under the purview of many distinct disciplines. Sociological scholarship reveals how sociocultural perspectives may affirm, modify, or challenge other disciplines' perspectives to more comprehensively understand how gender and gender identity are constructed, contested, and in flux. The dynamic nature of gender and gender identity might encourage researchers to approach their work in new and inventive ways, exploring

the innumerable realms across and through which gender is enacted.

Proliferation of meanings and meaning-making around gender in the context of the Internet create opportunities for future work on virtual gender identities and the role and meaning of bodies in virtual spaces (see also Shapiro, 2010). Discourse around gender and gender identities simultaneously reveals and impacts how individuals conceptualize these constructs. The "omnirelevance" of gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) continues to provide ample opportunities for empirical and theoretical scholarship.

The influence of online communities, and socially-conscious individuals within them, has motivated some of the largest multinational corporations to be more inclusive of non-binary gender identities. Facebook and Tinder, for example, now allow users to have a choice of gender options beyond simply "man," "woman," and "other," with up to fifty-eight on Facebook and thirty-seven on Tinder, including "agender." Will these proliferating gender options help with efforts to make non-binary gender identities more visible and socially legitimate or will they prompt increasing scorn and hand-wringing about "political correctness" in the twenty-first century? Sociological scholarship might work to gauge the influence of media and social media discourse on gender identities across social institutions such as business, politics, and the law. Sociologists might investigate not only what is gained as non-binary gender identities "go mainstream," but also what is lost, challenged, or imperiled.

Using our sociological imagination (Mills, 1959), we might ask: What are the strategies people are using today to embrace gender identities or to resist them (perhaps identifying as "agender") and what are their consequences? Is "agender" a gender identity? Can we imagine a world where gender identity is relatively inconsequential across personal, interpersonal, and social contexts? Is that a world in which we want to live—would it be safer, would it be exciting, is it filled with pleasure, is it boring? What do

gender identities give us and what do they take away?

Future scholarship might approach methodologies and the ever-expanding nuances of gender identities with an open-mind and adventurous spirit. Given the aforementioned omnirelevance of gender, intersections of gender with other key aspects of identities must be explored as ongoing social processes rather than static variables. Emergent technologies also provide the impetus to explore gender beyond the contours of flesh and blood embodiments. The realization of what was previously science fiction emerges in the development of uterine transplantation, rise of virtual assistants, and creation of cyborg-like sex dolls. How might gender and gender identities be implicated across these technologies? For example, what are we to make of the perhaps predictably-retrograde gendering of virtual assistants such as Siri, Cortana, and Alexa? Technology has ushered in rapid social transformations—changing the way we communicate, interact, and think; empirical and theoretical inquiry into intersections between gender, gender identities, and technology will continue to adapt and expand.

As research on gender and gender identities continues to proliferate and innovate, examination of the operations of power, privilege, oppression, and hegemony is necessary. Researchers should be ever mindful that one of the key contributions of sociology is its insistence that attention must be paid to the ways in which inequalities are produced, reproduced, and potentially reconfigured. Scholarship on gendered inequalities is as important as ever and is expanding to include not only those who are cisgender, but those who are intersex and transgender as well. Inclusion in sociology must expand not only with regard to the substantive content and populations sociologists study, but also in terms of disciplinary inclusion of trans and intersex scholars as well. In this way, sociology might continue to remain at the vanguard of not only theoretical and empirical contributions to gender scholarship, but also in attending

to and reducing gendered inequalities that suffuse the systems and structures through which sociological scholarship is produced.

References

- Bell, N. J., & Carver, W. (1980). A reevaluation of gender label effects: Expectant mothers' responses to infants. *Child Development, 51*, 925–927.
- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review, 88*(4), 354–364.
- Bressert, S. (2016). Gender dysphoria symptoms. *Psych Central*. Retrieved on October 19, 2016, from <http://psychcentral.com/disorders/gender-dysphoria-symptoms/>.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*(2), 217–230.
- Buss, D. M. (1995). Psychological sex differences: Origins through sexual selection. *American Psychologist, 50*(3), 164–168.
- Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review, 106*(4), 676–713.
- Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre journal, 40*(4), 519–531.
- Brubaker, R. (2016). *Trans: Gender and race in an age of unsettled identities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. (1993). Toward a new vision: race, class, and gender as categories of analysis and connection. *Race, Sex & Class, 1*(1), 25–45.
- Cooley, C. H. (1902). *The human nature and the social order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Davis, G. (2015). *Contesting intersex: The dubious diagnosis*. New York: New York University Press.
- de Beauvoir, S. (2005 [1949]). *The second sex*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Diamond, M. (2002). Sex and gender are different: Sexual identity and gender identity are different. *Clinical child psychology and psychiatry, 7*(3), 320–334.
- Dickerson, C. (2015). The linguistic expression of gender identity: Albania's "sworn virgins." *Ph.D. Dissertation*. Toronto: York University Toronto.
- Elson, J. (2004). *Am I still a woman? Hysterectomy and gender identity*. Philadelphia University Press: Temple.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (1993). The five sexes: Why male and female are not enough. *The Sciences, 2*(March/April), 20–24.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000). The five sexes, revisited. *Sciences, 40*(4), 18–23.

- Goffman, E. (1977). The arrangement between the sexes. *Theory and Society*, 4(3), 301–331.
- International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). (2007). *Yogyakarta principles: Principles on the application of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity*. Available from: http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles_en.pdf.
- Kane, E. (2012). *The gender trap: Parents and the pitfalls of raising boys and girls*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kessler, S. J., & McKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Khan, S. I., Hussain, M. I., Parveen, S., Bhuiyan, M. I., Gourab, G., Sarker, G. F., et al. (2009). Living on the extreme margin: Social exclusion of the transgender population (hijra) in Bangladesh. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 27(4), 441–451.
- Kimmel, M. (2008). *Guyland: The perilous world where boys become men*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Kohlberg, L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Levitt, H. M., & Hiestand, K. R. (2004). A quest for authenticity: Contemporary butch gender. *Sex Roles*, 50(9–10), 605–621.
- Lucal, B. (1999). What it means to be gendered me: Life on the boundaries of a dichotomous gender system. *Gender & Society*, 13(6), 781–797.
- Martin, C. L., Ruble, D. N., & Szkrybalo, J. (2002). Cognitive theories of early gender development. *Psychological bulletin*, 128(6), 903–933.
- Martin, K. A. (2005). William wants a doll. Can he have one? Feminists, child care advisors, and gender-neutral child rearing. *Gender & Society*, 19(4), 456–479.
- Martin, P. Y. (2004). Gender as social institution. *Social Forces*, 82(4), 1249–1273.
- Martin, C. L., Ruble, D. N., & Szkrybalo, J. (2004). Recognizing the centrality of gender identity and stereotype knowledge in gender development and moving toward theoretical integration: Reply to Bandura and Bussey. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(5), 702–710.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mirandé, A. (2016). Hombres mujeres: An indigenous third gender. *Men and Masculinities*, 19(4), 384–409.
- Moore, M. R. (2008). Gendered power relations among women: A study of household decision-making in Black, lesbian stepfamilies. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 335–356.
- Owens, T. J., Robinson, D. T., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2010). Three faces of identity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36(1), 477–499.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2011). *Dude, you're a fag*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pfeffer, C. A. (2017). *Queering families: The postmodern partnerships of cisgender women and transgender men*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pfeffer, C. A., Rogalin, C. L., & Gee, C. A. (2016). Masculinities through a cross-disciplinary lens: Lessons from sociology and psychology. *Sociology Compass*, 10(8), 652–672.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 510–531.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 429–450.
- Scherrer, K., & Pfeffer, C. A. (2016). None of the above: Toward identity and community-based understandings of (a)sexualities. *Archives of sexual behavior*. Online first <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-016-0900-6>.
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: “Gender normals”, transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, 23(4), 440–464.
- Seavey, C. A., Katz, P. A., & Zalk, S. R. (1975). Baby X. *Sex Roles*, 1(2), 103–109.
- Segal, E. S. (2003). Cultural constructions of gender. In *Encyclopedia of sex and gender* (pp. 3–10). USA: Springer.
- Shapiro, E. (2010). *Gender circuits: Bodies and identities in a technological age*. New York: Routledge.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. (1986). Sexual scripts: Permanence and change. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 15(2), 97–120.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Towle, E. B., & Morgan, L. M. (2002). Romancing the transgender native: Rethinking the use of the “third gender” concept. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 8(4), 469–497.
- Turner, Bryan S. (1992). *Regulating bodies: Essays in medical sociology*. New York: Routledge.
- Vasey, P. L., VanderLaan, D. P., Gothreau, L. M., & Bartlett, N. H. (2011). Traits of separation anxiety in childhood: A retrospective study of Samoan men, women, and fa’afafine. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 40(3), 511–517.
- Ward, J. (2015). *Not gay: Sex between straight white men*. New York: New York University Press.
- Westbrook, L., & Schilt, K. (2014). Doing gender, determining gender transgender people, gender panics, and the maintenance of the sex/gender/sexuality system. *Gender & Society*, 28(1), 32–57.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (2009). Accounting for doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 23(1), 112–122.

Natalie N. Castañeda is a Ph.D. student in Sociology and a Women and Gender Studies Graduate Certificate student at the University of South Carolina. Natalie earned her B.A. from Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi in Psychology and Sociology and her M.A. from the University of Houston in Sociology. Natalie's Master's Thesis examined the portrayal of gender and racial/ethnic minorities in film, research she continues to pursue. Natalie is a recipient of the University of South Carolina Presidential Teaching Fellowship in Social Advocacy and Ethical Life and the Joseph S. Werlin Award from the University of Houston.

Carla A. Pfeffer is Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's and Gender Studies at the University of South Carolina. Pfeffer's research has been published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *Gender & Society*, and *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Her book, *Queering Families: The Postmodern Partnerships of Cisgender Women and Transgender Men*, was published by Oxford University Press (2017). Pfeffer's research has been recognized through funding and awards from the Economic and Social Research Council, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, American Council of Learned Societies, National Council on Family Relations, and sections of the American Sociological Association.

Mental Health: An Intersectional Approach

10

Verna M. Keith and Diane R. Brown

Abstract

Social stratification theory predicts that racial minorities and women should have poorer mental health outcomes than Whites and men because they have less social power and fewer resources. Empirical investigations, however, reveal that race and gender differences are far more complex than theory would predict. Women are more distressed than men but distress levels are similar for Blacks and Whites. Women experience internalizing disorders such as major depression and men experience externalizing disorder such as substance abuse, but the overall prevalence of mental disorders does not vary by gender. Even more puzzling is that the overall prevalence of diagnosable mental disorder is lower among Blacks than among Whites. We draw on upon intersectionality and stress perspectives to review the complex gender and race

patterns observed in the epidemiology of mental health and conclude with a discussion of future research.

Scholars have long observed that mental health is patterned unevenly across race and gender. As McLeod (2013) noted, early studies assumed that socially disadvantaged groups encountered more difficult challenges that compromised their emotional well-being and expected that women and racial minorities would be at higher risk relative to their counterparts. Indeed, stratification theory suggested that each disadvantage status accumulated, additively, to increase risk giving rise to notions of double and triple jeopardy (Rosenfield, 2012). As research progressed, however, such assumptions were thrown into disarray (McLeod, 2013; Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). Women's mental health is not worse than men's, but the types and severity of problems vary by gender. Compared to Whites, African Americans do not have higher rates of mental disorders and are not more distressed. But race and gender disparities in mental health do diverge depending upon socioeconomic status (Rosenfield, 2012).

The stress perspective, a major framework in the sociology of mental health, provides useful insights into the complex relationships between status positions and mental health. Stress researchers posit that emotional problems result when individuals are confronted with numerous

V. M. Keith (✉)

University of Alabama at Birmingham, 460 H
Heritage Hall, 1401, Birmingham, AL, USA
e-mail: vmkeith@uab.edu

D. R. Brown

Rutgers School of Public Health, Health Education
and Behavioral Science, 683 Hoes Lane West Room
310, Piscataway, NJ 08854, USA
e-mail: brown@sph.rutgers.edu

and/or ongoing problematic life circumstances (i.e., stressors) that overwhelmed their ability to manage them (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Race, gender, and socioeconomic inequalities in mental health outcomes result from differential exposure to stressors balanced by varying levels of personal and social resources that mitigate emotional vulnerability to stressors. With few exceptions (see Roxburgh, 2009) analyses based on the stress framework attend to the association between emotional well-being and one or perhaps two of these status positions (e.g., race and class or gender and class) when in reality individuals occupy multiple status locations concurrently. Feminist theorists argue that race, gender, and other identities operate simultaneously to enhance or constrain life experiences (Collins, 2000). Consequently, women and men have a racial/ethnic identity in addition to their gender identity that works in combination with stress exposure and vulnerability to influence her/his mental health. Similarly, race is experienced differently by men and women, giving rise to differential risk for better or worse mental health.

In this chapter, we draw on intersectional theory and the stress perspectives to review research on the association between race, gender, and mental health; highlighting the salience of socioeconomic status when appropriate. Emphasis in this chapter is placed on social factors that impinge on risk profiles which we contend are more influential than biological or genetic factors. Due to space limitations, we privilege the black-white binary over other racial/ethnic comparisons. We use Black rather than African American because most mental health research does not acknowledge ethnic differences among U.S. residents of African descent. We begin with a brief overview of race and gender differences in the prevalence of mental health. Next we consider the importance of intersecting identities and gender practices for understanding mental health disparities. A consideration of stressors linked to major social roles and resilience factors follow. The chapter concludes with a discussion of possible directions for future research and theory development.

1 Gender, Race, and the Prevalence of Mental Health

Mental health is a social construct that encompasses a continuum of emotional and behavioral states. On one end of the continuum are concepts such as happiness that capture positive emotions. On the opposite end are serious mental disorders or mental illnesses such as major depression that meet the criteria defined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association and are generally characterized by alterations in thinking, behavior, or both. Midway along the continuum are depressive symptoms and psychological distress, symptoms and feelings of sadness and anxiety, that affect social functioning but are not severe or prolonged enough to meet DSM criteria. We focus on distress and disorders because they are socially and economically burdensome to sufferers and society. Data from the National Comorbidity Survey Replication study, conducted between 2001 and 2003, revealed that 46% of U.S. adults can expect to experience a mental disorder in their life time and 28% can expect to experience two or more (Kessler et al., 2005). At least 3.4% of Americans experience psychological distress serious enough to cause moderate to severe impairment in one's usual activities, and is as high as 8.7% among the poor (Weissman, Prater, Miller, & Parker, 2015).

Social stratification theory predicts that the prevalence of emotional problems is arrayed across a gradient whereby groups with less societal power and resources such as women and racial/ethnic minorities should be at higher risk than men or Whites. Yet over time empirical studies have yielded contradictory results. Studies do find that women are more distressed than men but Blacks are similar to or less distressed than Whites (Bratter & Eschbach, 2005; Kiecolt, Hughes, & Keith, 2008; Roxburgh, 2009). Regional and national epidemiological surveys have also documented gender and racial differences in DSM mental disorders that also do not conform to expectations (see Brown & Keith, 2003; Martins et al., 2012; U.S. Department of

Health and Human Services, 2001). Using diagnostic interview schedules administered to representative community based samples, these studies find no gender differences in overall prevalence, but do find that women and men experience different types of disorders. Women are more likely than men to experience internalizing disorders (e.g., anxiety, mood) that involve self-blame and self-reproach. Men, in contrast, are more likely than women to suffer from externalizing disorders (e.g., substance abuse or dependence, opposition defiant disorders) which often involve aggressive and confrontational behavior (De Coster, 2005; Kessler et al., 2005; Martins et al., 2012; Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). These patterns are consistent with traditional conceptions of femininity and masculinity and gendered expectations—men as more aggressive and women as more emotionally sensitive with greater tendencies toward self-blame (Risman & Davis, 2013; Rosenfield, 2012; Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013).

Comparative analyses of Blacks and Whites find that disparities in mental disorders have transitioned over the last three decades from Blacks having a higher prevalence in the 1980s, to no black-white differences in the 1990s, to Blacks having a lower prevalence than Whites in more recent epidemiological studies (Martins et al., 2012). Two exceptions to this general pattern are higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) for Blacks (Alegría et al., 2013; Roberts, Gilman, Breslau, Breslau, & Koenen, 2011), and no race difference in the past-year prevalence of major depressive disorder (Williams et al., 2007). These findings appear to hold even when socioeconomic position is considered. At this time it is unclear if trends in black-white prevalence in clinical disorders reflect substantive changes or merely reflect implementation of new diagnostic criteria and sampling strategies which occurred concurrently. An important caveat is that while overall prevalence is lower for Blacks relative to Whites, disorders are more persistent for Blacks and result in higher levels of role impairment

(Breslau, Kendler, Su, Gaxiola-Aguilar, & Kessler, 2005), perhaps because they have less access to health services and are less likely to use services than Whites (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). A second caveat is that some scholars have questioned the extent to which the DSM diagnostic criteria are universally applicable across social groups including race/ethnicity (Alegría & McGuire, 2003).

Mental health research has made progress in documenting the separate effects of gender and race but not their combined effects. Black and White women are similar in that they are more likely to suffer from anxiety and mood disorders (internalizing disorders) and less likely to experience substance abuse and impulse control disorders (externalizing disorders) than Black and White men (Compton, Thomas, Stinson & Grant, 2006; Gavin et al., 2010; Greenfield, Back, Lawson, & Brady, 2010; Himle, Baser, Taylor, Campbell, & Jackson, 2009). Anxiety disorders, with the exception of agoraphobia, and mood disorders are less prevalent among Black than White women (Gavin et al., 2010; Himle et al., 2009), but Black women are more distressed than White women and men (Bratter & Eschbach, 2005; Brown & Keith, 2003; Roxburgh, 2009). With the exception of PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder), mental disorders are more prevalent among White men than Black men, but both Black and White women meet the criteria for a PTSD diagnosis more often than men (Himle et al., 2009; Roberts et al., 2011). Gender differences in major depressive disorders and anxiety disorders are less pronounced among Blacks than Whites, while racial disparities are wider for men (Compton, Conway, Stinson, & Grant, 2006; Gavin et al., 2010). Mechanisms producing these race-gender profiles have not been pursued vigorously (for exceptions, see Rosenfield, 2012; Roxburgh, 2009). These patterns of similarities and differences, however, suggest the need for theoretical and empirical frameworks that capture the strengths and vulnerabilities that emerge at the crossroads of race and gender.

2 Intersectionality and Mental Health

Gender and race constitute hierarchical structures that operate at multiple levels—individual, interactional, and institutional—to shape perceptions, behaviors, and experiences (Risman & Davis, 2013). Through racist and sexist practices, each of these structures converge to produce interlocking systems of oppression and opportunity (Collins, 2000) that have consequences for life chances and mental health. Racism is a socially constructed system of inequality encompassing discriminatory practices and beliefs about the inferiority of Blacks and the superiority of Whites. Racism can influence mental health through exposure to unfair treatment in interpersonal interactions (Paradies, 2006) and through institutional practices such as residential segregation that consigns Blacks to poorly resourced communities (Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Sexism, as a socially constructed system of inequality based on gender, encompasses ideologies and discriminatory practices that generally privilege males in terms of power. Traditional cultural conceptions associate ideal femininity with traits such as submissiveness, nurturance, and emotional sensitivity that undergird beliefs that women's primary roles should be wife and mother. Masculinity, however, is associated with traits such as assertiveness, independence, and competitiveness that define and structure men's roles as family head and primary source of financial support (Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). Women are viewed as having primacy in the private sphere (the home), while men are viewed as having primacy in the public sphere (paid labor). These stereotypes depart from reality now more than in the past, but they remain ideals that are deeply embedded in the culture and shape access to social and economic resources. Mental health researchers suggest that the enactment of idealized femininity and masculinity partly explain higher prevalence of internalizing disorders among women and higher prevalence of externalizing disorders among men, respectively.

The intersectionality perspective argues that gender conceptions and practices are raced and that racial experiences are gendered and that these processes place individuals at risk for emotional problems. Rosenfield and Mouzon (2013) provide a cogent discussion of how gender operates differently for Blacks than Whites. Among Blacks, for example, the separation between public and private life is more flexible such that the division of household labor is more egalitarian and Black women's conceptions of motherhood more often blend caretaking and economic responsibilities. Black and White men subscribe to the same conceptions of masculinity but the former are more often blocked in their efforts to perform masculinity owing to educational and employment barriers. Harnois and Ifatunji (2011) recount ways that race operates differently for Black men and women. First, the stereotypes that guide racial practices are gendered. Black women are portrayed as unfeminine and unattractive, castrating matriarchs, and simultaneously as promiscuous on the one hand and asexual mummies on the other (see also Collins, 2000; Harvey Wingfield, 2007); unflattering depictions when posed against the traits associated with idealized white womanhood (e.g., demure, poised, and submissive). Black men are viewed as angry, criminal, and simultaneously as hyper-sexed and as de-sexualized depending on class standing (Harvey Wingfield, 2007). Second, the contexts in which males and females experience discrimination diverge because they transverse different social spheres; Black men are more likely to encounter discrimination in the criminal justice system and the military while Black women are more likely to encounter discrimination when interacting in their children's school settings and dealing with social service agencies.

Gender and race combine in unique ways to affect access to social and economic resources which have consequences for mental health. White men, as a group, are advantaged on all socioeconomic status (SES) measures—education, employment, occupational prestige, income, and wealth. Socioeconomic position is not

consistent for other race-gender groups. White women earn less than Black men, but have higher occupational prestige. Black females earn more than White females, but work more hours (Alon & Haberfeld, 2007). The gender gap in education and income is less pronounced for Blacks than Whites due to lower average earnings among Black relative to White men, and to the greater likelihood of White women's marriage to high status men. The dynamic interplay of race and gender is reflected in the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and mental health. Higher SES is associated with lower levels of distress and mental disorders (Kessler et al., 2005; Weissman et al., 2015), but this association may be conditioned on both gender and race. For example, a study of mental disorders using data from Epidemiological Catchment Area found that low SES White males had higher substance abuse rates than similar situated Black men, but lower SES Black females had higher rates of substance abuse than their White counterparts (Williams, Takeuchi, & Adair, 1992). In addition to SES, the links between race and gender is informed by an exploration of more proximate risk factors that influence exposure and vulnerability to stressors.

3 Gender, Race, Stressors, and Mental Health

Gender and race, along with SES, inequalities in mental health outcomes reflect an amalgamation of differential exposure and vulnerability to stressors. Stressors represent a continuum of risk including acute life events (e.g., losing a job), trauma (e.g., physical attack), and chronic strains associated with social roles (e.g., marital problems). Overall stress exposure may be similar for men and women, but the types of stressors differ by gender (for review, see Hatch & Dohrenwend, 2007; Rosenfeld & Mouzon, 2013). Consistent with their respective gendered roles, women have more extensive social networks, more involvement with others, and are more likely to confront stressors involving family and friends. Accidents, physical assaults, and witnessing violence against

others is more common among men. Women suffer from sexual and domestic abuse more than men and more financial strain owing to their overall lower earnings. Stress exposure is more prevalent for lower SES men and women compared to their more affluent counterparts. A limited number of studies find that Blacks report more stressful life events than Whites (Hatch & Dohrenwend, 2007). A study in Chicago found that compared to Whites, Blacks experienced more acute life events, financial stressors, relationship stressors, and the co-occurrence of multiple stressors (Strenthel, Slopen, & Williams, 2011). Ulbrich, Warheit, and Zimmerman (1989) found greater exposure only among lower SES Blacks in a North Florida study. A few studies document race differences among women; Black women are more likely to experience problems with romantic relations and financial strain, while White women experience more violence from partners (Coker, Smith, McKeown, & King, 2000; Rosenfeld & Mouzon, 2013). Stressors often arise within the context of major social roles such as marriage, parenting, and employment and are frequently exacerbated by attempts to balance one or more roles.

The Marital Role: Marriage is a highly valued role that provides social support, economic resources, and a sense of meaning which, in the absence of conflict, is generally beneficial to mental health (Umberson, Thomeer, & Williams, 2013). Marriage rates are lower among Blacks than Whites owing to Black male joblessness, incarceration, and economic marginality (Harknett & McLanahan, 2004), circumstances that are related to the racial discrimination experienced by Black men (Reskin, 2012). Yet marriage remains an aspiration for both Black men and women (Perry, 2013). Across all race and gender groups, the married enjoy a mental health advantage over those who have experienced marital dissolution through separation, divorce, or widowhood (Simon, 2002; Williams et al., 1992). The relative advantage of the married varies according to race, gender, and the type of disruption and mental disorder under consideration. Roxburgh (2009) found that marriage was more beneficial for White than Black women.

Black men's more precarious financial position creates more marital strain. The emotional benefits of marriage do not vary by gender (Simon, 2002; Williams et al., 1992), although marriage and transition to marriage appears to reduce alcohol consumption among women more than men (Christie-Mizell & Peralta, 2009). Never married Blacks of both genders and White males are similar to their married counterparts, but never married White women are at higher risk for mental disorders, especially depression.

Marital Dissolution: When marriages are fraught with anger and perceptions of unreasonable expectations and when these are not counterbalanced by feelings of love and support, wives and husbands suffer from depression; but depression is more common for wives than husbands (Horwitz, McLaughlin, & White, 1998). Based on the gendered nature of male responses to stress, men may turn to alcohol or become more aggressive towards wives and other family members under these circumstances. Consistent with gender conceptions and practices, marital dissolution is positively associated with depression among women and alcohol consumption among men (Simon, 2002). Nomaguchi (2005) also found that divorced women were more depressed than men, but the pattern was consistent for Blacks and Whites. Divorce appears to impact men through the loss of social networks that wives have usually managed, and to impact women through the loss of economic support and increased parenting responsibilities (Gerstel, Riessman, & Rosenfield, 1985).

Parenting Stress: Children can be a source of psychological fulfillment and a source of emotional strain, but the extent to which they do so depends on marital status, life course stage, financial resources and other moderating circumstances (Umberson et al., 2013). Mothers still have primary responsibility for childrearing, but fathers who take an active role in their children's lives (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001), may also experience the ups and downs of parenthood. A study of parenting and depressive symptoms by Evenson and Simon (2005) found that the childless have a mental health advantage

over parents; and parents living with minor biological/adoptive children are advantaged relative to non-custodial parents, stepparents, and parents with co-resident adult children. No gender differences in symptoms were observed, but Christie-Mizell and Peralta (2009) found that having a first or additional child reduced alcohol consumption among young adults, but the effect was stronger for women than men. A small, longitudinal study of young men found reduced engagement in crime and substance abuse once they became fathers (Kerr, Capaldi, Owen, Wiesner, & Pears, 2011). Intersectionality research on parenthood and mental health is lacking, but parenting may be especially stressful for Black women. Compared to their White counterparts, Black women are more likely to rear children without the assistance of fathers, to become mothers at an earlier age, and to do so with limited financial resources. Incarceration of their children's father may be an additional burden for Black mothers. When fathers are jailed economic hardship and parenting stress increase, and both are associated with depression (Wilde- man, Schnittker, & Turney, 2012). Parenting is more stressful for Black than White fathers because Black fathers have fewer economic resources and are less likely to reside in the same households as children. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of low income Black fathers are involved in their children's lives and provide monetary and other assistance such as childcare (Nelson, 2004).

Job Stress: Paid work is important for the mental health of Blacks and Whites of both genders, but the extent to which employment enhances or undermines psychological well-being depends on the quality of job conditions (Tausig, 2013). Poorer mental health is associated with jobs that are boring and repetitive, noisy, offer little freedom to structure the nature of the work, is closely monitored, and involves little creativity or thinking. Lack of supportive co-workers, poor pay, and opportunities for promotion are also risk factors. Blacks and women, however, are overrepresented in stressful jobs due to occupational segregation (Tausig, 2013). These job-related stressors appear to be on

the rise. Kalleberg (2009) argues that, owing to globalization and other structural changes, work in the U.S. is increasingly precarious in that employment is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky. Precarious jobs include nonstandard work such as involuntary part-time employment, outsourcing, contract work, on-call work, and work in temporary help agencies which carry few fringe benefits, offer fewer worker protections, and where Blacks and women are overrepresented (Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000). The detrimental effects of employment instability are illustrated by Frech and Damaske (2012) who found that mothers with full-time, continuous employment had better mental health than mothers with interrupted work histories, part-time employment, or who were homemakers. Black mothers were more likely to have interrupted work histories which they attributed to attempts to escape “bad” jobs. While we are not aware of a comparable study for males, the psychological impact of unsteady employment may be even more detrimental for males given masculine norms that prescribe work as a central role.

Multiple Roles: The stress associated with combining marriage, parenting, and work has been investigated extensively, with special interest in gender differences. A reasonable assumption is that combining work and family roles is more problematic for women because they still perform a majority of household tasks, are more responsible for childrearing, and most workplaces are organized in ways that give little consideration to family obligations (Risman & Davis, 2013). Results regarding gender difference vary depending on the specific research question under consideration. Employment is positive for wives’ mental health when it increases their income relative to their husband’s and when husbands share domestic duties, but detrimental to the husband’s mental health (Rosenfield, 1989). Higgins, Duxbury, and Lyons (2010), in a study of dual earners, found that work demands were associated with higher levels of role overload for both men and women, but the relationship between family demands and role overload were significant only for men. Both

men and women addressed overload by scaling back (e.g., sleeping less and leaving things undone at home and leaving work problems at work). In contrast, Simon (1995) analyzed qualitative data and reported that work and family roles were less stressful for men than women because men were able to better separate their work and family role identities. Women also experienced more diffuse and wide-ranging conflict between work and parenting, whereas men experienced less work-parent conflict and it was more specific in nature such as being unable to attend their children’s after school events. Both work-to-family and family-to-work influences appear to be costly for mental health, when examined simultaneously. Frone (2000) found that both were associated with mood, anxiety, and substance abuse disorders, with males more anxious than females. Other research suggests that family to work balance, defined as the extent to which family support exceeds family conflict, reduces problem drinking and anxiety disorder; while work to family balance reduces depression (Grzywaca & Bass, 2003). Gender differences were not examined. One racial comparative study revealed that the psychological benefits of occupying the three primary roles—marital, parent, worker—is less evident for Blacks than Whites (Jackson, 1997), but more research is clearly needed to more fully understand multiple role-related stress at the intersection of race and gender.

Unfair Treatment/Discrimination: Mental health research is increasingly concerned with the stress associated with subjective perceptions of unfair treatment and discrimination that occur in social interaction. In contrast to racialized and gendered practices embedded in social institutions, this body of work is concerned with acute events such as being unfairly fired from a job and more chronic “everyday” experiences such as being subjected to verbal slurs, slights, suspicious attention, and social exclusion. Some studies have focus on race discrimination and others are more general unfair treatment. The vast majority of studies find a robust positive associations between unfair treatment/discrimination and mental health outcomes

including depressive symptoms, substance use, depression, and other psychiatric disorders (Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Blacks and men report more overall unfair treatment than Whites and women when both acute and chronic forms are considered (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999), and but Rodriguez (2008) reported some notable exceptions. For example, White men perceived more verbal abuse and mistrust than White females, but the latter perceived more inferior treatment. Black women and White men are equally likely to report police harassment, and Black men and women are equally likely to report unfair treatment in education. Black men, however, exceeded all other race-gender groups in the prevalence of unfair treatment. A note of caution is required. Some research suggests that, at least among Blacks, there is a gender bias in the items typically included in measures of acute discriminatory events in that they omit those more specific to women's experiences (Infatunji & Harnois, 2016). Measurement bias in unfair treatment is also likely to apply to Whites, but has not been confirmed.

4 Resiliency: Social and Personal Resources and Mental Health

The stress process perspective acknowledges that social and personal resources are beneficial to mental health and can mitigate or intensify the psychological effects of stressors (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Supportive social relationships, religious involvement, and aspects of self-concept such as self-esteem and mastery are among several that influence responses to stressors. Having family and friends available to provide emotional and tangible assistance (e.g., financial support) is protective of mental health, especially during times of difficulty, while conflictual social relationships can be the source of stress and increase emotional problems (Turner & Turner, 2013). Social support does not account for gender or race differences in mental health. Compared to men, women have larger social networks and closer ties to network

members, but they do not protect women from distress and depression. The emotional benefits of these close relationships may be overwhelmed by providing support to network members who are experiencing their own problems. Similarly, the type and quality of social relationships do not explain why Blacks are more resilient to mental disorders than Whites. Whites appear to enjoy more friend support, but Blacks and Whites have similar levels of relationship strain and do not differ on spousal/partner and kin support once SES is taken into consideration (Kiecolt et al., 2008). A few studies compare race differences in support among men and women (Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). Owing to their more precarious economic positions, Black men provide and receive less household assistance than White men. Among women, Black women exchange more transportation, childcare, and household help; White women exchange more emotional support.

Frequent attendance at religious services and engaging in private devotional practices such as prayer are associated with better mental health (for review, see Lincoln & Chatters, 2003; Schieman, Bierman, & Ellison, 2013; Taylor, Chatters, & Levin, 2003). Religious involvement is thought to bolster emotional well-being by providing a sense of meaning to one's life, expanding one's social networks and available social support, and by helping one to manage problems. Women, both Black and White, are more involved in formal and informal religious activities than their male counterparts. These patterns may reflect the gendered nature of social roles which draw women more than men into social involvement with others. It remains unclear if the positive mental health benefits of involvement are greater for women than for men. The Black church continues to be one of the most resilient institutions in the black community having historically been the beacon of hope during slavery, a sustaining force during Jim Crow segregation, and a leading entity in the Civil Rights movement. Based on this history, scholars have hypothesized that religion may explain in part Blacks' relative good mental health relative to Whites. So far the research has

yield finding that both do and do not support this contention.

Mastery and self-esteem are dimensions of self-concept that can serve as a source of resilience and promote positive well-being (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013; Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013; Twenge & Crocker, 2002). Mastery, a concept similar to sense of control and self-efficacy, reflects the degree to which individuals believe that they can control situations in their lives, while self-esteem refers to an individual's sense of self-worth and value. Both can be compromised under stressful conditions. Mastery and self-esteem vary across race and gender groups in complex ways. Both Black and White women have lower levels of mastery and self-esteem than men. Women's lower mastery is in part due to their lower levels of SES, lower autonomy in the workplace, and overall lower societal power and prestige. Men, more than women, derive their self-esteem from a sense of achievement, while women are more likely to look to significant others to affirm their worth. Further, body image and attractiveness are more important for women's self-esteem. Blacks have higher levels of self-esteem than Whites, and the gender gap in esteem is less pronounced among Blacks because White women have such low levels. Mastery, on the other hand, is lower for Blacks, presenting something of a paradox. Hughes and Demo (1989) suggest that Black self-esteem is influenced by social relationships with family and friends, while mastery is more heavily influenced by the larger system of inequalities that Blacks are exposed to.

5 Future Research and Recommendations

Future research should place more emphasis on collecting and analyzing data in ways that permit a more straightforward evaluation of the overlapping effects of race, gender, and class on mental health outcomes. Over the past several decades, tremendous progress has been made in the developing instruments and sampling techniques that yield fairly reliable prevalence

estimates of the distribution of mental disorders in the general population. It is still rare to see these prevalence data reported or analyzed in ways that allows us to directly compare Black women, White women, Black men, and White men across class positions. Sample sizes may not yet be sufficiently large enough to inspire confidence in results when intersectional analyses are considered. Until then, scholars must speculate about how structural locations give rise to differential risk.

Longitudinal data is needed to investigate the influence of intersectionality on mental disorders over the life course and to untangle causation and selection processes. Some mental disorders such as substance use disorders and impulse-control disorders, most prevalent among men, begin early in life and can disrupt educational processes and could potentially damage status attainment. Yet, we do not know whether Black and White men differ in short- and long-term effects or if these effects vary by social class and access to treatment. Given that these disorders are male centric, are the consequences different for women and do they differ by race and class. Panel data also permits us to better address social causation and selection, especially with respect to socioeconomic position. While the overwhelming consensus is that the stressors associated with disadvantage position increases risk for distress and disorder, less is known about the economic trajectories of individuals with mental health problems or about race and gender differences.

More attention should be given to the meaning and measurement of race as an organizing concept and to ethnic differences within broadly defined "racial" groupings. In recent years, scholars working from the social constructionist perspective have noted that race is a multilayered concept that involves the racial category reported to others, one's subjective self-identification, others' classification, racial appearance, and other dimensions (Roth, 2010). Moreover, these dimensions are fluid and inconsistent. Mental health research is largely based on self-reported racial classification, a forced choice response option that yields a race measure that replicates official census categories. The magnitude of

racial-disparities, however, can vary depending on the measure of race employed (see Saperstein, Kizer, & Penner, 2016). The Black population is becoming ethnically diverse as immigrants arrive from Africa and the Caribbean. Blacks from these regions differ culturally, socially, and economically and they differ from U.S. born Blacks in distress and disorders. Comparative mental health studies are beginning to appear in the literature. Future research should promote this trend and further explore intersectionality issues in these groups as well.

References

- Alegria, M., Fortuna, L. R., Lin, J. Y., Norris, L. F., Gao, S., Takeuchi, D. T., et al. (2013). Prevalence, risk, and correlates of posttraumatic stress disorder across ethnic and racial minority groups. *Medical Care, 51*(12), 114–1123.
- Alegria, M., & McGuire, T. (2003). Rethinking a universal framework in the psychiatric symptom-disorder relationship. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 44*(3), 257–274.
- Alon, S., & Haberfeld, Y. (2007). Labor force attachment and the evolving wage gap between White, Black and Hispanic young women. *Work and Occupations, 34*(4), 369–398.
- Bratter, J., & Eschbach, K. (2005). Race/ethnic differences in nonspecific psychological distress: Evidence from the National Health Interview Survey. *Social Science Quarterly, 86*(3), 620–644.
- Breslau, J., Kendler, K. S., Su, M., Gaxiola-Aguilar, S., & Kessler, R. C. (2005). Lifetime risk and persistence of psychiatric disorders across ethnic groups in the United States. *Psychological Medicine, 35*, 317–327.
- Brown, D. R., & Keith, V. M. (2003). Psychiatric epidemiology of mental health and illness. In D. R. Brown & V. M. Keith (Eds.), *In and out of our right minds: The mental health of African American women* (pp. 23–58). New York: Columbia Press.
- Christie-Mizell, C. A., & Peralta, R. (2009). The gender gap in alcohol consumption during late adolescence and young adulthood: Gendered attitudes and adult roles. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 50*, 410–426.
- Coker, A. L., Smith, P. H., McKeown, R. E., & King, M. J. (2000). Frequency and correlates of intimate partner violence by type: Physical, sexual, and psychological battering. *American Journal of Public Health, 90*, 553–559.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Compton, W., Conway, K., Stinson, F., & Grant, B. (2006). Changes in the prevalence of major depression and comorbid substance use disorders in the United States between 1991–1992 and 2001–2002. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 163*, 2141–2147.
- De Coster, S. D. (2005). Depression and law violation: Gendered responses to gendered stresses. *Sociological Perspectives, 48*(2), 155–187.
- EGgebeen, D. J., & Knoester, D. (2001). Does fatherhood matter for men? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(2), 381–393.
- Evenson, R. J., & Simon, R. W. (2005). Clarifying the relationship between parenthood and depression. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 46*(4), 341–358.
- Frech, A., & Damaske, S. (2012). The relationships between mothers' work pathways and physical and mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 53*(4), 396–412.
- Frone, M. R. (2000). Work-family conflict and employee psychiatric disorders: The National Comorbidity Survey. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 85*(6), 888–895.
- Gavin, A., Walton, E., Chae, D., Alegria, M., Jackson, J. S., Takeuchi, D., et al. (2010). The associations between socio-economic status and major depressive disorder among Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and non-Hispanic Whites: Findings from the collaborative psychiatric epidemiology studies. *Psychological Medicine, 40*, 51–61.
- Gerstel, N., Kohler, C., & Rosenfield, S. (1985). Explaining the symptomatology of separated and divorced women and men: The role of material conditions and social networks. *Social Forces, 64*(1), 84–101.
- Greenfield, S., Back, S., Lawson, K., & Brady, K. (2010). Substance abuse in women. *Psychiatric Clinics North America, 33*(2), 339–355.
- Grzywaca, J. G., & Bass, B. (2003). Work, family, and mental health: Testing different models of work-family fit. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 65*, 248–262.
- Harknett, K., & McLanahan, S. S. (2004). Racial and ethnic differences in marriage after the birth of a child. *American Sociological Review, 69*, 790–881.
- Harnois, C. E., & Ifatunji, M. (2011). Gendered measures, gendered models: Toward an intersectional analysis of interpersonal racial discrimination. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(4), 1006–1028.
- Harvey Wingfield, A. (2007). The modern mammy and the angry Black man: African American professionals' experiences with gendered racism in the workplace. *Race, Gender & Class, 14*(1/2), 196–212.
- Hatch, S. L., & Dohrenwend, B. P. (2007). Distribution of traumatic and other stressful life events by race/ethnicity, gender, SES, and age: A review of the research. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 40*, 313–332.
- Higgins, C. A., Duxbury, L. E., & Lyons, S. T. (2010). Coping with overload and stress: Men and women in

- dual-earner families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(4), 847–859.
- Himle, J. A., Baser, R. E., Taylor, R. J., Campbell, R. D., & Jackson, J. S. (2009). Anxiety disorders among African Americans, black of Caribbean descent, and non-Hispanic whites in the United States. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 23, 578–590.
- Horwitz, A. V., McLaughlin, J., & White, H. R. (1998). How the negative and positive aspects of partner relationships affect the mental health of young married people. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 39(2), 124–136.
- Hughes, M., & Demo, D. H. (1989). Self-perceptions of Black Americans: Self-esteem, and personal efficacy. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 132–159.
- Infatunji, M., & Harnois, C. (2016). An explanation for the gender gap in perceptions of discrimination among African Americans: Considering the role of gender bias in measurement. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 2(3), 263–288.
- Jackson, P. B. (1997). Role occupancy and minority mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 38(3), 237–255.
- Kalleberg, A. (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition. *American Sociological Review*, 74(1), 1–22.
- Kalleberg, A., Reskin, B., & Hudson, K. (2000). Bad jobs in America: Standard and nonstandard employment relations and job quality in the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 65(2), 256–278.
- Kerr, D. C. R., Capaldi, D. M., Owen, L. D., Wiesner, M., & Pears, K. C. (2011). Changes in at-risk American men's crime and substance use trajectories following fatherhood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(5), 1011–1116.
- Kessler, R. C., Berglund, P., Demler, O., Jin, R., Merikangas, K., & Walter, E. (2005). Lifetime prevalence and age-of-onset distributions of DSM-IV disorders in the National Comorbidity Survey replication. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 62, 593–602.
- Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 40, 208–230.
- Kiecolt, J., Hughes, M., & Keith, V. (2008). Race, social relationships, and mental health. *Personal Relationships*, 15, 229–245.
- Lincoln, K. & Chatters, L. (2003). Keeping the faith. Religion, stress and psychological well-being among African American women. In D. R. Brown & V. M. Keith (Eds.), *In and out of our right minds: The mental health of African American women* (pp. 223–241). New York: Columbia Press.
- Martins, S. S., Ko, J., Kuwabara, S., Clarke, D., Alexandre, P., Zandi, P., et al. (2012). The relationship of adult mental disorders to socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, marital status, and urbanicity of residence. In W. Eaton (Ed.), *Public mental health* (pp. 151–197). New York: Oxford.
- McLeod, J. D. (2013). Social stratification and inequality. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 229–253). New York: Springer.
- Nelson, T. J. (2004). Low-income fathers. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 427–451.
- Nomaguchi, K. M. (2005). Are there race and gender differences in the effect of marital dissolution on depression? *Race, Gender & Class*, 12(1), 11–30.
- Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 35, 888–901.
- Pearlin, L., & Bierman, A. (2013). Current issues and future directions in research into the stress process. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 325–340). New York: Springer.
- Perry, A. R. (2013). African American men's attitudes towards marriage. *Journal of Black Studies*, 44(2), 182–202.
- Reskin, B. (2012). The race discrimination system. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38, 17–35.
- Risman, B., & Davis, G. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology Review*, 61(5–6), 733–755.
- Roberts, A. L., Gilman, S. E., Breslau, J., Breslau, N., & Koenen, K. C. (2011). Race/ethnic differences in exposure to traumatic events, development of post-traumatic stress disorder, and treatment-seeking for post-traumatic stress disorder in the United States. *Psychological Medicine*, 41, 71–83.
- Rodriguez, M. S. (2008). Perceived discrimination: Multiple measures and the intersections of race and gender. *Journal of African American Studies*, 12, 348–365.
- Rosenfield, S. (1989). The effects of women's employment: Personal control and sex differences in mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 30, 77–91.
- Rosenfield, S. (2012). Tripple jeopardy? Mental health at the intersection of gender, race, and class. *Social Science and Medicine*, 74, 1791–1801.
- Rosenfield, S. & Mouzon, D. (2013). Gender and mental health. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 277–296). New York: Springer.
- Roth, W. (2010). Racial mismatch: The divergence between form and function in data for monitoring racial discrimination of Hispanics. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(5), 1288–1311.
- Roxburgh, S. (2009). Untangling inequalities: Gender, race, and socioeconomic differences in depression. *Sociological Forum*, 24(2), 357–381.
- Saperstein, A., Kizer, J., & Penner, A. (2016). Making the most of multiple measures: Disentangling the effects of different dimensions of race in survey research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(4), 519–537.
- Schieman, S., Bierman, A., & Ellison, C. G. (2013). Religion and mental health. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 457–478). New York: Springer.

- Simon, R. W. (1995). Gender, multiple roles, role meaning, and mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36(2), 182–194.
- Simon, R. W. (2002). Revisiting the relationships among gender, marital status, and mental health. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(4), 1065–1096.
- Sternthal, M. J., Slopen, N., & Williams, D. R. (2011). Racial disparities in health: How much does stress really matter? *Du Bois Review*, 8, 95–113.
- Tausig, M. (2013). The sociology of work and well-being. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 433–455). New York: Springer.
- Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L., & Levin, J. (2003). Religion in the lives of African Americans: Social, psychological, and health perspectives. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Turner, J. B., & Turner, R. J. (2013). Social relations, social integration, and social support. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 341–356). New York: Springer.
- Twenge, J. M., & Crocker, J. (2002). Race and self-esteem revisited. Reply to Hafdahl and gray-Little. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 417–420.
- Ulbrich, P. M., Warjeot, G. J., & Zimmerman, R. S. (1989). Race, socioeconomic status, and psychological distress: An examination of differential vulnerability. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 30(1), 131–146.
- Umberson, D., Thomeer, M., & Williams, K. (2013). Family status and mental health: Recent advances and future directions. In C. Aneshensel, J. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 405–432). New York: Springer.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2001). Mental health: Culture, race, and ethnicity—A supplement to mental health: A report of the Surgeon General. Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Center for Mental Health Services.
- Weissman, J., Pratt, L. A., Miller, E. A., & Parker, J. D. (2015). Serious psychological distress among adults: United States, 2009–2013. (NCHS data brief, No. 203). Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics.
- Wildeman, C., Schnittker, J., & Turney, K. (2012). Despair by association? The mental health of mothers with children by recently incarcerated fathers. *American Sociological Review*, 77(2), 216–243.
- Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: Evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 32, 20–47.
- Williams, D. R., Takeuchi, D. T., & Adair, R. K. (1992). Marital status and psychiatric disorders among blacks and whites. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 33(2), 140–157.
- Williams, D. R., Gonzáles, Neighbors, H., Nesse, R., Abelson, J., Sweetman, & Jackson, J. S. (2007). Prevalence and distribution of major depressive disorder in African Americans, Caribbean blacks, and non-Hispanic whites. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 64, 305–315.
- Verna M. Keith** is Chair and Professor of Sociology at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. She is the recent recipient of Joseph “Sandy” Himes award for Lifetime Scholarship from the Association of Black Sociologists. She has held faculty positions at Texas A&M, Arizona State and Florida State Universities. Her broad research interests focus on the impact of social hierarchies (race/ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status) on mental and physical health with special emphasis on the impact of social stressors. Current projects include an investigation of the role of colorism in health disparities among African Americans.
- Diane R. Brown** Ph.D. is professor emerita of Health Education and Behavioral Science at the Rutgers University School of Public Health. She was founding Executive Director of the Institute for the Elimination of Health Disparities at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey (now Rutgers University). Throughout her career her work has been motivated by her strong commitment to improving health outcomes for women and minorities.

James W. Messerschmidt

Abstract

The notion of multiple masculinities was first coined by Raewyn Connell as a necessary part of her formulation of hegemonic masculinity. This chapter first outlines Connell's original perspective on multiple masculinities as well as Connell's and Messerschmidt's reformulation of hegemonic masculinity. The chapter discusses recent scholarly work examining both multiple hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities in the global North and the global South. The conclusion of the chapter is that multiple masculinities must be conceptualized as always already embedded in unequal gender relations.

Connell (1987, 1995) conceptualized the notion of multiple masculinities as necessarily a part of her formulation of hegemonic masculinity. Connell understood the latter as one specific form of masculinity in a given historical and society-wide setting that legitimates unequal gender relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities. Both the "legitimation" and "relational" features were central to her argument, as Connell emphasized that hegemonic masculinity

must always be seen as constructed in relation to various nonhegemonic masculinities as well as in relation to femininities. In her initial conception, hegemonic masculinity "embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the *legitimacy* of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1995: 77). And the achievement of hegemonic masculinity occurs largely through discursive legitimation (or justification), encouraging all to consent to, unite around, and embody such unequal gender relations.

For Connell, then, gender relations are structured through power inequalities between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities. Accordingly, the concept of emphasized femininity is essential to Connell's (1987: 188) early framework, underlining how this feminized form adapts to masculine power through compliance, nurturance, and empathy as "womanly virtues." But Connell (pp. 183–184) identifies additional femininities, such as those defined "by strategies of resistance or forms of compliance" and "by complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation."

Hegemonic masculinity for Connell becomes ascendant society-wide and thus is constructed in relation to what Connell identifies as four specific nonhegemonic masculinities: first, *complicit* masculinities do not actually embody

J. W. Messerschmidt (✉)
 University of Southern Maine, Portland, USA
 e-mail: mschmidt@maine.edu

hegemonic masculinity yet through practice realize some of the benefits of unequal gender relations; second, *subordinate* masculinities are constructed as lesser than or aberrant and deviant to hegemonic masculinity; third, *marginalized* masculinities are trivialized and/or discriminated against because of unequal relations, such as class, race, ethnicity, and age; and finally, *protest* masculinities are constructed as compensatory hyper-masculinities that are formed in reaction to social positions lacking economic and political power.

Connell emphasized that hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities are all subject to change because they come into existence in specific settings and under particular situations. And for the former, there often exists a struggle for hegemony whereby older versions may be replaced by newer ones. The notion of hegemonic masculinity and nonhegemonic masculinities then opened up the possibility of change toward the abolition of gender inequalities and the creation of more egalitarian gender relations.

Connell's initial perspective found significant and enthusiastic application from the late-1980s to the early 2000s, being utilized in a variety of academic disciplines and areas. Yet despite this considerable favorable reception of Connell's concepts, her perspective nevertheless attracted criticism that concentrated almost exclusively on the notion of hegemonic masculinity. For example, some scholars raised concerns regarding who actually represents hegemonic masculinity; others argued that hegemonic masculinity simply reduces in practice to a reification of power or toxicity; and still others have suggested that the concept maintains an alleged unsatisfactory theory of the masculine subject (see Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The result of these criticisms was changes in the conceptualization of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, and new research on both hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities. I turn first to a discussion of multiple hegemonic masculinities.

1 Multiple Hegemonic Masculinities

Twelve years ago Connell and I (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) published a significant reformulation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. That reformulation first included certain aspects of the original formulation that empirical evidence over almost two decades of time indicated should be retained, in particular the relational nature of the concept (among hegemonic masculinity, emphasized femininity, and nonhegemonic masculinities) and the idea that this relationship is a pattern of hegemony—not a pattern of simple domination. Also well supported historically are the foundational ideas that hegemonic masculinity need not be the most powerful and/or the most common pattern of masculinity in a particular setting, and that any formulation of the concept as simply constituting an assemblage of fixed “masculine” character traits should be thoroughly transcended. Second, Connell and I suggested that a reformulated understanding of hegemonic masculinity must incorporate a more holistic grasp of gender inequality that recognizes the agency of subordinated groups as much as the power of hegemonic groups and that includes the mutual conditioning (or intersectionality) of gender with such other social inequalities as class, race, age, sexuality, and nation. Third, Connell and I asserted that a more sophisticated treatment of embodiment in hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities was necessary, as well as conceptualizations of how hegemonic masculinity may be challenged, contested, and thus changed. Finally, Connell and I argued that instead of recognizing simply *one* hegemonic masculinity at only the society-wide level, scholars should analyze empirically existing hegemonic masculinities and nonhegemonic masculinities at three levels: first, the *local* (meaning constructed in arenas involving face-to-face interaction of families, schools, organizations, and immediate communities), second, the *regional* (meaning constructed at the society-wide level), and third, the *global* (meaning constructed in the arenas of

transnational world politics, business, and media). Obviously, within any level multiple and often, conflicting hegemonic masculinities will be at play. And links among the three levels exist: global hegemonic masculinities pressure regional and local hegemonic masculinities, and regional hegemonic masculinities provide cultural materials adopted or reworked in global arenas and utilized in local gender dynamics.

Scholars have applied this reformulated concept of hegemonic masculinity by examining, and thereby uncovering multiple hegemonic masculinities at the local, regional, and global levels. An excellent example of one such hegemonic masculinity at the local level is found in the work of Morris (2008), who studied gender difference in academic perceptions and outcomes at a predominantly white and lower-income rural high school in Kentucky. Appropriating the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a specific contextual pattern of practice that discursively legitimates the subordination of women and femininity to men and masculinity, Morris found that although girls generally outperformed boys academically and that they had higher ambitions for post-secondary education, in-school interaction positioned masculine qualities as superior to the inferior qualities attached to femininity as well as to certain forms of subordinate masculinity—this then provided an in-school justification for unequal gendered social action. The article highlighted how in the localized, face-to-face settings of a rural Kentucky high school, gender inequality was legitimated through the construction of hierarchical relations between a particular classed, raced, and sexualized hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity. Morris concluded that the boys' academic underachievement was embedded in these unequal gender relations.

Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) demonstrated in their work how hegemonic masculinity can occur at the regional level. These authors appropriated the concept of hegemonic masculinity as the discursive subordination of women to men and used the concept to examine all the rap albums that attained platinum status (sales of at least 1 million copies) from 1992 to 2000. Weitzer and

Kubrin chose platinum albums because their numerical success ensured analysis of a rap-music sample that reached a large segment of the U.S. population, thus justifying regional status.

Weitzer's and Kubrin's study revealed how much of this rap music constructed a regional form of hegemonic masculinity by depicting men and women as inherently different and unequal and by espousing a set of superior/inferior related gendered qualities for each, for their "appropriate" behavior toward each other, and for the necessity of sanctions if anyone violated the unequal gender relationship. This study demonstrated how within popular culture, through the widespread distribution of rap music, gender inequality was legitimated at the regional level, thereby providing a society-wide cultural rationalization for unequal gender relations. Moreover, Weitzer and Kubrin showed how rap music initially had local roots but came to exercise a society-wide regional influence on youth of all racial and ethnic groups.

Finally, at the global level Hatfield (2010) examined the popular U.S.-based television program *Two and a Half Men*. Hatfield concentrated her scrutiny on the way gender is constructed by the two main characters—Charlie and Alan—who are white, middle-class, professional brothers living together. Hatfield also examined the changing gender constructions by Alan's son, Jake. During the twelve years that *Two and a Half Men* was broadcast, the program led the U.S. sitcom ratings in popularity, it was the second most popular (behind *Family Guy*) U.S. television show for males eighteen to twenty-four, it averaged approximately 15 million U.S. viewers per week, and it screened worldwide in twenty-four different countries (which tripled the number of weekly viewers). Thus, this show had extensive regional and global influence.

Hatfield concluded that *Two and a Half Men* offered a media representation of hegemonic masculinity through the gender performance of, and the relationship between, the two main characters. Appropriating hegemonic masculinity as a specific form of masculinity that subordinates both femininity and alternative masculinities, Hatfield found that Charlie constructed

hegemonic masculinity and Alan employed a male femininity, and in the process Alan's femininity consistently was subordinated to Charlie's hegemonic masculinity. Hatfield's study admirably demonstrated how a particular sitcom—which had widespread transnational distribution—was an important example of the global legitimation and rationalization of gender inequality through the depiction of a superior/inferior hierarchical relationship between the two main characters. To be sure, a salient aspect of this sitcom was how it primarily discursively legitimates an unequal masculine/feminine relationship in and through two male bodies.

In addition to multiple local, regional, and global hegemonic masculinities, differences among hegemonic masculinities occur in terms of the significance and scope of their legitimating influence—the legitimating influence of localized hegemonic masculinities (such as in the Morris study) is limited to the confines of particular institutions, such as schools, whereas regional and global hegemonic masculinities (such as in the studies by Weitzer and Kubrin and Hatfield) have respectively society-wide and worldwide legitimating influence.

Research has also examined how hegemonic masculinities are constructed in multiple ways. In my work, I (Messerschmidt, 2016, 2018) have distinguished between “dominating” and “protective” forms of hegemonic masculinities and accordingly differing types of gendered power. For example, high school popular boys who verbally abuse and feminize “other” boys consolidate their localized hegemonic power through *dominating* aggressive bullying; in contrast, I uncovered distinct types of hegemonic masculinities—both locally and globally—that were established through contrasting forms of benevolent *protection*. These are just three examples of differences among hegemonic masculinities. Arguably, then, unequal gender relations are legitimated in multiple ways. Indeed, in my most recent work, I (Messerschmidt, 2016, 2018) found that localized hegemonic masculinities were fashioned through relational *material* practices—such as physical

bullying—that had a discursive legitimating influence whereas regional and global hegemonic masculinities were constructed through *discursive* practices—such as speeches, rap albums, and TV shows—that concurrently constituted unequal gender relations linguistically, metaphorically, and thus symbolically.

Recent work on hybrid masculinities reveals another layer to the idea of multiple hegemonic masculinities. Hybrid hegemonic masculinities involve the incorporation of subordinated styles and displays (masculine and/or feminine) into privileged men's identities, in the process simultaneously securing and obscuring their hegemonic power. For instance, Barber (2016) recently demonstrated how class-privileged men's embrace of previously feminine-typed consumption of personal grooming styles actually serves to enhance their positions of privilege in relation to women and to class-subordinated men. When widespread consent supports such a hybrid masculinity formation, a localized hegemonic masculinity emerges, seeming on the surface to signal the emergence of a “new,” less rigid masculinity while simultaneously concealing and reproducing gender, race, and class inequalities.

Bridges and Pascoe (2018) have also shown that the appropriation of subordinated masculine practices into constructions of hegemonic masculinities operate to reproduce unequal gender relations and thereby must be understood as expressions of, rather than challenges to, gender hegemony. They argue that hybrid hegemonic masculinities illustrate some of the changes taking place in reproducing gender hegemony, demonstrating that experiencing and justifying privilege has transformed, and in the wake of this transformation new “identity projects” are constructed that increase the flexibility for in particular, privileged white men. Bridges and Pascoe therefore challenge any claim that hegemonic masculinities are decreasing; rather, they are simply changing and new forms are emerging.

Scholarship on hybrid hegemonic masculinities has for the most part concentrated on the global North, yet such masculinities are likewise

constructed in some parts of the global South. For example, Groes-Green's (2012) notion of "philogynous masculinities" in Mozambique illustrates this. Groes-Green discusses what he labels the *bom pico* (meaning, a good lover) heterosexual form of masculinity, which prioritizes women's sexual pleasure and emphasizes caring and attentiveness toward women. However, in prioritizing women's sexual pleasure, *bom pico* men reproduce hegemonic notions of virility, potency, and strength and subordinate men who are seen as being "sexually weak" (that is, unable to perform). Men who practice *bom pico* masculinity then are aligning themselves with hegemonic masculinity even as their practices might seem to distance themselves from it and, therefore, they reproduce masculine power over women and "Other" men in a novel way. And although not analyzing hybrid hegemonic masculinities, Morrell (1994, 1998, 2001) identified three distinct localized hegemonic masculinities in the global South country of South Africa: a *white* hegemonic masculinity constructed by the politically dominant white ruling class men; an *African* hegemonic masculinity fashioned by indigenous male chiefs; and a *black* hegemonic masculinity that existed in the various South African townships.

The above studies are only a few examples of research demonstrating multiple hegemonic masculinities and how they are accomplished differently throughout the world. What these scholars illustrate is that specific hierarchical gender relationships between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities are legitimated—superbly capturing certain of the essential features of the omnipresent reproduction of unequal gender relations. Additionally, these studies reveal in various ways how hegemonic masculinities express models of gender relations that articulate with the practical constitution of masculine and feminine ways of living in everyday circumstances. To the extent they do this, they contribute to our understanding of the legitimation and stabilization of unequal gender relations locally, regionally, and globally.

2 Multiple Nonhegemonic Masculinities

Masculinities scholars have not simply examined multiple hegemonic masculinities, they have also researched the various forms of non-hegemonic masculinities—or those masculinities that do not legitimate gender inequality—in specific social settings. In this section I discuss recent research on several differing forms of nonhegemonic masculinities, in addition to the nonhegemonic masculinities initially outlined by Connell.

2.1 Dominant and Dominating Masculinities

Close to twenty years ago, Martin (1998) raised the issue of inconsistent appropriations of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, insightfully observing that some scholars equated the concept with whatever type of masculinity that happened to be dominant at a particular time and place. More recently, Beasley (2008) labeled such inconsistent appropriations "slippage," arguing that "dominant" forms of masculinity—such as those that are the most culturally celebrated or the most common in particular settings—may actually do little to legitimate men's power over women. Similarly, Schippers (2007) argued that it is essential to distinguish masculinities that legitimate men's power from those that do not.

To elucidate the significance and salience of hegemonic masculinities, then, gender scholars must distinguish masculinities that legitimate gender inequality from those that do not, and some researchers have now begun to accomplish this. For example, I (Messerschmidt, 2016, 2018) recently distinguished among "hegemonic," "dominant," and "dominating" forms of masculinities. Following Connell, I define *hegemonic masculinities* as those masculinities that legitimate an unequal relationship (locally, regionally, and globally) between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities. In contrast, *dominant masculinities* are not

always associated with and linked to gender hegemony but refer to (locally, regionally, and globally) the most celebrated, common, or current form of masculinity in a particular social setting (see also Beasley, 2008). As an example of dominant masculinities, I (Messerschmidt, 2016) interviewed teenage boys who uniformly identified certain boys in school who were structurally dominant: they were popular, often tough and athletic, attended parties, participated in heterosexuality, and had many friends. In other words, these dominant boys represented the most *celebrated* form of masculinity in the “clique” structure within schools yet they did not—in and of themselves—legitimate an unequal gender relationship. *Dominating masculinities* refer to those masculinities (locally, regionally, and globally) that also do not necessarily legitimate unequal relationships between men and women and masculinities and femininities, but rather, they involve commanding and controlling particular interactions, exercising power and control over people and events: “calling the shots” and “running the show.” For example, I (Messerschmidt, 2016) recently examined former President George W. Bush’s involvement in the Iraq war, demonstrating how President Bush refused to engage in peaceful geopolitical diplomatic negotiations with foreign leaders, choosing instead to practice “hard diplomacy” and thereby control worldwide geopolitical diplomatic negotiations through a global dominating masculinity. In this particular case, then, President Bush was dominating but he did not legitimate unequal gender relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities.

Research on such dominant and dominating masculinities is significant because it enables a more distinct conceptualization of how hegemonic masculinities are unique—and indeed complex—among the multiplicity of masculinities, and making a clear distinction between hegemonic, dominant, and dominating masculinities will enable scholars to recognize and research various nonhegemonic yet powerful

masculinities, and how they differ from hegemonic masculinities as well as how they differ among themselves.

2.2 Personalized and Positive Masculinities

A number of scholars have also uncovered what may be labeled mundane, run-of-the-mill, “personalized” and “positive” masculinities that are constructed outside the realm of hegemonic and/or dominant masculine relations and often contribute to legitimating egalitarian gender relations (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2016, 2018; Swain, 2006). For example, Swain’s (2006) study of 10–11 years old boys in three schools in the United Kingdom, builds on Connell’s scheme of multiple masculinities by showing that although some boys are hegemonic, complicit, and subordinate, certain boys construct personalized masculinities that transcend the available masculinities in the sphere of hegemonic relations at school. These boys have no desire to practice in-school hegemonic or dominant masculinities and they are not subordinated nor do they subordinate others (boys or girls). In fact, their masculinities are rather positive in the sense of being practiced in small groups of boys with similar interests (e.g., computers, theatre, band, etc.), they are non-exclusive and egalitarian, and they are non-hierarchical without any clearly identified leader.

Similarly, I (Messerschmidt, 2016, 2018) found in my research such personalized and positive nonhegemonic masculinities constructed by certain teenage boys, who frequently reported, for example, hanging out with unpopular groups at school that included both boys and girls who were inclusive and nonviolent, they did not emphasize heterosexuality and accepted celibacy, the boys were not misogynist, they embraced diversity in bodies and sexuality, they were nonhierarchical, and they had no desire to be popular. Members of such groups viewed themselves as different from rather than inferior to the

dominant boys and girls. Consequently, such positive masculinities were not constructed in a structural relationship of gender and sexual inequality, they did not legitimate unequal gender and sexual relations, and they were practiced in settings situated outside stable unequal gender relations.

The boys in Swain's and in my study constructed what is usually considered to be atypical masculine behavior by boys outside the social situation of the unpopular group. However, such gendered behavior is normalized within that group—it is encouraged, permitted, and privileged by both boys and girls—and therefore within that setting it does not call into question their “maleness.” These boys are engaging in such positive masculinities authentically as boys—they were not feminized by others nor were they perceived as engaging in femininity. The boys underscored through their social action how egalitarianism and masculinity are not mutually exclusive but rather are lived practices of particular contextual realities. The boys aimed to be seen as boys as well as egalitarian in their gender relations, thus disrupting gender difference through a redefining of what it means to be a boy by constructing positive masculinities.

Messner, Greenberg, and Peretz (2015) recently detailed a different type of personalized and positive nonhegemonic masculinity. Examining certain men's engagements with progressive gender politics from the 1970s to the present—particularly efforts by these men to stop sexual and domestic violence against women—their analysis demonstrates how race, class and gender structural contexts shaped which men engage in political action with feminist women at particular historical moments, and also how these men and women strategize to stop this type of violence. For men who engaged in this activist work in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, they were found to be disproportionately white (often Jewish), college-educated, and attracted to anti-rape and anti-domestic violence work by their immersion in feminist and other radical social movements of the era. Today, men seem to be drawn to this type of anti-violence work in a different way: white, middle-class men commonly begin

through university-based activism, women's studies courses, and volunteer or paid work in feminist community non-profits, while men of color attempt to prevent violence against women by working with boys and young men in poor communities around youth gang violence, substance abuse programs, and prison reform. Either way, the research by Messner, Greenberg, and Peretz is valuable in the sense of recognizing and pinpointing certain positive masculine practices that challenge gender hegemony and have crucial implications for social policy.

Personalized and positive masculinities are also constructed in the global South. Broughton (2008) examined how neoliberal globalization in Mexico created a novel northward mass departure from the Mexican southern states by working-age men. In particular, Broughton analyzed how economically dislocated southern Mexican men—mainly because of the North American Free Trade Agreement—negotiated hegemonic masculinity while confronting extraordinary pressure to migrate to the United States. Broughton found that these men constructed three differing masculinities in reaction to migration pressures in neoliberal Mexico. Drawing on a specific localized hegemonic masculinity that emphasized hierarchical gender relations in the family and vigilant fathering, these men deployed what Broughton labeled “traditionalist,” “breadwinner,” and “adventurer” masculinities, all of which provided differing gendered responses “to realizing both instrumental and identity goals in a time of rapid and wrenching change” (p. 585). The *traditionalist* emphasized maintaining the established local hegemonic masculinity primarily through family cohesion, while the *breadwinner* migrated to the United States to adequately provide for his wife and children. However, for the *adventurer*, the northern border and beyond offered a place to earn considerable money and to “prove” his masculinity in new ways, such as through seeking thrills and breaking free from the inflexibility of rural life. Rejecting the localized notion of hegemonic masculinity, migration to the north presented a progressive, avant-garde means to survive economic disorder by upgrading one's

masculine status and assessing his bravery. It proffered a “new and exciting life away from the limitations of a neglected and declining rural Mexico” (p. 585). However, a caveat is necessarily important to recognize: although the “adventurer” challenges the particular localized form of hegemonic masculinity, he still seemingly draws on masculine privilege to construct this nonhegemonic masculinity; that is, young women of similar age most likely are under stricter parental rule and therefore do not have the same gender freedom as the “adventurer” (thanks to Barbara Risman for helping me recognize this important qualification).

Broughton’s study then demonstrated how low-income Mexican men experiencing economic dislocation intrinsic to neoliberal Mexico negotiated with a specific localized hegemonic masculinity and in the process orchestrated old and new hegemonic and new nonhegemonic masculine configurations. One of the important aspects of this article is its demonstration of how specific forms of complicity (traditionalist and breadwinner) with, and personalized resistance (adventurer) to, a localized hegemonic masculinity discourse were constructed under identical neoliberal conditions.

2.3 “Female” Masculinities

Research has demonstrated that masculinity is not determined biologically and thus not exclusively coupled with people assigned male at birth. Almost twenty years ago Halberstam (1998) examined the diversity of gender expressions among masculine women, uncovering a hidden history of “female” masculinities. This work lead some masculinities scholars to identify and examine masculinities constructed by those assigned female at birth. For example, Miller (2001, 2002) shows in her important book *One of the Guys*, that certain gang girls identify with the boys in their gangs and describe such gangs as “masculinist enterprises.” These girls differentiate themselves from other gang girls by engaging in “gender crossing” and “embracing a masculine

identity that they view as contradicting their bodily sex category (that is, female)” (Miller, 2002: 443). Similarly, my (Messerschmidt, 2012) life-history study of adolescent assaultive violence—reported in my book *Gender, Heterosexuality, and Youth Violence*—discovered numerous gender constructions by violent girls and found that some girls “do” masculinity by in part displaying themselves in a masculine way, by engaging primarily in what they and others in their milieu consider to be authentically masculine behavior, and by rejecting outright most aspects of femininity.

More recently, I (Messerschmidt, 2016) found that under particular social situations masculinity by specific individual’s assigned female at birth becomes the primary foundation of their identity while “sex” is transformed into the qualifier. The coherence of one’s initial fundamental sex and gender project may be altered whereby masculinity becomes primary and “real” and “sex” is transmuted to epiphenomenon. Additionally, I found that individuals assigned female at birth who practiced masculinity may experience specific contradictions between their bodies and masculinity, and through the discursively sexed meanings of certain bodily developments (such as breasts and menstruation) as well as the fact that culturally their bodies were expected to be congruent with femininity, not masculinity. People assigned female at birth then often experience a degree of bodily anxiety in constructing masculinities, especially when embedded in cultural conceptions of “two and only two sexes” and its accompanying discursive assertion that “men have penises and women do not.” For such individual’s masculinity can be experienced in certain situations, such as sexual situations, as a disembodied phenomenon that impacts future practice, such as heteromascularity.

Arguably, then, some girls and women who practice masculinity disrupt gender difference. The notion of “female” masculinities provides evidence of the complicated and diverse nature of sex/gender embodiment and moves us beyond the masculine/feminine dichotomy toward the recognition of alternative gender dimensions.

Such masculinities disturb the view of solely two oppositional gender categories and challenges perspectives that conflate sex and gender.

Finally, I should note that recent research suggests that dominant gender constructions by adolescent girls in North America and Europe no longer center on such embodied practices as submissiveness, docility, and passivity. Instead, today such gender qualities as self-control, self-entitlement, self-reliance, determination, competition, individual freedom, and athleticism, combined with being attractive and exhibiting heterosexual appeal—the “heterosexy athlete”—form the primary markers signifying dominant adolescent femininity (Adams, Schmitke, & Franklin, 2005; Bettis & Adams, 2005; Budgeon, 2014; Gonick, 2006; McRobbie, 2009; Ringrose, 2007). This new “hybrid” gender construction by adolescent girls—consisting of conventional feminine *and* masculine qualities—disrupts but does not challenge hegemonic masculinity and gender inequality. As Shelley Budgeon (2014: 325) has shown in her review of the literature, such “hybrid femininities”—like the “hybrid masculinities” discussed above—promote a de-gendered dynamic that maintains by obscuring gender hegemony.

2.4 Globalization

Earlier I provided examples of masculinities (both hegemonic and nonhegemonic) in the global South, but academic work on masculinities from the 1950s to the 1990s in the global South added a significant dimension to the notion of multiple masculinities by demonstrating the unique relationship among globalization, colonialism, and masculinity (Mernissi, 1975; Morrell, 1994, 1998, 2001; Nandy, 1983; Paz, 1950). By the early 2000s, the empirical base of research and theoretical development on globalization and masculinities was greatly diversified to include, for example, studies on Japan (Roberson & Suzuki, 2003), Australia (Tomsen & Donaldson, 2003), Latin America (Gutmann,

1996; Viveros Vigoya, 2001), the Middle East (Ghoussoub & Sinclair-Webb, 2000), and China (Louie, 2002).

In various recent publications, Hearn and colleagues (Hearn, Blagojevic, & Harrison, 2015; Ruspini, Hearn, Pease, & Pringle, 2011) have noted that most studies of men and masculinities have concentrated their research efforts within the boundaries of individual national contexts, leaving unexamined the multiple masculinities in terms of globalization and transnational situations. Following Connell’s (1998) suggestion that masculinities scholars move beyond the “ethnographic moment” by examining the relationship between globalization and masculinities, Hearn similarly suggests the development of international, transnational, and global perspectives. Hearn (2015) argues that various forms of “transnationalization” have created new and changing material and representational gender hierarchies—or what Hearn refers to as “transnational patriarchies”—that structure men’s transnational gender domination. For Hearn (2015), some contemporary arenas involving transnational gender inequalities and thus multiple masculinities include: transnational corporations and government organizations with men in almost exclusive positions of power; international trade, global finance, and the masculinization of capital; militarism and the arms trade; international sports; migrations and refugees; information and communication technologies; and the sex trade.

Recently, Connell (2014) outlined a strategy for conceptualizing the relationship between globalization and masculinities based on North/South relations. In examining masculinities scholarship in both the global North and the global South, Connell notes how scholars in the latter often rely on theories and research developed in the former because of the structure of knowledge production in the global economy of knowledge, which has made it difficult to fully comprehend masculinities constructed in the global South. Connell chronicles a rich archive of examinations of masculinities from around the

global South that provide a foundation for understanding the relationship among multiple masculine constructions in both the North and the South. Connell concludes that the global formation of masculinities must be conceptualized through an understanding of worldwide processes of colonial conquest and social disruption, the building of colonial societies and the global capitalist economy, and post-independent globalization (see also, Connell, 2016a, 2016b).

3 Conclusion

In this chapter I initially discussed Raewyn Connell's original perspective on hegemonic masculinity and its associated multiple masculinities. After noting the criticisms lodged against that early formulation, I summarized the reformulation of hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities by Connell and myself. That reformulation specifically recognized empirical research supporting the idea of multiple hegemonic masculinities at the local, regional, and global levels. To be sure, although identifying a single ascendant hegemonic masculinity at each level may be possible, no one to date has successfully done so. This is probably the case because it is extremely difficult to measure such ascendancy and thereby determine which particular masculinity—among the whole variety in the offering at each level—is indeed *the* ascendant hegemonic masculinity. Until a method is devised for determining exactly which masculinity is the hegemonic ascendant at each level, we must speak of hegemonic masculinity wholly in plural terms, analyzing hegemonic masculinities at the local, regional, and global levels.

Scholars have also built on and expanded our understanding of Connell's original idea of multiple nonhegemonic masculinities. Although research continues to uncover complicit, subordinate, and protest masculinities, studies have revealed additional nonhegemonic masculinities. Distinguishing hegemonic from dominant and dominating masculinities allows scholars to "see" the complexity of the former as an

ascendant legitimating cultural influence, and how it differs from simply celebrated and common forms of masculinities that do not legitimate gender inequality. Moreover, personalized and positive masculinities—as well as some "female" masculinities—are significant for their oppositional qualities and value. Finally, the identification of hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities globally, and in particular in the global South, has prodigiously increased our knowledge of multiple masculinities.

References

- Adams, N., Schmitke, A., & Franklin, A. (2005). Tomboys, dykes, and girly girls: Interrogating the subjectivities of adolescent female athletes. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 33(1/2), 73–91.
- Barber, K. (2016). *Styling masculinity: Gender, class, and inequality in the men's grooming industry*. USA: Rutgers University Press.
- Beasley, C. (2008). Re-thinking hegemonic masculinity in a globalizing world. *Men and Masculinities*, 11(1), 86–103.
- Bettis, P., & Adams, N. (2005). *Geographies of girlhood: Identities in-between*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bridges, T., & Pascoe, C. J. (2018). Gender hegemony in transition: On shifts in the practical and ideological supports of gender and sexual inequality. In J. W. Messerschmidt, P. Martin, M. Messner, & R. Connell (Eds.), *Gender reckonings: New social theory and research*. New York: New York University Press.
- Broughton, C. (2008). Migration as engendered practice: Mexican men, masculinity, and northward migration. *Gender & Society*, 22, 568–589.
- Budgeon, S. (2014). The dynamics of gender hegemony: Femininities, masculinities, and social change. *Sociology*, 48(2), 317–334.
- Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and power*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Connell, R. (1995, 2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. (1998). Masculinities and globalization. *Men and Masculinities*, 1, 3–23.
- Connell, R. (2014). Margin becoming center: For a world-centered rethinking of masculinities. *Norma: International Journal for Masculinities Studies*, 9, 217–231.
- Connell, R. (2016a). 100 million Kalashnikovs: Gendered power on a world scale. *Debate Feminista*, 5, 3–17.
- Connell, R. (2016b). Masculinities in global perspective: Hegemony, contestation, and changing structures of power. *Theory and Society*, 45(4), 303–318.

- Connell, R., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society, 19*, 829–859.
- Ghousoub, M., & Sinclair-Webb, E. (Eds.). (2000). *Imagined masculinities: Male identity and culture in the modern Middle East*. London: Saqi Books.
- Gonick, M. (2006). Between ‘Girl Power’ and ‘Reviving Ophelia’: Constituting the neoliberal girl subject. *NWSA Journal, 18*(2), 1–22.
- Groes-Green, C. (2012). Philogynous masculinities: Contextualizing alternative manhood in Mozambique. *Men and Masculinities, 15*, 91–111.
- Gutmann, M. (1996). *The meaning of macho: Being a man in Mexico City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Halberstam, J. (1998). *Female masculinity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hatfield, E. F. (2010). ‘What it Means to Be a Man’: Examining hegemonic masculinity in two and half men. *Communication, Culture & Critique, 3*, 526–548.
- Haywood, C., & Mac an Ghaill, M. (2012). ‘What’s Next for Masculinity?’ Reflexive directions for theory and research on masculinity and education. *Gender and Education, 24*, 577–592.
- Hearn, J. (2015). *Men of the world: Genders, globalizations, transnational times*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hearn, J., Blagojevic, M., & Harrison, K. (Eds.). (2015). *Rethinking transnational men: Beyond, between and within nations*. New York: Routledge.
- Louie, K. (2002). *Theorizing Chinese masculinity: Society and gender in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, P. (1998). Why can’t a man be more like a woman? Reflections on Connell’s masculinities. *Gender and Society, 12*(4), 472–474.
- McRobbie, A. (2009). *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mernissi, F. (1975). *Beyond the veil: Male-female dynamics in modern Muslim society*. London: Saqi Books.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2012). *Gender, heterosexuality, and youth violence: The struggle for recognition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2016). *Masculinities in the making: From the local to the global*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2018). *Hegemonic masculinity: Formulation, reformulation, and amplification*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Messner, M. A., Greenberg, M. A., & Peretz, T. (2015). *Some men: Feminist allies and the movement to end violence against women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, J. (2001). *One of the guys: Girls, gangs, and gender*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, J. (2002). The strengths and limits of doing gender for understanding street crime. *Theoretical Criminology, 6*(4), 433–460.
- Morrell, R. (1994). Masculinity and the white boys’ boarding schools of Natal, 1880–1930. *Perspectives in Education, 15*, 27–52.
- Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 24*, 605–630.
- Morrell, R. (Ed.). (2001). *Changing men in Southern Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Morris, E. W. (2008). ‘Rednecks’, ‘Rutters’, and ‘Rithmetic’: Social class, masculinity, and schooling in a rural context. *Gender & Society, 22*, 728–751.
- Nandy, A. (1983). *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paz, O. (1950). *The labyrinth of solitude*. New York: Penguin.
- Ringrose, J. (2007). Successful girls? Complicating post-feminist, neoliberal discourses of education achievement, and gender equality. *Gender and Education, 19*(4), 471–489.
- Roberson, J. E., & Suzuki, N. (Eds.). (2003). *Men and masculinities in contemporary Japan*. New York: Routledge.
- Ruspini, E., Hearn, J., Pease, B., & Pringle, K. (Eds.). (2011). *Men and masculinities around the world: transforming men’s practices*. London: Palgrave.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory & Society, 36*(1), 85–102.
- Swain, J. (2006). Reflections on patterns of masculinity in school settings. *Men and Masculinities, 8*(3), 331–349.
- Tomsen, S., & Donaldson, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Male trouble: Looking at Australian masculinities*. London: Pluto Press.
- Viveros Vigoya, M. (2001). Contemporary Latin American perspectives on masculinity. *Men and Masculinities, 3*, 237–260.
- Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. E. (2009). Misogyny in rap music: A content analysis of prevalence and meanings. *Men and Masculinities, 12*, 3–29.

James W. Messerschmidt is professor of sociology and women’s and gender studies at the University of Southern Maine. His research has covered such diverse areas as gender and crime/violence, genderqueers, intersectionality, and global political masculinities. Messerschmidt is the author of a number of books, including *Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research* co-edited with Patricia Martin, Michael Messner, and Raewyn Connell and, most recently, *Hegemonic Masculinity: Formulation, Reformulation, and Amplification*.

Part III

The Interactional Level of Analysis

Susan R. Fisk and Cecilia L. Ridgeway

Abstract

In this chapter, we give a micro-level, social psychological account of how the gender beliefs evoked by sex categorization reinforce and recreate gender inequality. We argue that social interactions are framed by gender because people instantaneously and unconsciously sex categorize each other, evoking cultural beliefs about men and women. While these cultural beliefs help actors navigate social interaction, using gender as a primary frame for making sense of others brings cultural understandings of gender into all social interactions. This causes men to have more status and influence in small, goal-oriented groups, thereby advantaging them and recreating existing gender inequality in settings that vary from the workplace to the home. Because of our reliance on gender as a primary frame for understanding others, cultural beliefs about gender are rewritten on to new activities, causing gender inequality to

persist in the face of societal change. Despite the increasing number of social interactions that occur online and mounting challenges to the gender binary, we argue that these processes will continue in the future unless conscious effort is made to disrupt them. We conclude with suggestions on how future research can illuminate tools to interrupt the effects of the gender frame.

In 1972, members of the isolated Bime tribe encountered advanced technology for the first time when a plane landed in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea (Linza & Neljesjö, 2012). While the people of the tribe were awestruck by this event, one of their primary concerns was determining the sex of the airplane: almost immediately, members of the tribe crawled under the plane to determine whether it was male or female. Although contemporary U.S. society is very different from the society of the Bime people, the importance of sex categorization in everyday life is only slightly less. For instance, many people were outraged in 2016 when *Rust*, a multiplayer survival game, randomly assigned players' avatars to be male or female, preventing players from choosing their avatar's gender (Newman, 2016).

In fact, studies of social cognition conducted on contemporary Americans show we automatically sex categorize others and do so in an instant, usually without being aware of it (Ito & Urland, 2003). Sometimes we later decide we

S. R. Fisk (✉)
Kent State University, 215 Merrill Hall, Kent, OH
44242, USA
e-mail: sfisk@kent.edu

C. L. Ridgeway
Stanford University, 450 Serra Mall—Bldg. 120,
Stanford, CA 94305, USA
e-mail: ridgeway@stanford.edu

were wrong and re-categorize the person, but what we almost never do is *not* categorize a person as male or female according to the way these categories are socially defined in American culture. Even in a world in which social interactions increasingly occur online and that is increasingly familiar with transgender and genderqueer people, we still categorize—or at least try to categorize—those we interact with. Why does sex categorization remain so important, despite massive technological, economic, and societal changes that make it irrelevant to many—if not most—social situations? For instance, why do we care about the sex category of the person who sells us a subway ticket? And how does the social process of sex categorization itself literally frame us by gender, and in so doing, reproduce and recreate gender inequality?

In this chapter, we give a micro-level, social psychological account of why gender remains important in modern society and continues to drive gender inequality. As in other chapters, we understand gender as a multilevel structure of institutions and cultural beliefs at the macro-level, patterns of social relations at the interpersonal level, and identities and selves at the individual level (cf. Risman, 2004). However, we focus particularly on social relations at the interpersonal level and discuss how these relations are shaped by macro-level cultural beliefs about gender. We argue that these culturally framed interpersonal processes are a powerful, almost invisible means by which gender inequality is continually recreated in the modern world, despite ongoing social changes that work against it.

More specifically, we argue that people use gender as a fundamental and *primary* cultural frame for making sense of others—and self in relation to others—in order to interact and organize relationships (Ridgeway, 2011). This starts with sex categorizing the other according to cultural rules for classifying people as male or female. But it doesn't stop there. Once a person is socially categorized as male or female, this evokes taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about “who” men and women are and how they do and should behave—effectively cultural stereotypes

of gender. The use of gender as an unconscious, primary frame for making sense of another person during interaction brings cultural definitions of gender into all social relations, including those in the workplace and at home. Through this process, people write cultural beliefs about gender onto new activities, recreating gender inequality even as society changes. We discuss why we think that this process will continue in the future, despite the increasing number of social interactions that occur online and growing challenges to the gender binary. Lastly, we suggest that future research focus on finding ways to interrupt the effects of the gender frame.

1 The Problem of Coordination

To understand the importance of gender as a primary frame in social interaction, one must first understand the difficulties with coordinating interaction between individuals, as well as the cognitive strategies employed by individuals to overcome these problems.

Social interaction is extremely important to human beings. Not only do we enjoy the company of others, but social interaction is necessary to obtain basic needs such as food and shelter. However, social interaction is tricky because people must coordinate their behavior in tandem with others in order to understand one another and accomplish their goals. To overcome the problem of coordination, researchers have found that actors must have common knowledge that they can draw on to navigate the social interaction (Chwe, 2001). This knowledge not only must be shared between actors, but it must also be common. In other words, it must be, “what everyone knows,” so that an individual actor not only knows how to act, but can predict the actions of other actors. Common knowledge is cultural knowledge: in other words, knowledge that is shared and taken for granted. For instance, even the simple act of asking for food was likely fraught between the Bime people and the plane's pilot in 1972 because they did not share cultural knowledge about how to coordinate the

interaction. Not only did the pilot lack the knowledge of how to ask the Bime people for food, but communication attempts could actually lead to violence, as they could be interpreted as an act of aggression. In this way, shared, common cultural knowledge is essential for coordinating behavior.

2 Gender as a Primary Frame for Organizing Social Relations

Given how much common knowledge exists in a society, how does an individual actor initiate an interaction with another? In other words, how does an individual know which specific pieces of common knowledge he or she should use in a given situation? Research finds that the first thing an actor must do is to define both him or herself and the others in the interaction (Stryker & Vryan, 2003). But in order to define another, one must understand the relationship between the other and the self. Individuals accomplish this by using cultural systems of categorizing and defining things that are based on contrast: for instance, one can only understand the meaning of an enemy if one understands the meaning of an ally.

While there are often institutional cues that help individuals make sense of the interaction, the specific relationship between actors is always of utmost importance. For instance, even if two actors are interacting within the same institutional setting of a college campus, the relationship between the two will inform how they address each other: a student will likely call another student by his or her first name, but that same student would likely address their professor as “Dr.” However, a professor would likely address another professor by their first name. While a great deal of common knowledge exists to help actors define the relation between the self and the other in an interaction, most pieces of shared knowledge apply to a limited range of contexts and are not relevant or helpful in other situations. For instance, common knowledge about the roles of professor and student are helpful for organizing interaction in a university,

but they are of little help when asking for directions on the street.

But some types of common knowledge—namely, those provided by a society’s primary frames—can always be used by actors to navigate social settings. A primary frame is a socially defined attribute that is immediately recognizable, that brings with it common knowledge about expected behavior, and that is used unconsciously by individuals to define the other within an interaction (Brewer & Lui, 1989; Ridgeway, 2011). Because primary frames can always be used in any context, this makes them fundamental frames for making sense of others. In contemporary U.S. society, age, race, and gender are primary frames: research finds that when we meet another person, we immediately and unconsciously try to categorize them by these characteristics (See Schneider, 2004, p. 98; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992).

This is the power of sex/gender as a primary frame: no matter the interaction, we can always sex categorize the other. And by applying these primary frames to the other, common knowledge about the other is brought to mind, which helps us make sense of the situation and “jumpstart” the interaction. By using our society’s primary categories to help us start the process of making sense of others, we are better able to navigate social interactions in any context (even though we later go on to think of them in many other ways as well). For instance, imagine that you see a person crying next to a broken-down car. Your understanding of the situation—and your response—is likely very different if you sex categorize that person as male instead of female.

2.1 Cultural Beliefs Associated with Gender

Sex as a primary category for coordinating social interaction is only useful if it brings with it shared knowledge that helps us navigate social interactions. So when we sex categorize another, what knowledge does gender give us about the situation and the other actors in it?

Researchers have found there are shared cultural beliefs, known as stereotypes, that form the content of our common knowledge about women and men (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Glick et al., 2004; Spence & Buckner, 2000). In general, men are broadly seen as possessing traits associated with agency, while women are seen as possessing traits associated with communality. Specifically, men are seen as being more competent, independent, forceful, dominant, assertive, and confident. Women are seen as being more kind, emotionally expressive, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and responsive. Men are also believed to be more competent at technical and leadership tasks, while women are seen as better at tasks that require caregiving. Stereotypes also have a proscriptive element that details what women and men should *not* be. Women are especially penalized for possessing traits that violate the assumption that women are subordinate to men (such as being arrogant, aggressive, or assertive), while men are penalized for possessing traits that violate the assumption that men are superior to women (such as being submissive or weak) (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012).

As soon as we sex categorize another person, these beliefs about women and men shape our interactions with him or her in both conscious and unconscious ways (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Obviously, no person is just a man or a woman—all people bring with them many other traits, including the role they play within the interaction. Often the institutional roles we play in a given context (e.g., clerk and customer) are in the forefront of our sense of who we and the other are in the situation. But gender never completely leaves the interaction—it is always lurking as a frame in the background that helps us understand the other actors in the situation (Ridgeway, 2011). So for instance, if you meet a surgeon from Harvard, you will likely assume that she is hardworking and highly competent. However, the gender frame will never completely disappear from the situation: you will likely expect her to be nicer than an otherwise

similar male surgeon. It is also important to note that these beliefs do not simply influence our perceptions of other actors; they also influence our perceptions and understanding of ourselves. This is because these beliefs are common knowledge and individuals know—both implicitly and explicitly—that they will be held accountable to them (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Of course, there are also some groups of people (e.g., feminists and African Americans) who hold alternative gender beliefs in addition to knowing common gender stereotypes. The evidence suggests that those who hold alternative gender beliefs are most likely to use these alternative beliefs to navigate interaction with like-minded others (e.g., fellow feminists or African-Americans) (Milkie, 1999).

2.2 Intersectionality and Cultural Beliefs

The gender stereotypes that are common knowledge in the U.S. are hegemonic cultural beliefs, in that they are institutionalized in media representations, in legal assumptions about the nature of men and women, and in other social arrangements. As such, they more closely represent the perspectives on gender of dominant social groups in society whose members have greater control over the legal, educational, and media institutions that shape common knowledge. This results in the stereotypical images of “men” and “women” most closely resembling white, middle class Americans. In this way, race and class are implicitly embedded in gender stereotypes (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Ridgeway & Kircheli-Katz, 2013). Yet in public places, like schools and workplaces, all men and women are implicitly judged by these dominant gender stereotypes—even those who are not white or middle class. This makes the public performance of gender that much more complicated for non-white, non-middle class people.

The way that common knowledge stereotypes implicitly embed race and class meanings into

implicit prototypes of “men” and “women” is one example of how the primary frame of gender combines in complex ways with other primary frames (such as race and age) and other social differences (such as class) to produce more nuanced social perceptions that actors use to understand one another. Since no one is simply a man or a woman, all people bring additional primary frames and other salient social differences into social interaction. Unfortunately, there is not a great deal of systematic research on intersectionality and the complicated stereotypical beliefs that it triggers. As a result, we say less about intersectionality here than we would like. However, we do offer a few suggestions about what our arguments imply about how the primary frames of gender and race might combine and intersect in their effects and discuss some related research. After we have a fuller understanding of how the gender frame produces inequality in social relations, we will return to this intersectional issue.

3 The Gendering of Social Relations: From Difference to Inequality

How do beliefs about women and men reproduce inequality, given that both agency and communality are positive traits? It turns out that social difference easily morphs into social inequality, because cultural beliefs about gender correspond to beliefs about status (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Women are not only seen as different than men, but as broadly less competent and able (Rashotte & Webster, 2005). This ends up reproducing gender inequality in micro-level social interactions, as these gender beliefs influence the creation of status hierarchies (Wagner & Berger, 1997). This in turn recreates existing macro-level gender inequalities within micro-level interactions.

So how does this happen? The problem begins when individuals find themselves in small, goal-oriented groups in important institutional settings such as school or work. While interaction is always a tricky proposition, these

problems are intensified when people are trying to jointly achieve a goal. Problems with coordination in these settings include: whose ideas should count? Who should be the leader? How should disagreements be solved? Research shows people solve these problems by using the information they have about each other, including that gleaned from common knowledge cultural beliefs (including gender stereotypes), to form expectations for how relatively valuable each group member’s contributions to group goals are likely to be (otherwise known as status beliefs) (Berger & Webster, 2006; Ridgeway & Nakagawa, 2014). Those expected to make more valuable contributions are listened to and given influence over those expected to have less of value to offer, creating an implicit status hierarchy among the group members in deference and esteem. The status hierarchy helps solve the problem of coordination, as it provides guidance in whose opinions should count—an especially valuable organizing tool when there is a disagreement in the group about how to best achieve shared goals (Anderson & Willer, 2014; Magee & Galinsky, 2008).

Many factors influence the group’s sense of who is best able to contribute to shared goals. Research shows that the more relevant an attribute is to perceived ability at the group task, the greater its impact on a person’s status and influence (Berger & Webster, 2006). For instance, if a group needs to make a PowerPoint presentation, then degree of experience with PowerPoint will powerfully shape members’ status in the group. But expectations for competence and status are not shaped by information on task ability alone. Especially in groups that are newly formed, individuals are prone to rely substantially on the readily available information provided by primary frames to inform their beliefs about how other group members will be able to contribute to group goals (Berger & Webster, 2006). So once group members sex categorize each other, stereotypical beliefs about women and men immediately influence how group members expect each other to perform. The extent and direction of gender’s influence varies with the situation and task at hand.

Because of the implicit influence of stereotypes, men are generally assumed to be better at tasks requiring agency (e.g., leadership), while women are seen as superior at tasks that require communality (e.g., childcare). In addition, men are assumed to be better at technical (e.g., math, computer science) and physical tasks, while women are presumed to be more competent at dealing with feelings and social relations.

Thus, women are the most disadvantaged in group tasks that are male-typed (e.g., all else equal, a male computer scientist just seems more competent than a female computer scientist), while women are modestly advantaged on female-typed tasks (e.g., all else equal, most people think that a female manicurist is slightly more competent than a male manicurist). On gender neutral-tasks, men are slightly advantaged due to general beliefs about their agency and competency. However, men are advantaged on all tasks that require authority (see Ridgeway, 2011, pp. 76–84). So if we go back to that group trying to construct a PowerPoint presentation, which is a technical task, what are the implications? While PowerPoint experience will grant more status in the group than gender alone, group members will nevertheless assume that a man with a certain amount of PowerPoint experience will have a greater ability to solve PowerPoint problems than a woman with the same level of PowerPoint experience. This will result in that man having higher status and influence in the group than that woman.

While this might sound like a description of differences—as women are thought to be better at some tasks and men at others—these differences constitute important inequalities because they disadvantage women in a number of ways. First, instrumental, agentic tasks (which are male-typed) are generally higher status and are more closely associated with material rewards in the U.S., so men are advantaged when it counts most (England, 2010). For instance, for any level of education, a male-typed career is generally higher paying than a female-typed one (e.g., manufacturing work versus housecleaning, undergraduate degree in computer science versus women’s studies) (Levanon, England, & Allison,

2009). Second, leadership is strongly male-typed, and leadership positions tend to be particularly high-status and well-compensated, causing women to be disadvantaged in key positions of power (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002).

It is important to note that even when new information is presented about task ability, the information provided by the gender frame never completely disappears. So if we go back to that group trying to put together a PowerPoint presentation: a woman can increase her status if she lets it be known that she actually teaches classes on PowerPoint. However, while she will be seen as higher status than male group members who lack PowerPoint knowledge, she will still be seen as slightly less competent—although nicer—than an otherwise similar man with the same level of PowerPoint expertise. Moreover, actual task ability is often unknown in small group settings, while gender is always present. And in many situations, all members have similar backgrounds, so gender is particularly prone to being used as a differentiating force to form status hierarchies.

3.1 The Reproduction of Gender Inequality

The fact that men generally have higher social status in goal-oriented group settings reproduces gender inequality in several ways. Actors with higher status are able to contribute more ideas to the group, their ideas are evaluated more positively by others, they have more influence over group decisions, and they are more likely to be elected to the position of group leader (see Ridgeway & Nakagawa, 2014 for a review). Thus, by the end of the group interaction, higher status members are perceived as having contributed more to group goals, thereby reifying their higher status. In this way, systematic inequalities can emerge in everyday interactions between initially similar men and women in their perceived ability, prominence, resources, and the positions of leadership and power that they are given in consequential contexts (such as

educational institutions and the workplace). Moreover, these processes end up reaffirming the original cultural beliefs about men's greater competence and agency that produced the inequality.

Given what is at stake in these interactions, why do women accept being disadvantaged in most small groups? This is especially perplexing given that a large body of evidence suggests that individuals' first assumption is that individuals from their own category are "better" (Hogg, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For instance, how many Seahawks fans will admit that the Steelers are a better team, even if the Steelers win the football game? The answer goes back to the fact that gender beliefs function as common knowledge that actors use to coordinate interaction: women must also act in accordance with these beliefs to have successful interactions with others. Even when individual actors do not personally endorse the beliefs (as many do not), they often have to behave as if they do because gender beliefs function as "common knowledge" and the rules of the game in public settings. And indeed, research has found that individuals who resist these gender expectations are often socially sanctioned and isolated from the group. For instance, women who are seen as too agentic or pushy are generally disliked and as a result have even less social influence (Rudman et al., 2012).¹

Thus, stereotypic gender beliefs powerfully influence interaction—even when individuals do not agree with them—because we implicitly know that we will be held accountable to them. In addition, the fact that gender beliefs lead to actual status differentials grants legitimacy to the gender beliefs. The consensual acceptance of the legitimacy of gender beliefs is one of the most nefarious consequences of the gender frame, as gender beliefs powerfully influence how women and men understand and perceive themselves. For instance, gender stereotypes have been found to influence women's and men's self-assessments of their own task ability (Correll, 2004).

3.2 Intersecting Status Effects?

Additional primary frames (such as race and age) and social differences (such as social class) are also used as differentiating forces in the creation of status hierarchies because broad status beliefs about competence are associated with membership in these categories. In general, non-whites and lower-class individuals are seen as diffusely less competent than middle-class whites (Fiske et al., 2002; Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012). Just as women are disadvantaged by status beliefs in small group interactions, members of these disadvantaged groups are similarly disadvantaged.

Theories about how multiple status beliefs (e.g., those associated with race, gender, and class) jointly shape interaction posit that their effects on a person's presumed competence and worthiness of status should combine. So a woman of color should be disadvantaged relative to a man of color, and also disadvantaged relative to a white woman (Berger & Webster, 2006). Some experiments do indeed show such combining effects of gender and Black/white race on participation and influence in groups, typically as a consequence of presumed competence (Walker, Doerer, & Webster, 2014). These combining effects are also consistent with research that finds white women receive better paying care jobs than women of color (even though women as a group are stereotyped as better than men at care work) (Dwyer, 2013) and that a felony conviction produces much more job discrimination against an African American than white man (Pager, 2007).

However, it is worth repeating that the status effects arising from the intersections of gender, race, and class are not simply additive. For instance, while intersecting race and gender status biases may make it much harder for an African American woman to gain an initial business or professional position, if she does, some research suggests she may face less backlash for assertive behavior in that role than either a white woman or an African American man (Livingston, Shelby, & Washington, 2012; Ridgeway & Kircheli-Katz, 2013). Relatedly, research has shown that African American

¹However, it is important to note that there may be some intersectional exceptions to this under very specific circumstances.

women are among the most disfavored in online lending markets (as status theories would predict). But the same research also shows that once their financial competence is proven by a high credit rating, African American women are actually preferred to African American men, white men, and white women with similar credit scores (Harkness, 2016). Also, while Blacks generally have lower status in groups than whites, social class can trump these effects: a Harvard-educated Black woman would likely have higher status than a white man who dropped out of high school (assuming that the group knew about their education). Although there is some research that has examined the intersection of gender and race in Asian and Latino groups (Hall, Galinsky, & Phillips, 2015; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013), much more research is needed to fully understand these effects. It is possible that the general competence implications of status beliefs associated with both race and gender more or less combine as status theories predict. However, the broader content of the stereotypes associated with both the gender frame and with different racial groups—beyond the stereotypes associated with just status and competence—also have further complex and intersecting effects that are yet to be fully explained.

3.3 Origin of Status Beliefs

While many people believe that men deserve to have higher status than women, we will assume that most readers of this chapter disagree with that proposition. But if men are not naturally more competent than women, why are they perceived as such? There is evidence that suggests that status is not simply dependent on demonstrated competence: it is also influenced by the accrual of resources. Research finds that if there is an unequal distribution of resources across salient characteristics, status beliefs develop and become attached to those characteristics that are associated with greater resources (Ridgeway, Boyle, Kuipers, & Robinson, 1998). This will lead to the group of people with more resources

being presumed to be not just richer, but diffusely more competent. Even small differences in resource allocation can quickly cause status beliefs to be formed.

One can imagine that earlier in human history, when men's greater average physical strength was of greater importance and women were more immobilized by the constraints of feeding nursing children, men as a group would be able to acquire greater resources than women as a group (Huber, 2007). Once men acquired these greater resources, status beliefs would be created about gender and men's supposed superior competence and agency. And once gender status beliefs developed, they would have advantaged men even over equally strong women without small children.

4 The Reproduction and Persistence of Gender Inequality

These micro-level, interactional gender processes act as powerful contributors to macro-level patterns of gender inequality, such as the sex segregation of the labor market, the gender gap in wages and leadership, and the unequal division of labor at home. Moreover, since the gender frame is used to make sense of new interactions, they are easily re-written onto new organizational forms, recreating gender inequality even as society changes.

4.1 Linking the Micro to the Macro

The primary reason that women as a group have far fewer resources than men as a group in the contemporary U.S. is because women and men occupy fundamentally different types of jobs. The kind of jobs that men tend to occupy are generally paid more than women's jobs and are more likely to be at the top of the authority hierarchy (Charles & Grusky, 2004). Indeed, recent calculations show that about half of women and men would have to change occupations to end gender segregation in the labor force

(Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014). And despite the fact that jobs continually change—as some types of jobs fade away and others are created—this gender segregation of jobs persists over time, suggesting that it is continually being recreated (England, 2010).

The gender frame provides important insights into why the labor market is continually segregated by gender. Since women and men use the gender frame to make sense of themselves, they implicitly look for jobs that match their own gendered understanding of themselves and their abilities (Cech, 2013; Correll, 2001, 2004). On the other side of the coin, employers use sex to make sense of employees. Once employers sex categorize potential employees, gendered beliefs flood their mind, causing them to view applicants with the haze of the gender frame. In general, men just “feel” like better fits for male-typed jobs, while women “feel” like better fits for female-typed jobs. For instance, employers often perceive men to be more competent than otherwise similar women for male-typed jobs; audit studies find that having a woman’s name on a resume generally decreases the odds of a call-back for male-typed jobs (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Reuben, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2014). In addition, gendered beliefs about agency disadvantage women as they achieve leadership positions, because leadership is strongly male-typed and because leadership positions require agency, which violates proscriptive gender stereotypes for women. In this way, the background frame of gender makes it more difficult for women to be perceived as competent leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Large-scale macro data also supports the supposition that the gender frame routes women and men into different positions. Women are more frequently found in occupations associated with femininity, including care work, service jobs, and positions that lack authority (Charles & Grusky, 2004; England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002). On the other hand, men are usually found in occupations associated with masculinity, such as manual labor, technical jobs, and the positions of

authority—especially the top positions in any occupation (even for female-typed fields).

The gender frame also profoundly influences the inequalities at home because the gender frame is forefront in this domain, given its associations with sex and childcare. Given that women are more highly associated with household work and parenting, and are seen as more communal, the use of the gender frame as a means of coordinating behavior at home quickly causes women to do much more at home than men (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, & Robinson, 2012). This ends up reinforcing gender inequalities in the workplace, as women do not have as much time to devote to their career progression. The power of the gender frame on people’s relationships in the household is likely part of the reason that the gendered division of household labor has not changed in proportion to women’s increased representation in the labor force (Ridgeway, 2011, pp. 127–155).

4.2 The Persistence of Inequality

But how do these cultural beliefs about gender—and the gender inequality that results—persist in a society that is constantly changing? Women have surpassed men in educational attainment (Allum & Okahana, 2015; Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014; National Center for Education Statistics, 2017), they can control their fertility, and technological advances typically make gender logically irrelevant to most problems and tasks. So why do these gender beliefs continue to linger?

First, as previously mentioned, status beliefs confer important advantages to high-status members, so that they do appear to be more competent and worthy. This allows them to acquire even greater resources, further solidifying the existing status beliefs. Secondly, humans have a tendency to look for evidence that supports their existing beliefs, causing them to be especially prone to discounting evidence that contradicts those beliefs (Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999). In this way, status beliefs lag behind

changes in material progress because many contradictory pieces of evidence have to be given for individuals to reconsider their existing beliefs. Thirdly, gender beliefs lag behind material change because they function as the “rules of the game,” and thus actors feel pressure to behave as if the gender beliefs are accurate to coordinate social interaction, even if the actor does not agree with them. For instance, women have become much more ambitious over the past four decades (Twenge, 2001). However, in public settings—where they are held accountable to gender beliefs, they have been found to depress these ambitious (Bursztyjn, Fujiwara, & Pallais, 2017).

Fourthly, unknown and uncertain situations cause individuals to be especially prone to rely on primary frames, including gender, to make sense of behavior in the situation—since there are fewer institutional norms to guide the interaction—which then re-writes gender beliefs into new forms of interaction. In this way, sites of innovation can be particularly prone to the trap of stereotypical gender beliefs, as they have fewer institutional rules to guide them (Ridgeway, 2011).

And lastly, even when there is change in the specific content of gender stereotypes due to material changes in society, diffuse status beliefs about men’s superior worth and competence continue to confer advantages for men over women. For instance, women have outpaced men in educational attainment. Due to this change, stereotypes about the competence of the average man versus the average woman also changed: while the average man was once presumed to be globally more intelligent than the average woman, now the average man and woman are presumed to have similar levels of cognitive ability (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Yet men remain advantaged, in part because the specific gender beliefs were transformed: there is now more focus on how men are more likely to be *brilliant* than women (Leslie, Cimpian, Meyer, & Freeland, 2015), which advantages men in obtaining positions of prestige and power.

5 The Gender Frame in the Future

Will the gender frame be rendered moot in the future, given the many technological advances in U.S. society and the increasing number of challenges to the gender binary? We argue that while these forces might cause the stereotypes about women and men to change, the importance of the gender frame will remain intact unless we as a society make conscious efforts to interrupt the effects of the gender frame. Thus, we argue that future research should focus on the design of these interventions, with special focus on interventions that take intersectionality into account.

5.1 The Gender Frame in the Internet Era

The number of social interactions that occur in online settings has skyrocketed; for instance, the percentage of Americans who use social networking websites rose from 7% in 2005 to 65% in 2015 (Perrin, 2015). In theory, this could reduce the importance of the gender frame, given that sex category is often not as immediately apparent in online settings and is not as continuously salient, due to the lack of visual gender cues. However, there are often indicators, such as user names and photos, that allow for sex categorization in online settings. And as we would expect, emerging research finds that once knowledge about gender is obtained, it continues to influence the interaction—even if that interaction is occurring virtually. For instance, in online classes in which gender is not physically salient (as students interact with their instructor via the internet), research finds that students continue to use the gender frame to make sense of their professors: professors with female-typed names received lower evaluations, even when the names were randomly assigned (Boring, Ottoni, & Stark, 2016). And even on objective measures—like how long it took to return a paper—instructors with female names were penalized. Other research on Ebay has uncovered similar processes: all else equal, sellers with

female-typed names are paid less for their products, likely because buyers believe that women will be willing to settle for less (Kricheli-Katz & Regev, 2016).

In some ways, the importance of the gender frame may even be magnified on the internet, as there is often little information about other users and there are fewer institutional cues to help guide behavior.

5.2 The Gender Frame and Disruptions to the Gender Binary

It is also possible that the importance of the gender frame will lessen given the increasing number of challenges to the gender binary; in particular, the increasing visibility of people who identify as transgender and present in gender non-conforming ways. And indeed, there is some evidence of increasing acceptance of those who fall outside of the gender binary. While only 5% of Fortune 500 companies had non-discrimination policies that included gender identity or expression in 2003, that number rose to 46% by 2010 (Human Rights Campaign, 2017). And while no states had nondiscrimination provisions for gender identity in 1992, 19 states had provisions by 2017 (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). Additionally, there has been more transgender visibility in the media; for instance, Caitlyn Jenner (a transgender woman) was named one of *Glamour Magazine's* Women of the Year in 2015 (McBee, 2015).

However, research finds that the acceptance of individuals who fall outside of cisgender categories is directly related to the ease with which others can sex categorize them. While there is increasing acceptance of transgender people, the degree of acceptance fades the further they move away from embodying maleness or femaleness (Schilt, 2010). There is even less acceptance for individuals who identify with neither category: Fogarty (2015) finds that there is deep pressure on gender queer individuals to “choose a side,” even from supposedly liberal, open-minded individuals. More troubling research finds that

transgender women are disproportionately the victims of hate violence homicides (Anti Violence Project, 2013). We understand these crimes as an attempt to violently uphold the gender binary.

Given this, it seems unlikely that challenges to the gender binary will cause the gender frame to disappear. Instead, it seems more likely that these challenges will work to change the boundaries of the categories of women and men. In other words, these challenges will alter our understanding of what it means to be either a woman or a man, versus ridding us of the gender frame itself. For instance, straight men now make aesthetic choices that have long been associated with gay men (Rinallo, 2011). While at first these aesthetic choices were seen as inadequately masculine, they have diffused into understandings of modern masculinity. Thus, this challenge to the gender binary slightly changed our understanding of men in modern U.S. society.

5.3 Interrupting the Effects of the Gender Frame

Given that we do not believe that the gender binary and the effects of the gender frame will fade away, it is critically important for future research to focus on elucidating the ways in which we can disrupt the effects of the gender frame that produce inequality. In order to do so, future research must also further our understanding of the effects of intersectionality in micro-level interactions, in order to design interventions that are effective for actual people.

One promising type of intervention would focus on ways to change the stereotypes of women and men, so that there is more overlap in the content of the stereotypes. For instance, perhaps having more examples of powerful women in popular culture could shift stereotypes about women towards agency. However, it is possible that this could inspire backlash, further reifying the belief that women should be nice and not too “dominant.” Future research could address these sorts of quandaries. But perhaps more importantly, future research should explore

changing the stereotypical content of masculinity, so that men can engage in female-typed behavior without penalty. While the stereotypes of women have greatly changed, they have barely budged for men (Glick et al., 2004; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Perhaps encouraging high-status men to engage in stereotypically feminine behavior would be a powerful force for change. For instance, one study found that men are more likely to take paternity leave if they had a brother or co-worker who did so, but that the effect was 2.5 times higher when the peer was a senior manager (Dahl, Løken, & Mogstad, 2014).

Another promising avenue for future study would be to explore the ways in which well-meaning institutions can decrease gender bias. While many institutions are interested in adopting policies to decrease gender bias, there are few concrete suggestions for change and most of these suggestions start at the hiring phase of the process (for instance, policies that remove names from resumes). Future research could focus on determining which sorts of changes to existing institutional policies—perhaps explicitly those around promotion and family leave—are most effective in decreasing bias against women.

While institutional change would be the most powerful force for gender equality, self-interest is also a potent motivator for change. Indeed, some would argue that many of the strides women have made in the past century have been motivated by their own self-interest (England, 2010). Although there is an inherent unfairness about asking women to change themselves to accommodate an unjust system, survival skills can still be immensely useful to the actual women who have no choice but to navigate a gendered society. Future research could focus on illuminating additional survival skills. For instance, while women generally receive backlash when they negotiate, some research has found that the backlash disappears if they negotiate in a sufficiently communal manner (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010).

Lastly, it is of the utmost importance that research explores the effects of intersectionality on these sorts of micro-level processes, given that primary frames and other social differences combine in unexpected ways to produce

nuanced, non-additive stereotypes. These effects are especially complicated because they involve dimensions of both competence and likability (Fiske et al., 2002), and thus produce disadvantage—and advantage—in unexpected ways. For instance, recent research has found bias against Asians in hiring in technical fields (Gee, Peck, & Wong, 2015) and in college admissions (Espenshade & Radford, 2009). This is surprising because Asians are stereotyped as being especially competent at technical tasks (Trytten, Lowe, & Walden, 2012) and school work (Jiménez & Horowitz, 2013). However, it appears that Asians are still disadvantaged because they are not perceived as adequately warm and likable (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Another surprising example (which we noted above) is that African-American women may have more space to engage in male-typed behavior than white women in some circumstances, as research finds that they do not receive a backlash penalty for acting in agentic ways in a position of authority (Livingston et al., 2012). Future research should understand how these processes play out among different combinations of race, gender, and class in order to design effective interventions to disrupt the effects of the gender frame.

6 Conclusions

While there are many forces that contribute to gender inequality, in this chapter we have focused on the micro-level, social psychological processes that continually disadvantage women. We have argued that individuals automatically and unconsciously sex categorize each other, bringing cultural beliefs about gender into all social interactions. Thus, social interactions end up being framed by gender because actors use cultural beliefs about gender to make sense of each other and to navigate social interactions. This results in the recreation of gender inequality in goal-oriented, micro-level groups because these gender beliefs advantage men on male-typed and leadership tasks (which constitute a majority of activities, especially those that

have high status and prestige). Because gender beliefs are brought into all social interactions, the effects of the gender frame are found in domains that range from work to the home. Moreover, the gender frame causes gender inequality to persist even as society changes because gender is always present in social interaction, causing gender beliefs to be rewritten on to new activities. In order to stymie these effects, conscious efforts must be made to disrupt the gender frame. We encourage researchers to study which sorts of disruptions are most effective. While we do not think that change is inevitable, we do think that it is possible.

Acknowledgements We would like to thank Jon Overton for his diligent and thorough work as a research assistant.

References

- Allum, J. R., & Okahana, H. (2015). *Graduate enrollment and degrees: 2004 to 2014*. Washington, DC: Council of Graduate Schools. http://cgsnet.org/ckfinder/userfiles/files/E_and_D_2014_report_final.pdf. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Amanatullah, E. T., & Morris, M. W. (2010). Negotiating gender roles: Gender differences in assertive negotiating are mediated by women's fear of backlash and attenuated when negotiating on behalf of others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *98*, 256–267.
- American Civil Liberties Union. (2017). *Non-discrimination laws: State by state information*. <https://www.aclu.org/map/non-discrimination-laws-state-state-information-map>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Anderson, C., & Willer, R. (2014). Do status hierarchies benefit groups? A bounded functionalist account of status. In J. T. Cheng, J. L. Tracy, & Cameron Anderson (Eds.), *The psychology of social status* (pp. 47–70). New York: Springer.
- Anti Violence Project. (2013). *Hate violence against transgender communities*. http://www.avp.org/storage/documents/ncavp_transhvfactsheet.pdf. Accessed January 17, 2017.
- Berger, J., & Webster, M., Jr. (2006). Expectations, status, and behavior. In P. J. Burke (Ed.), *Contemporary social psychological theories* (pp. 268–300). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bianchi, S. M., Sayer, L. C., Milkie, M. A., & Robinson, J. P. (2012). Housework: Who did, does or will do it, and how much does it matter? *Social Forces*, *91*, 55–63.
- Blair, I. V., & Banaji, M. R. (1996). Automatic and controlled processes in stereotype priming. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*, 1142–1163.
- Boring, A., Ottoboni, K., & Stark, P. B. (2016). Student evaluations of teaching (mostly) do not measure teaching effectiveness. *Science Open*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14293/S2199-1006.1.SOR-EDU.AETBZC.v1>.
- Brewer, M. B., & Lui, L. N. (1989). The primacy of age and sex in the structure of person categories. *Social Cognition*, *7*, 262–274.
- Bursztyjn, L., Fujiwara, T., & Pallais, A. (2017). 'Acting wife': Marriage market incentives and labor market investments. NBER Working Paper No. 23043. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w23043>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Cech, E. A. (2013). The self-expressive edge of occupational sex segregation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *119*, 747–789.
- Cejka, M. A., & Eagly, A. H. (1999). Gender-stereotypic images of occupations correspond to the sex segregation of employment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *25*, 413–423.
- Charles, M., & Grusky, D. (2004). *Occupational ghettos: The worldwide segregation of women and men*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chwe, M. S. (2001). *Rational ritual: Culture, coordination, and common knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Correll, S. J. (2001). Gender and the career choice process: The role of biased self-assessments. *American Journal of Sociology*, *106*, 1691–1730.
- Correll, S. J. (2004). Constraints into preferences: Gender, status, and emerging career aspirations. *American Sociological Review*, *69*, 93–113.
- Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Click, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from Intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 631–648.
- Dahl, G. B., Løken, K. V., & Mogstad, M. (2014). Peer effects in program participation. *American Economic Review*, *104*, 2049–2074.
- Diekmann, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 1171–1188.
- Dwyer, R. (2013). The care economy? Gender, economic restructuring, and job polarization in the U. S. labor market. *American Sociological Review*, *78*, 390–416.
- Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, *24*, 149–166.
- England, P., Budig, M., & Folbre, N. (2002). Wages of virtue: The relative pay of care work. *Social Problems*, *49*, 455–473.
- Espenshade, T. J., & Radford, A. W. (2009). *No longer separate, not yet equal: Race and class in elite college admission and campus life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from

- perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 878–902.
- Fiske, S. T., Lin, M., & Neuberg, S. (1999). The continuum model: Ten years later. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual process theories in social psychology* (pp. 231–254). New York: Guilford.
- Fogarty, A. C. K. (2015). *Gender ambiguity in the workplace: Trans and genderqueer discrimination* (Ph.D. dissertation). Stanford University, Stanford.
- Galinsky, A., Hall, E. V., & Cuddy, A. (2013). Gendered races: Implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological Science*, 24, 498–506.
- Gee, B., Peck, D., & Wong, J. (2015). *Hidden in plain sight: Asian American leaders in Silicon Valley*. Charleston, SC: The Ascend Foundation. http://cymcdn.com/sites/ascendleadership.site-ym.com/resource/resmgr/Research/HiddenInPlainSight_Paper_042.pdf. Accessed February 28, 2017.
- Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., et al. (2004). Bad but bold: Ambivalent attitudes toward men predict gender inequality in 16 nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86, 713–728.
- Hall, E., Galinsky, A., & Phillips, K. (2015). Gender profiling: A gendered race perspective on person-position fit. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41, 853–868.
- Harkness, S. K. (2016). Discrimination in lending markets: Status and the intersections of gender and race. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 79, 81–93.
- Hegewisch, A., & Hartmann, H. (2014). *Occupational segregation and the gender wage gap: A job half done*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/occupational-segregation-and-the-gender-wage-gap-a-job-half-done>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Hogg, M. A. (2003). Intergroup relations. In J. D. DeLamater (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 479–502). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Huber, J. (2007). *On the origins of gender inequality*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Human Rights Campaign. (2017). *Workplace discrimination laws and policies*. <http://www.hrc.org/resources/Workplace-Discrimination-Policies-Laws-and-Legislation>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Ito, T. A., & Urland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain: Electrocortical measures of attention to the race and gender of multiply categorizable individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 616–626.
- Jiménez, T. R., & Horowitz, A. L. (2013). When white is just alright: How immigrants redefine achievement and reconfigure the ethnoracial hierarchy. *American Sociological Review*, 78, 849–871.
- Kricheli-Katz, T., & Regev, T. (2016). How many cents on the dollar? Women and men in product markets. *Science Advances*, 2(2), e1500599.
- Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? A goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 522–554.
- Leslie, S., Cimpian, A., Meyer, M., & Freeland, E. (2015). Expectations of brilliance underlie gender distributions across academic disciplines. *Science*, 347, 262–265.
- Levanon, A., England, P., & Allison, P. (2009). Occupational feminization and pay: Assessing causal dynamics using 1950–2000 U.S. census data. *Social Forces*, 88, 865–891.
- Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S. Y., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 34–47.
- Linza, N., & Neljesjö, C. (2012, November 30). M/M interview with Kent Bergsma. *Manner of Man Magazine*. <http://mannerofman.blogspot.com/2012/11/mm-interview-with-kent-bergsma.html>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic black woman get ahead? The impact of race and interpersonal dominance on perceptions of female leaders. *Psychological Science*, 23, 354–358.
- Lopez, M. H., & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2014). *Women's college enrollment gains leave men behind*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/06/womens-college-enrollment-gains-leave-men-behind/>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Social hierarchy: The self-reinforcing nature of power and status. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 2, 351–398.
- McBee, T. P. (2015, October 29). Caitlyn Jenner, trans champion: “Maybe this is why God put me on earth”. *Glamour*. <http://www.glamour.com/story/caitlyn-jenner>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Milkie, M. A. (1999). Social comparisons, reflected appraisals, and mass media: The impact of pervasive beauty images on black and white girls' self-concepts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62, 190–210.
- Moss-Racusin, C. A., Dovidio, J. F., Brescoll, V. L., Graham, M. J., & Handelsman, J. (2012). Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109, 16474–16479.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2017). *Fast facts*. <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=27>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Newman, G. (2016, April 13). Why my videogame chooses your character's race and gender for you. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/13/videogame-chooses-character-race-gender-rust>. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Pager, D. (2007). *Marked: Race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Perrin, A. (2015). *Social media usage: 2005–2015*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/06/social-media-usage-2005-2015/>.

- pewinternet.org/2015/10/08/social-networking-usage-2005-2015/. Accessed January 16, 2017.
- Powell, G. N., Butterfield, D. A., & Parent, J. D. (2002). Gender and managerial stereotypes: Have the times changed? *Journal of Management*, 28, 177–193.
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269–281.
- Rashotte, L. S., & Webster, M. (2005). Gender status beliefs. *Social Science Research*, 34, 618–633.
- Reuben, E., Sapienza, P., & Zingales, L. (2014). How stereotypes impair women's careers in science. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 111, 4403–4408.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L., Boyle, E. H., Kuipers, K., & Robinson, D. T. (1998). How do status beliefs develop? The role of resources and interactional experience. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 331–350.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on cultural beliefs and social relations. *Gender and Society*, 18, 510–531.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Fisk, S. R. (2012). Class rules, status dynamics, and “gateway” interactions. In S. T. Fiske & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction* (pp. 131–151). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender and Society*, 27, 294–318.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Nakagawa, S. (2014). Status. In J. D. McLeod, E. J. Lawler, & M. Schwalbe (Eds.), *Handbook of the social psychology of inequality* (pp. 3–25). New York: Springer.
- Rinallo, D. (2011). Metro/fashion/tribes of men: Negotiating the boundaries of men's legitimate consumption. In B. Cova, R. Kozinets, & A. Shankar (Eds.), *Consumer tribes* (pp. 76–92). New York: Routledge.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18, 429–450.
- Rudman, L. A., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Nauts, S. (2012). Status incongruity and backlash effects: Defending the gender hierarchy motivates prejudice against female leaders. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48, 165–179.
- Schneider, D. J. (2004). *The psychology of stereotyping*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Schilt, K. (2010). *Just one of the guys? Transgender men and the persistence of gender inequality*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Spence, J. T., & Buckner, C. E. (2000). Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes, and sexist attitudes: What do they signify? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24, 44–62.
- Stangor, C., Lynch, L., Duan, C., & Glass, B. (1992). Categorization of individuals on the basis of multiple social features. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 207–218.
- Stryker, S., & Vryan, K. D. (2003). The symbolic interactionist frame. In J. DeLamater (Ed.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 3–28). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Trytten, D. A., Lowe, A. W., & Walden, S. E. (2012). “Asians are good at math. What an awful stereotype”: The model minority stereotype's impact on Asian American engineering students. *Journal of Engineering Education*, 101, 439–468.
- Twenge, J. M. (2001). Changes in women's assertiveness in response to status and roles: A cross-temporal meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 133–145.
- Wagner, D. G., & Berger, J. (1997). Gender and interpersonal task behaviors: Status expectation accounts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 40, 1–32.
- Walker, L. S., Doerer, S., & Webster, M. (2014). Status, participation, and influence in task groups. *Sociological Perspectives*, 57, 364–381.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1, 125–151.

Susan R. Fisk is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Kent State University. Her research focuses on understanding how gendered processes influence decision making, with special focus on how organizational practices can trigger or dampen these gender differences in behavior. She is particularly interested in studying the connection between gender, risk-taking, and inequality.

Cecilia L. Ridgeway is the Lucie Stern Professor of Social Sciences, Emerita, in the Department of Sociology at Stanford University. Her research addresses the role that social status in everyday interaction plays in stratification and inequality, especially in regard to gender. She is the author of *Framed By Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World* (Oxford, 2011) among other publications. A current book project is titled, *Status: Why is It Everywhere? Why Does It Matter?*

Jocelyn A. Hollander

Abstract

Interactional accountability, a concept derived from ethnomethodology, is the foundation of the doing gender perspective. Although often overlooked or misunderstood, it provides the motivation for doing gender, a mechanism for social control, and the link between interaction and social structure. This chapter provides an overview of how accountability has been used in sociology and in scholarship on gender. Accountability involves ongoing *orientation* to the expectations associated with sex category membership, *assessment* of behavior, (i.e., the production of accounts that compare behavior to expectations), and *enforcement* or the interactional consequences of the match between expectations and behavior. Schwalbe's notion of "nets of accountability" further extends the concept of accountability, illuminating how the embeddedness of interaction in social networks functions to reproduce inequality across time and social context. Although resistance to expectations is always possible, the individual consequences may be substantial. Nonetheless, resistance does occur, and points the way to how gender can

change. Further development of work on accountability requires attention to the ongoing, back-and-forth nature of interactional processes.

1 What Is Accountability?

Accountability is a perplexing term, used in multiple ways, with a technical meaning that is quite different from how most people understand it and use it in everyday talk. Within sociology, accountability is the core of one of the leading theoretical approaches to gender, the "doing gender" perspective, but it is often overlooked or misunderstood. In this chapter, I review the multiple meanings of accountability, describe how it is used within sociology, and then discuss its foundational role within the doing gender approach.

The everyday meaning of accountability is, simply, responsibility: "*Accountability*: The principle of holding people responsible for having participated in, contributed to, or effected an occurrence. To be accountable is to be liable for what has taken place" (Sullivan, n.d.). In this usage, to be "held accountable" for one's behavior is to be liable for its consequences, be they positive or negative. For example, those who commit crimes may be required to pay a fine or serve time in prison; those who make mistakes at work may be censured or fired.

J. A. Hollander (✉)
University of Oregon, Eugene,
OR 97403-1291, USA
e-mail: jocelynh@uoregon.edu

A more nuanced definition of accountability is that it is the state of being “subject to the obligation to report, explain, or justify something; responsible; answerable” (Accountable, 2017)—in other words, to be obliged to provide an *account* for it. An account is an explanation of social behavior, whether one’s own or others’ (Scott & Lyman, 1968, 46; see also Heritage, 1983). Accounts may be spoken or written, or may simply be “those non-vocalized but linguistic explanations that arise in an actor’s ‘mind’ when he [sic] questions his own behavior” (Scott & Lyman, 1968, 46–47). In any case, accounts are pervasive in social life; we are constantly explaining our own and others’ behavior in order to make meaningful what we perceive around us. One is *accountable* for something, then, when one can be required to explain it. As Mills (1940) notes, explicit demands for accounts—as well as people’s conscious consideration of their own motives—typically occur only when something has gone awry and smooth social interaction has been disrupted. For example, an employee may be “called on the carpet” to explain a problem in the workplace, a public servant may be required to testify before a congressional committee investigating an alleged breach, or a child may be ordered to explain their misbehavior. Here, “punishment may not necessarily follow the accounting; it is the explanation that is key. A satisfactory account is thus needed to keep interaction from going awry, or to put it back on track” (Schwalbe, 2016, 109).

Not just any account is acceptable, however. Accounts entail descriptions of motive, and as Weber argued, motives are social: “A satisfactory or adequate motive... *tends to be one which is to the actor and to the other members of a situation an unquestioned answer to questions concerning social and lingual conduct*” (Mills, 1940, 907; italics in original). There are shared and situated “vocabularies of motive” that are common to particular institutions and located in concrete social situations. It might be acceptable in corporate America, for example, to explain one’s erratic behavior as the result of fatigue or despair, but not possession by the devil. Possession might

be an appropriate account, however, within a specific religious group. Indeed, “particular institutions and organisations can be relevantly viewed as bounded (or better, ‘quasi-bounded’) frameworks of accounting practices” (Heritage, 1983, 127).¹ Scott and Lyman (1968) detail a useful typology of the various types of excuses and justifications that comprise accounts, such as appeals to biological drives or denials of injury.

In ethnomethodology, accountability has a still more specific meaning: accountable behavior is behavior that is, literally, account-able (Garfinkel, 1967)—that is, behavior that can be described in a way that makes sense to participants within the local context. In other words, it is behavior that is socially intelligible. During interaction, actors “generate continuously updated implicit understandings of what is happening in social interaction—a “running index,” as it were, of what is happening in a social event... The overt descriptions and explanations (or “accounts”) which actors provide for their actions must, if they are to “make sense,” articulate with these already established implicit understandings” (Heritage, 1990, 26). These understandings are generally unarticulated, except when there is an actual or anticipated failure to behave in accountable ways. It is in these moments that explicit accounts are provided for behavior, or that people are “called to account”—literally, demands are made that they provide an explanation—for their socially unintelligible behavior. A parent’s frustrated exclamation of “What on earth were you thinking?” illustrates this demand in shorthand. There is a large literature in conversation analysis dedicated to the exploration of

¹It follows that people’s accounts for their behavior may not provide a transparent window on their actual motives. “Explanations for action are not the freely created products of introspection, nor yet depiction of the psychological well-springs of action. On the contrary, they are occasioned and produced under specific circumstances and their content is specifically social in being tied to particular roles and institutions and in being subject to alteration as a product of historical change” (Heritage, 1983, 118). Accounts can therefore be seen as an indicator not of any kind of “truth” or “reality,” but of the situation’s normative accountability structure.

how, precisely, accounts are deployed and interpreted in social interaction (see, e.g., Antaki, 1994; Heritage, 1983, 1990; Robinson, 2016a).

Up to this point, the ethnomethodological conceptualization of accountability parallels the second lay definition above. Where they diverge, however, is in ethnomethodology's key insight that forward-thinking actors' expectation of future accountability guides their behavioral choices in the present. Actors anticipate the potential future need to provide legible accounts for their behavior, and their anticipation of others' reactions guides their own behavior so as to ensure that it will be intelligible to others (Heritage, 1984; Mills, 1940; Robinson, 2016a). Thus one need not be actually called to account for one's behavior to have that behavior shaped by accountability structures. Examples of anticipatory accountability are legion: consider, for example, a teenager's selection of clothing based on the projected reactions of her friends, a young man's boasting about his sexual exploits to forestall judgments about his virility, or a corporate discussion about the need to avoid the appearance of a conflict of interest when making business decisions. In each case, people consider how others will likely perceive this behavior (i.e., the accounts they will likely construct) before deciding on a course of action. And when individuals fear that their behavior in the moment may be perceived as problematic by others, they react on the fly to try to influence how this behavior is interpreted: "the individual is likely to try to integrate the incongruous events by means of apologies, little excuses for self, and disclaimers" (Goffman, 1961, 51).

Accountability, in this ethnomethodological sense, thus serves important social functions, making joint action possible, rendering social behavior intelligible, and helping to maintain social relations and solidarity (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1990). Indeed, Heritage argues that "the social world, indeed what counts as social reality itself, is managed, maintained, and acted upon through the medium of ordinary descriptions" (1984, 137), which "play a crucial role in maintaining the foundations of social organisation itself" (1990, 41). Accountability is also a potent

means of social control. To be called to account is to be identified as violating the normative expectations of a situation. Failing to provide a satisfactory account risks not only punishment, but also "being discredited as incompetent, immoral, or insane... To be discredited in these ways is to risk not only practical effectiveness in dealing with others, but also the side bets² and identity stakes that ride on social acceptance and situational cooperation" (Schwalbe, 2016, 110). But one need not be actually called to account for accountability to control one's behavior—or one's thoughts. In most everyday circumstances, there is no need for external discipline to ensure that people meet normative expectations; actors control themselves in anticipation of the imagined consequences of failure. In most circumstances, actors are unaware of this management in the moment, because "our expectations about others' possible evaluations of us become incorporated into our sense of the 'rightness' of our behavior" (Hollander, 2013, 4; see also Mills, 1940). As a result, according to Enfield, accountability is "arguably the single most important causal mechanism in establishing the norms and conventions that define our social, cultural, and linguistic worlds" (Enfield, 2016, vii).

There are thus three related, but quite distinct, approaches to accountability: as liability for behavior, as obligation to explain behavior, and as social framework for behavior that balances on the anticipated need for socially intelligible explanations. Writers rarely specify which approach they are taking, and as a result their writing on accountability is often confused and confusing. In sociology, the concept of accountability has been used predominantly within conversation analysis, where scholars have studied how accounts function in everyday interaction (see Robinson, 2016b for a recent collection on this topic). The major exception has been the study of gender, where accountability forms the (often unacknowledged) foundation of

²Side bets include respect from significant others, feelings of purpose and independence, group memberships, friendships, enjoyable leisure activities, and so on; see Schwalbe 2016.

the “doing gender” approach. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the use of accountability to explain the enduring, omnipresent nature of gender and other structures of inequality in interaction and social life.

2 Gender Accountability

In their groundbreaking article “Doing Gender,” Candace West and Don Zimmerman proposed an entirely new conception of gender: that it is not an individual characteristic or social role, but an activity, “something that one does, and does recurrently, in interaction with others” (1987, 140). Thirty years later, “Doing Gender” remains the most cited article that *Gender & Society* has ever published. Less recognized, however, is the centrality of the ethnomethodological concept of accountability to the doing gender approach. As West and Zimmerman wrote, “To be successful, marking or displaying gender must be finely fitted to situations and modified or transformed as the occasion demands. Doing gender consists of managing such occasions so that, whatever the particulars, the outcome is seen and seeable in context as gender-appropriate or, as the case may be, gender inappropriate, that is, *accountable*... Societal members orient to the fact that their activities are subject to comment. Actions are often designed with an eye to their accountability, that is, how they might look and how they might be categorized” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 135–36, italics in original). Because the sex category³ of actors is “omnirelevant,” then “a person engaged in virtually any activity may be held accountable for performance of that activity as a woman or a man, and their incumbency in one or the other sex category can be used to legitimate or discredit their other activities” (p. 136). It is worth noting here that “actors” may

be institutions as well as individuals: “As representations of collective action, institutions are subject to gendering in the presentation of their “essential” characters, and are thus assessed (and behave as *if* they are assessable) in relation to gender” (Fenstermaker & Budesca, 2015).

Generally, the gender expectations to which people are accountable are highly situated—that is, attuned to the specific interactional context. Thus, while there is a general sense that women are and should be nurturing, and men are and should be tough and dominant, what exactly nurturance and toughness mean varies across situations, and in some situations very different behaviors and qualities are expected from women and men. For example, the expectation that men appear tough would manifest very differently depending on whether a man is meeting with a potential employer, playing ice hockey, or roughhousing with a young child. Moreover, the gender expectations to which people are held are always inflected by their intersecting structural positions—their social class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, and many other identities. Thus there are no universal, transsituational gender expectations that drive gender accountability; unsituated gender ideals are always fitted to the identity of the actors and the local, concrete social context (see Hollander & Fenstermaker, 2018). Not all such contexts involve face-to-face interaction; Stabile’s analysis of online game playing (2013) makes clear that mediated interactions are also subject to accountability demands, even when players never actually see or hear each other. Although the details of what constitutes appropriate gendered behavior varies across time, space, and social group, gender itself—that is, the idea that men and women are naturally and essentially different—is omnipresent, and these beliefs maintain gender inequality.

The motivation for doing gender in everyday life, then, is people’s knowledge that others may, at any moment, evaluate their behavior relative to normative conceptions of gender, whatever those mean in the given situation. And these evaluations are deeply consequential: being evaluated as gender-inappropriate can bring tremendous social stigma and sanction, from disapproval or

³Note that “sex category” refers not to biological characteristics but to the “ongoing identification of person as girls or boys and women or men in everyday life” (West and Fenstermaker 1995a, 20)—that is, to the category to which one is *perceived by others* to belong. The doing gender approach thus does not reify sex categories, but understands them to be interactional constructs.

disgust to ostracism to violence and, quite literally, death—witness the frequency of the murder of transgender individuals. Failing to behave in ways that are accountable may challenge one's entitlement to claim particular identities and may also threaten one's other relationships and entitlements (Schwalbe, 2005), as well as one's positive sense of oneself (Johnson, 2010). The personal stakes for noncompliance are high, which often "makes compliance the least interactively costly option" (Schwalbe, Godwin, Holden, Schrock, Thompson, & Wolkomir, 2000, 442), even when that compliance works to uphold a system in which one is unequal. There are collective stakes as well: when one member of a category fails to meet accountability demands, other members' identity claims may be weakened. Schwalbe writes that "In boyhood teasing, in sports, in struggles for wealth and status, and in war, males call each other to account for the manliness of their behavior. To show weakness or fear is to fall short, though such failure may be more than individual. A poor manhood act is also a failure to uphold the impression of male superiority. It is thus not only an individual male's identity stakes that ride on being seen as a fully creditable man. Every male's sense of superiority, as well as his privileged position in a binary gender system, depends in part on other men signifying masculine selves. No wonder males aggressively hold each other accountable as men" (2005, 78). And no wonder, Schwalbe writes, that "non-elite members of dominant groups become invested in doing their part to uphold the systems of inequality in which they too suffer, while benefiting only marginally" (2005, 79).

Thus the doing gender framework understands accountability in its ethnomethodological sense: as the actor's ongoing orientation to the expectations associated with sex category, not simply the event of other people holding the actor responsible for their behavior. The process of accountability starts *before* the action itself; accountability is not only something that happens *after* a behavior has occurred, but involves the design of the behavior itself. Only when people's behavior deviates significantly from what is

expected are they actually called to account for it; most of the time, they discipline themselves through the anticipation of potential consequences.

Doing gender is ubiquitous; it is difficult to imagine a situation in which expectations for gendered behavior are not present. Jenness and Fenstermaker (2014), in an analysis of transwomen incarcerated in a men's prison, found that even under these extreme circumstances, their respondents continued to do gender so as to be socially recognized by others as women. Despite the fact that everyone with whom they came in contact was aware of their transgender status, they all engaged in accountability processes that invoked conventional sex categories. Transgender inmates engaged in "a competitive pursuit of femininity that does not constitute 'passing' but does involve accountability to a normative standard and a 'ladylike' ideal... The result is achievement of a *recognition* from others that one is close enough to a 'real girl' to feel deserving of a kind of privilege" (Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2014, 7). These prisoners' accomplishment of trans-femininity despite the constraints of a sex segregated environment "evinces the ubiquity and tenacity of 'doing gender'" and "illuminat[es] the body's capacity to transcend institutional limits in order to create and reaffirm the categorical distinctions between men and women" (Fenstermaker & Budesa, 2015).

Despite the centrality of accountability to West and Zimmerman's formulation of doing gender, the concept has been mostly ignored in other scholars' use of the approach. At best, most give it only a perfunctory mention, focusing principally on the performative *doing* of gender and not the interactional and institutional expectations that structure that doing (Wickes & Emmison, 2007). In addition, when scholars do discuss accountability, they generally invoke its lay meaning of responsibility or accusation, not the ethnomethodological conception of orientation and social legibility that West and Zimmerman intended. This may be, in part, because West and colleagues provide a relatively terse description of the workings of accountability for an audience that is largely unfamiliar with ethnomethodology, whose

detail and nuance can be opaque for the uninitiated. The few exceptions include Walzer's (1998) analysis of mothering, in which she argues that new mothers do more "thinking about the baby" (i.e., the work of worrying, acquiring and processing information about baby care, and managing the division of baby-related labor) than new fathers—not because women and men are naturally different, but because these activities are part of expectations for "good mothers" but not "good fathers." Because women know they are accountable to these expectations, they manage their behavior so as to be seen by others (and by themselves) as good mothers (see also Christopher, 2012). Similarly, Brines' (1994) analysis of the division of household labor among heterosexual couples finds that when women out-earn men, both partners tend to compensate for violating gender expectations by engaging in a traditional division of household labor, thus rendering their overall behavior more consonant with gender expectations.

To clarify the role of accountability in doing gender, Hollander (2013) proposes conceptualizing accountability as a three-part interactional system that includes (1) *orientation* to sex category, as described by West and colleagues; (2) *assessment*, or the production of accounts that compare behavior to expectations, and (3) *enforcement*, or the interactional consequences of conformity or nonconformity to these expectations. These consequences may range from disapproving looks to physical violence or exclusion. In all cases, however, these moments of enforcement represent attempts to control behavior by challenging its fit with situated gender expectations. Cook (2006), for example, describes "accountability rituals" that involve challenges to an actor's sex category membership. When a boy is teased by being called a "sissy," for instance, this labeling triggers an "accountability ritual" in which the boy must respond—providing evidence that he does, indeed, belong in the social category "male"—or be excluded from social acceptability (see also Jones, 2010; Messerschmidt, 2004; Pascoe, 2007). Similarly, Lucal (1999) describes the challenges she often receives as a masculine-appearing woman when she uses women's

bathrooms. In response, she writes, she orients herself to the possibility of assessment, often modifying her behavior to preempt possible challenges by, for example, rearranging her clothes to make her breasts more obvious before entering the bathroom.

3 Accountability and Power

Of course, not everyone can require others to explain themselves, and not everyone is equally vulnerable to being called to account. Accountability is intertwined with power, and those with more power or those in particular institutional positions may be shielded from accountability demands, at the same time as they can compel accountability from others (Cook, 2006; Scott & Lyman, 1968). Moreover, there are often struggles "about whose version of the normative regulatory order will prevail" (Schwalbe, 2005, 72). Accountability, then, is about claiming the power to define both the situation and the actors involved in it. Actors tend to orient their accountability practices to powerful actors. For example, Martin's (2003) analysis of how men practice gender in organizations found that men were oriented mainly to other men: "men targeted peacocking and self-promoting masculinities only to men, but they targeted dominating and expropriating masculinities to both women and men. They targeted affiliating masculinities only to men; they visited with men in search of resources, 'sucked up' to men, and offered other men protection and support; but they did not act in these ways toward women. *The audience(s) to whom/that men hold themselves accountable at work relative to gender is, my research suggests, primarily other men*" (Martin, 2003, 358, italics added).

4 Accountability and Other Inequalities

In 1995, West and Fenstermaker proposed extending the "doing gender" approach to other social categories, focusing principally on race

and class. Framing this approach as “doing difference,” they presented a series of extended examples demonstrating how people orient themselves to race and class during everyday interaction, and how their behavior is subject to evaluation based on shared expectations for these categories. People have preconceived ideas about what those they perceive to belong to a particular race or class category should look, behave, and *be* like. They use those ideas to manage their own behavior and to assess others’ behavior—and, if others’ behavior violates those normative conceptions, call them to account.

West and Fenstermaker’s attempt to extend the doing gender framework to race and class met with tremendous criticism for, among other claims, a perceived failure to account for structure and history (see Collins, Maldonado, Takagi, Thorne, Weber, & Winant, 1995). West and Fenstermaker’s reply to these critics (1995b) centered on the concept of accountability. It is accountability, they maintained, that links interaction with institutions and social structure. Although difference is “done” in interaction, “accountability is a feature of social relationships, and its idiom comes from the institutional arena in which those relationships are brought to life. The doing of gender, race and class is therefore a mechanism through which situated social action contributes to the reproduction of social structure” (West & Fenstermaker, 2002, 541). The normative expectations that drive accountability processes are the local manifestation of the gendered social structure; interactions are not free-floating but are shaped and constrained by history and social institutions. But the relationship between interaction and structure is not simply top-down, with structure simply furnishing the “idiom” for doing gender. As Schwalbe argues in his pointed discussion of inequality (2000), the doing of gender, and specifically the role of accountability in its doing, creates and preserves social structures of inequality. Without understanding *how* structures of inequality are created and maintained, he argues, we have not understood inequality. And to understand this *how*, it is necessary to look at interaction. “What we come to see as race, class,

and gender are, if anything, outcomes. What they come out of are patterns of joint action, patterns created and sustained strategically and inadvertently” (Schwalbe, 2000, 778). Interactions are not simply the micro-level consequences of inequality; they are, quite literally, the way that inequality, and the social structures that maintain it, happen. Because critics of the doing gender approach misunderstand the fundamental importance of accountability, they fail to understand the institutional roots and implications of doing difference.

A recent article by Cottingham, Johnson, and Taylor (2016) extends the reach of accountability to the realm of sexuality, focusing on how people do gender and sexuality at work. The authors use the example of men nurses who, they say, are subject to two related, but sometimes conflicting, accountability structures: one stemming from the stereotype that all men in feminine occupations are gay, and one based on stereotypes about male hypersexuality. Together, these stereotypes create a “labyrinth of accountability” for these nurses (2016, 546). The authors describe how their respondents orient to these two sets of expectations, managing their behavior so as to avoid any perception that the intimate touch required by their job is at all sexual, while simultaneously avoiding being perceived as gay. Cottingham et al. introduce the concept of “heteronormative labor” to summarize the cognitive, emotional, and discursive work that people do “as a result of the heteronormative assumptions embedded in organizations” (2016, 545). Ultimately, these strategies end up reproducing heteronormativity.

5 Accountability as Interactional Process

Conceptualizing accountability as a three-part system emphasizes that interaction lies at the center of accountability and thus, of doing gender. Accountability is not simply an action but an interactional process: An actor perceives a set of expectations as relevant to the current situation, and anticipates how others might respond to

various courses of behavior in light of those expectations. Based on these perceptions and anticipations, the actor manages their behavior to meet (or not meet, as the case may be) those expectations. Others in the situation assess that behavior based on their own understandings of what is appropriate to the situation. If they perceive the behavior to be consonant with expectations, they may provide positive evaluations (smiles, praise, material rewards, or simply smooth continued interaction); if they perceive it to violate those expectations, they may call the actor to account for their behavior and may implement negative consequences ranging from social disapproval to physical violence. But the process does not end there: the original actor may respond to these attempts at enforcement—whether with shame and acceptance of consequences, with an attempt at repair, or with resistance. The interaction continues in this back-and-forth manner, and it is the total interactional process—not simply the observer’s implementation of consequences—that constitutes accountability. Moreover, these processes are multidirectional: at the same time as the first actor is orienting to sex category, anticipating others’ assessment, and experiencing enforcement, they are simultaneously assessing those others and anyone else in the social context.

Gender, then, is an interactional, collaborative accomplishment among multiple actors that involves cognition (shared understandings of situated expectations and perceptions of self and other), emotion (anticipated or actual emotional consequences of being assessed and evaluated), and behavior (management and enforcement of behavior in interaction). However, it is never complete. When different people join or leave an interaction, when expectations shift, or when the social context otherwise changes, the social legibility of a particular behavior may also change. As a result, individuals and behaviors can never be “accountable” in more than a momentary sense. As Jenness and Fenstermaker observed with regard to transgender prisoners, “the effort to be recognized as ‘a lady’ is not something one finally achieves, but pursues as an ongoing proposition” (Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2014, 14).

Centering accountability thus moves our understanding of doing gender from an individual performance—as it is too frequently understood—to an ongoing, collaborative accomplishment that involves multiple actors and the social expectations to which they are subject. Even those scholars who talk about interactional accountability in an ethnomethodological sense often examine only one individual’s reaction to another’s expectations, or sometimes the management of situated conduct, rather than the unfolding back-and-forth process of interaction (Hollander, 2002). Wickes and Emmison (2007) go so far as to suggest that researching how gender is done requires observational methods that capture interaction as it occurs; other methods, such as interviews, “will not yield data that are ontologically consistent with the essence of the concept as a routine accomplishment of everyday interaction” (2007, 319–20). One of the very few pieces of scholarship to actually examine the ongoing course of interaction is West and Fenstermaker’s (2002) analysis of a meeting of the University of California Board of Regents on the topic of affirmative action. In their detailed excerpts from that meeting, it is possible to see how people orient themselves to gender, class, and race category membership, call others to account, and resist being called to account by categorizing themselves and others as members of social groups—in other words, the total interactional process of accountability.

6 Resistance

Although much scholarship on doing gender and other forms of inequality focuses on how people fit their behavior to expectations, compliance is not the only possible outcome of accountability processes. Resistance is always possible, though fraught with danger. West and Zimmerman are not sanguine about the possibilities of resistance specifically *because* of the functioning of accountability. In their original article, they write that, “If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based

on sex category. If we fail to do gender appropriately, we as individuals—not the institutional arrangements—may be called to account (for our character, motives, and predispositions” (1987, 146). The deck is therefore stacked against resistance, whose consequences are likely to be serious for the individual but negligent for the structures against which they resist. Indeed, Wilkins, Mollborn, and Bó (2014) note that the application of consequences reaffirms those structures: “To critique a behavior for not being ladylike is not to suggest that a social actor is *not* in the category woman but rather to perpetuate ideas about appropriate gendered behavior; thus, the assessment of even categorically discrepant behavior *perpetuates* difference” (p. 138).

Even when people attempt to resist gender expectations—or to disrupt them altogether—they may nonetheless be held accountable to those expectations by others, as Connell (2010) found in her interviews with transpeople about their negotiation of gender at work. Interviewees who were “stealth” at work (in other words, they did not disclose to others that they were transgender, nor did they believe that others identified them as transgender) reported being subject to the same accountability demands as cisgender people in the workplace. Participants who were “out” in the workplace, even when they self-consciously resisted normative gender expectations, often found that “other participants in the interaction uph[e]ld gender accountability by resisting or reinterpreting discordant gender cues” (p. 42). Indeed, Connell suggests that out transpeople may be even more subject to gender accountability in interaction than cisgender people, who may be allowed more latitude in how they do gender. Thus, “simply *being* transgender does not necessarily disrupt doing gender” (Connell, 2010, 42). These findings reaffirm the importance of seeing gender accountability as an interactional process. While an individual transperson may intend to disrupt gender, others may not permit this resistance to succeed, enforcing normative expectations instead of the new expectations to which the individual hopes to be held accountable (Hollander, 2002). Connell’s research thus demonstrates “how

intractable the gender order is, regardless of the subversive intentions of individuals struggling within it” (p. 52).

Despite the difficulties facing those who would resist, resistance is always an option. Lucal’s (1999) analysis of her own gender presentation, for example, shows how individuals can attempt to subvert gender—as well as what the individual costs may be. Walzer (2008) finds that divorce can generate new expectations for behavior; she calls this a “redoing” of gender because “people remain cognizant of the possibility of gender assessment, but they describe changes in their own perceptions of the inappropriateness of their gender violations, such as living without a relationship partner. They hold themselves to different standards on the other side of marriage” (Walzer, 2008, 6). This “redoing” results not only from individual behaviors but from changing relationships, such as moving away from “interactions as husband and wife.” Similarly, Hollander (2013) argues that women’s self-defense training can “redo” gender by transforming expectations about how women and men should behave—and by providing new communities that share these new expectations. Learning to defend themselves verbally and physically changes women’s expectations for themselves and others; as a result, they behave differently, and their unexpected behavior sparks different reactions from others in interaction. As a result, the course of interaction changes, and the new expectations can spread across situations and to other people. Thus understanding accountability processes helps us see not only why gender is difficult to resist, but how and where change might be possible, countering charges that the doing gender approach necessarily implies gender stability (Collins et al. 1995; Deutsch, 2007).

7 Nets of Accountability

To explain how systems of inequality are reproduced, Schwalbe introduces the concept of “nets of accountability,” by which he means webs of interacting and mutually reinforcing accountability demands that operate across social contexts. Actors are always embedded in extended

networks of relationships across which there is ongoing communication and coordination (Schwalbe, 2016; Schwalbe & Shay, 2014). The accountability demands of any particular interaction, then, are embedded in the potential or actual demands of all the other relationships in that social network—demands that derive not only from personal interactions, but from institutional positions and relationships. A teacher who calls a student to account for their behavior, for example, acts within the net of accountability that includes the student’s and the teacher’s relationships with other teachers and students, school officials, and parents. Depending on the situation, it may also include child welfare workers, police officers, college admissions officers, religious leaders, immigration officials, medical professionals, or potential employers. “What is operating here, *across situations*, is a net of accountability that keeps everyone in line—everyone, that is, who cares about reaping the benefits that ride on continued participation in the activity system called ‘school’” (Schwalbe & Shay, 2014, 172).

Schwalbe notes that nets of accountability have a “double reality: as symbols and as lines of joint action” (2000, 780). Most of the time, these nets simply form the taken-for-granted background of everyday life, a community’s shared knowledge about “who can and will be held accountable by whom.” (Schwalbe, 2005, 68) When a participant in an interaction describes the possible consequences that may ensue from a course of action—for example, a manager’s threat that “if you don’t leave now, I’ll call security to remove you, and then you’ll be fired” (Schwalbe, 2000, 780)—they symbolically invoke a net of accountability. If the participant actually puts that threat into action—which involves communication across time and social situations—then the net of accountability becomes manifested in joint action. And of course, actors’ mutual awareness of these nets, and how they can be activated, shapes behavior even when they are not explicitly invoked. “Who can confidently demand deference from whom, who can claim the prerogatives of higher social value, who can safely express contempt for whom, and who can make demands of whom depend not just on

shared norms but on the larger pattern of relationships, often legally codified, within which every encounter is embedded. These extra-structural relationships are invisible structural presences in every encounter” (Schwalbe & Shay, 2014, 173). Nets of accountability, Schwalbe says—the coordinated action of many people, communicating across situations—are what sustains inequality and social structures: “The concept of nets of accountability thus provides a theoretical link between the production of order in situations and the production of order on larger scales... What we call ‘social structures’ are what they are, we might say, only by virtue of the nets of accountability that enable and constrain the people who are caught in them” (Schwalbe, 2016, 116).

8 Conclusion

Accountability is a concept that has been too often overlooked or misunderstood. Its neglect is in part due to confusion between its everyday meaning of responsibility and its technical meaning, which adds the important elements of description, social legitimacy, and orientation. Even in the sociology of gender, where the ethnomethodological conceptualization of accountability was explicit in West and Zimmerman’s original statement of doing gender, the term has been misunderstood and misused. In order to realize its explanatory power, accountability must be understood to encompass orientation and assessment as well as enforcement. Without accountability, doing gender is just performance. Accountability supplies the motivation for the doing of gender, the shared normative structures that inform the doing, and the link to structures and institutions that extend the reach of doing gender beyond the individual interaction.

Schwalbe’s notion of nets of accountability extends the concept’s power by making visible how any specific interaction is tied to other situations, relationships, and institutions. This extension of the concept enables us to see *how*, concretely, inequality happens—how it is achieved, reinforced, sustained, and replicated

through local, face-to-face interactions that are linked, across time and space, to other interactions and the ongoing relationships and social institutions in which they are embedded. This approach does not ignore the importance of understanding the historical and structural causes of inequality; it adds to these understandings by examining the processes through which they are manifested. As Schwalbe says, “Unless we imagine that inequality is other than a human accomplishment, to understand it we must look at what people—the powerful and the weak—actually do in concrete situations” (2005, 65).

Despite its centrality to doing gender, accountability has not yet received sustained attention within the sociology of gender. With very few exceptions, most discussions of accountability have been theoretical or abstract—perhaps because analyzing accountability requires attention to ongoing processes of interaction, which are difficult to capture using survey and interview data. Instead of analyzing hypothetical situations, analysts must turn their attention to the messy business of actual interaction in concrete situations. As Wickes and Emmison (2007) contend, observational data may be required to fully understand how accountability shapes the doing of gender. This kind of data would have the advantage, however, of capturing the ongoing, back-and-forth sequences of actual interaction, making accountability processes more visible. Of course, future research should also address not only gender but also its intersections with race, social class, age, sexual identity, and other axes of inequality. This will entail more focused discussions of power, inequality, and history—topics which are not absent from West and colleagues’ initial discussions of accountability, but which require further elaboration and incorporation into most scholars’ use of the approach. Schwalbe’s concept of nets of accountability is one attempt to specify the relationship of interaction to larger social structures, but it, too, has been built mostly on hypothetical examples, and would benefit from more empirical work.

None of these directions for future research is easy, as social interaction among people with multiple, intersecting identities is complex, untidy, and often contradictory. Such analyses

would be well worth the effort, however. Accounts give meaning to behavior, and accountability is both a potent means of social control and, as Heritage (1990) wrote, a key source of social organization. It is time that we paid serious attention to this foundational concept.

Acknowledgements My thanks to Lauren Charles Stewart for her contributions to the early stages of this chapter.

References

- Accountable. (2017). *Online etymology dictionary*. Douglas Harper, historian. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/accountable>. Accessed January 6, 2017.
- Antaki, C. (1994). *Explaining and arguing: The social organization of accounts*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Brines, J. (1994). Economic dependency, gender, and the division of labor at home. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(3), 652–688.
- Christopher, K. (2012). Extensive mothering: Employed mothers’ constructions of the good mother. *Gender & Society*, 26, 73–96.
- Collins, P. H., Maldonado, L. A., Takagi, D. Y., Thorne, B., Weber, L., & Winant, H. (1995). Symposium: On West and Fenstermaker’s ‘Doing difference’. *Gender & Society*, 9, 491–513.
- Connell, C. (2010). Doing, undoing, or redoing gender? *Gender & Society*, 24, 31–55.
- Cook, K. J. (2006). Doing difference and accountability in restorative justice conferences. *Theoretical Criminology*, 10, 107–124.
- Cottingham, M. D., Johnson, A. H., & Taylor, T. (2016). Heteronormative labor: Conflicting accountability structures among men in nursing. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23, 535–550.
- Deutsch, F. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society*, 21, 106–127.
- Enfield, N. J. (2016). Series editor’s preface. In J. D. Robinson (Ed.), *Accountability in social interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fenstermaker, S., & Budeska, J. (2015). Doing gender. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*. London: Blackwell.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Heritage, J. (1983). Accounts in action. In G. Nigel Gilbert & P. Abell (Eds.), *Accounts and action* (pp. 117–31). Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Gower.
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Polity Press.

- Heritage, J. (1990). Interactional accountability: A conversational analytic perspective. *Réseaux*, 1, 23–49 (Hors Série 8, No. 1. Les Formes de la Conversation).
- Hollander, J. A. (2002). Resisting vulnerability: The social reconstruction of gender in interaction. *Social Problems*, 49, 474–496.
- Hollander, J. A. (2013). ‘I demand more of people’: Accountability, interaction, and gender change. *Gender & Society*, 27, 5–29.
- Hollander, J. A., & S. Fenstermaker. (2018). *Gender Theme and Variation: Gender Ideals and Gender Expectations in Interaction*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Jenness, V., & Fenstermaker, S. (2014). Agnes goes to prison: Gender authenticity, transgender inmates in prisons for men, and pursuit of ‘the real deal’. *Gender & Society*, 28, 5–31.
- Johnson, J. A., (2010). Using gender: The personal, interpersonal, and emotional strategies of domestic labor. *Sociological Spectrum*, 30, 695–724.
- Jones, N. (2010). *Between good and ghetto: African American girls and inner-city violence*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lucal, B. (1999). What it means to be gendered me: Life on the boundaries of a dichotomous gender system. *Gender & Society*, 13, 781–797.
- Martin, P. Y. (2003). ‘Said and done’ versus ‘saying and doing’: Gendering practices, practicing gender at work. *Gender & Society*, 17, 342–366.
- Messerschmidt, J. (2004). *Flesh and blood: Adolescent gender diversity and violence*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mills, C. W. (1940). Situated actions and vocabularies of motive. *American Sociological Review*, 5, 904–913.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you’re a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Robinson, J. D. (2016a). Accountability in social interaction. In J. D. Robinson (Ed.), *Accountability in social interaction* (pp. 1–44). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, J. D. (2016b). *Accountability in social interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schwalbe, M. (2000). The elements of inequality. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29, 775–781.
- Schwalbe, M. (2005). Identity stakes, manhood acts, and the dynamics of accountability. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 28, 65–81.
- Schwalbe, M. (2016). Overcoming a processual bias in the study of inequality: Parsing the capitalist interaction order. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 46, 95–122.
- Schwalbe, M., Godwin, S., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Thompson, S., & Wolkomir, M. (2000). Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces*, 79, 419–452.
- Schwalbe, M., & Shay, H. (2014). Dramaturgy and dominance. In J. D. McLeod, E. J. Lawler, & M. Schwalbe (Eds.), *Handbook of the social psychology of inequality* (pp. 155–180). The Netherlands: Springer.
- Scott, M. B., & Lyman, S. M. (1968). Accounts. *American Sociological Review*, 33, 46–62.
- Stabile, C. (2013). ‘I will own you’: Accountability in massively multiplayer online games. *Television & New Media*, 15, 43–57.
- Sullivan, L. E. (n.d.). Accountability. *The SAGE glossary of the social and behavioral sciences*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412972024.n17>.
- Walzer, S. (1998). *Thinking about the baby: Gender and transitions into parenthood*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Walzer, S. (2008). Redoing gender through divorce. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 25, 5–21.
- West, C., & Fenstermaker, S. (1995a). Doing difference. *Gender & Society*, 9, 8–37.
- West, C., & Fenstermaker, S. (1995b). Reply. *Gender & Society*, 9, 506–513.
- West, C., & Fenstermaker, S. (2002). Accountability in action: The accomplishment of gender, race, and class in a meeting of the University of California Board of Regents. *Discourse & Society*, 13, 537–563.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1, 125–151.
- Wickes, R., & Emmison, M. (2007). They are all ‘doing gender’ but are they all passing? A case study of the appropriation of a sociological concept. *The Sociological Review*, 55, 311–330.
- Wilkins, A. C., Mollborn, S., & Bó, Boróka. (2014). Constructing difference. In J. D. McLeod, E. J. Lawler, & M. Schwalbe (Eds.), *Handbook of the social psychology of inequality* (pp. 125–154). The Netherlands: Springer.

Jocelyn A. Hollander is Professor of Sociology at the University of Oregon. Her scholarship focuses on gender, theory, resistance, and violence against women. She is the author, with Judith A. Howard and Daniel Renfrow, of *Gendered Situations, Gendered Selves: A Gender Lens on Social Psychology*. Her most recent research evaluates the potential of women’s self-defense training for preventing sexual assault.



Racializing Gendered Interactions

14

Koji Chavez and Adia Harvey Wingfield

Abstract

At this point, extensive research and data document the myriad ways that gender shapes social interactions. Yet while sociologists have devoted a great deal of attention to understanding how gender informs interactions, most of this work has yet to incorporate an intersectional approach that examines how these interactions are racialized in ways that produce specific outcomes. In this entry, we briefly review the literature that highlights the multiple ways social interactions are gendered. We then consider different approaches that seek to racialize these interactions, and end our paper with discussion of areas for future research.

Sociologists and social psychologists have long theorized gender's influence on social interaction. Scholars only recently began to theorize race's influence on gendered interactions, despite feminist scholars' decades-long warning that focusing on gender (and race) in isolation excludes women of color (e.g., Hull, Scott, &

Smith, 1982). We begin this chapter with a brief overview of current theoretical approaches to gendered interactions. Taken together, and in line with a "gender frame" perspective (Ridgeway, 2011; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), these theories emphasize how hegemonic beliefs about men and women guide social interaction. However, since hegemonic beliefs about men and women implicitly refer to *white* men and *white* women, the current theoretical approaches to gendered interactions, while putatively race neutral, are not clearly applicable beyond the white non-Hispanic population. With this critique in mind, we then discuss nascent theoretical approaches to *racialized* gendered interactions, focusing on intersectional theories of stereotype prototypicality (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). These theories suggest the implicit "racing" of gender as white, and the implicit "gendering" of racial groups as masculine or feminine relative to a white "just right" racial standard, have implications for who we perceive as prototypical men, women, black people, Asian people, etcetera. In turn, gender and racial prototypicality or non-prototypicality guides racialized gendered interactions. While we believe intersectional theories of stereotype prototypicality show much promise, there is still more theoretical and empirical work to be done. In the final section, we provide our recommendations for research moving forward.

K. Chavez (✉) · A. H. Wingfield
Washington University in St. Louis,
St. Louis, MO, USA
e-mail: kchavez@wustl.edu

A. H. Wingfield
e-mail: ahwingfield@wustl.edu

1 Theoretical Approaches to Gendered Interactions

Gender is a multi-level structure of stratification (Ridgeway, 2009; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Risman, 1998, 2004), existing in hegemonic beliefs about men and women and in institutions into which those gender beliefs are inscribed, influencing how we organize our social interactions, and operating as part of our selves and identities. Of these three levels—macro/institutional, interactional, and individual (Risman, 1998, 2004)—social interaction may be most consequential for maintaining or reducing gender inequality (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 2006; Risman, 2004). We focus on the interactional dimension of the gender structure (Risman, 1998, 2004), and begin with a review of theoretical approaches to gendered interaction.

The “gender frame” perspective provides an overarching theme for current theoretical approaches to gendered interaction (Ridgeway, 2011; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). According to the framing perspective, gender acts as one (out of at least three, including race and age) primary *frames* we use to coordinate our social interactions (Ridgeway, 2011). During interaction, we automatically categorize individuals by sex (Ito & Urland, 2003) to which widely held cultural beliefs about how men and women act (and should act) are attached (Ridgeway, 2011). Relative social status is fundamental to these gender beliefs, with higher social status attached to men than to women (Ridgeway, 2001). These gender stereotypes—centered around relative competency, agency, communality, and warmth—are *hegemonic*: they are held by individuals *and* are embedded in societies’ institutions, such as its laws, workplaces, organizational structures, and family organization. Hegemonic gender beliefs are rules by which individuals behave in public with others, and by which they anticipate, evaluate, and penalize others’ behavior. Thus, hegemonic beliefs about men and women guide social interaction. Individuals need not personally believe hegemonic stereotypes; they simply must believe those hegemonic stereotypes are the

bases on which others judge their behavior (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

One of the most influential theoretical approaches to gendered interactions is the ethnomethodological perspective that gender is something one *does* during interaction, rather than something one simply *is* (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The “doing gender” approach suggests men and women continuously reaffirm their maleness or femaleness during interaction by acting according to widely held gender beliefs about how men and women should act (e.g., Messner, 2000). While less successful as a predictive theory (see Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 2006), conceptualizing gender as something one does has greatly influenced scholars’ subsequent thinking about how gender influences social interaction.

Social role theory argues hegemonic beliefs about men and women are sustained through our casual observations of the sexual division of labor, and in turn, these beliefs influence how we interpret social interaction (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Since men systematically occupy more agentic social roles and women more communal ones, we attribute their role-appropriate behavior to gender, and *expect* men and women to behave in stereotypical ways (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Scholars have critiqued this approach, arguing gender stereotypes are relatively stable despite men and women’s changing roles (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, & Phelan, 2012: 177). Koenig and Eagly (2014), however, provide experimental evidence that perceptions of group-level occupational changes (e.g., more men becoming nurses) influence group stereotypes. Role incongruity theory, an extension of social role theory, suggests gendered interactions differ whether widely held gender stereotypes conflict or overlap with traits expected for given roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002). For example, agentic women leaders are penalized for violating gender norms of communality, and women considered for leadership positions are evaluated as having fewer leadership qualities than men, even when objectively equal (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Status characteristics theory, an offshoot of expectations states theory, addresses a specific

facet of social interaction: task performance and evaluation. According to status characteristic theory, gender acts as a “status characteristic” that, when salient, designates relatively higher social status to men, and lower social status to women (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Gender is “salient” in mixed-sex settings or when it is culturally linked to the task or context. When individuals interact with a shared goal—as they do at work—status characteristics guide expectations for how well others (and they themselves) will perform. As social status is associated with competency, men are expected to be generally more competent than women, and much more competent than women when the task at hand is male-typed (e.g., math-related tasks). Such gender expectations become self-fulfilling prophecies: because men are expected to be more competent than women, they are given more opportunities to talk and participate during interaction, their input is considered more influential, they act more confidently, and they are judged on a lower standard than women (Foschi, 2000). As a result, men are *judged* to be more competent than women, all else equal. In female-typed tasks, in which women are expected to be more competent than men, yet only marginally so (Wagner & Berger, 1997), the same self-fulfilling interactional process likely occurs but to the relative benefit of women.

The backlash and stereotype maintenance model (BSMM) focuses on reactions to gender norm violations, and actions in anticipation of such reactions. When individuals act in stereotype-disconfirming ways, and thus fail to conform to hegemonic beliefs about how men and women should act, they receive a social “backlash” (e.g., ostracism) or economic backlash (e.g., hiring rejection) from others (Rudman et al., 2012). Men *and* women receive backlash for failing to conform to normative gender standards (Moss-Racusin, 2014). The individual who acts in stereotype-disconfirming ways may, in anticipation of backlash, hide their disconfirming behavior or more proactively conform to gender stereotypes (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Thus, those who act atypically yet hide or diminish their atypical behavior, *and* those who

penalize them for gender norm non-conformity, maintain hegemonic stereotypes during interaction.

Taken together, these theories of gendered interactions highlight how hegemonic beliefs about men and women—particularly those centered around relative competency, agency, warmth, and communality—provide a “frame” through which men and women interpret and anticipate others’ behaviors during interaction and guide their own. These theoretical approaches also share a major theoretical blind spot: by treating gender in isolation from race, such theories implicitly refer to white men and white women while excluding people of color. We take up this critique and current theoretical approaches to *racialized* gendered interactions in the following section.

2 Theoretical Approaches to Racializing Gendered Interactions

In the United States, race is, along with gender, a multi-level structure of stratification, and serves as an additional primary frame by which we coordinate interactional behavior. We automatically categorize individuals by race (Ito & Urland, 2003), which conjures up widely held hegemonic beliefs linked to different racial groups. Chief among these beliefs are those regarding racial groups’ competence relative to dominant whites (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972).

Despite race being a primary frame for coordinating interaction, and despite wide agreement among scholars that hegemonic beliefs about gender *and* race influence interactional behavior, race has typically been ignored in the theoretical approaches to gendered interactions outlined above. However, race implicitly underlies all these theoretical approaches despite its conspicuous absence from them. Hegemonic gender beliefs which influence gendered interactions, and on which theories of gendered interactions are based, implicitly refer to *white* men and *white* women (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013).

This is because white (middle-class) men, as the group dominating western society's institutions, are the default comparison group to which hegemonic gender beliefs are oriented. Thus, the theoretical approaches to gendered interactions are "white-washed:" hegemonic gender beliefs guide gendered interactions in predictable ways for white men and white women, yet their influence on nonwhite men and women's gendered interactions is less clear. We first review theoretical approaches to racialized gendered interactions that emphasize gender and racial stereotypes as distinct non-overlapping constructs, followed by the nascent intersectional approach emphasizing that while race and gender are understood as separate constructs, their implicit overlap results in predictable racialized gendered interactions.

2.1 Gender and Race as Separate, Non-overlapping Constructs

A common theoretical approach to racialized gendered interactions is to treat *either* gender *or* racial stereotypes as influencing interaction, depending on the salience of gender or race in the given context (see Bodenhausen, 2010). When gender is highly salient, widely held gender beliefs will dominate how individuals organize interactions. When race is most salient, widely held racial beliefs will instead dominate. Depending on which is more salient, individuals switch between gender and racial frames to guide their actions (in general, see Shih, Sanchez, & Ho, 2010). Pittinsky, Shih, and Trahan (2006), for instance, find racial cues influence people to see others in racial terms, while gender cues influence them to see the same people in gendered terms. In a famous example, Asian women perform worse on math problems when investigators prime gender (evoking gender stereotypes of math competence) rather than race (evoking Asian stereotypes of math competence) (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999).

We find a similar treatment of race and gender as separate, non-overlapping constructs in theoretical approaches to gender and racial discrimination. Subordinate male target theory argues racial discrimination is based on competition for resources and threat "perpetrated by males directed against males" (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000: 55). Thus, racial discrimination targets minority men. According to this argument, minority women are subject to gender discrimination, and while they receive some discrimination by their association with minority men, they are not racial discrimination's main target (Veenstra, 2013). While subordinate male target theory does not explicitly focus on social interactions (instead focusing on discrimination), it suggests racialized interactions are separate from gendered interactions, with men of color experiencing the former, and all women experiencing the latter. There is little attention to how racial and gender stereotypes function together.

Double jeopardy theory addresses the discriminatory experience of individuals of two or more "disadvantaged" social groups, and deviates from the either/or conception of racialized and gendered experiences assumed under subordinate male target theory. When individuals belong to multiple disadvantaged groups, they experience discrimination directed at each group in a cumulative manner (e.g., Beal, 1970). While early theoretical approaches focused on additive disadvantage, scholars soon adopted an interactional model in which doubly (or triply) disadvantaged individuals experienced more, but not strictly additive, disadvantage (Almquist, 1975). Double jeopardy theory, historically used in reference to black women, suggests women of color experience gendered interactions as described in the above theories, including social penalties for deviance from gender norms, and *also* experience racial interactional disadvantage through expectations of lower competence relative to whites (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Still, the underlying assumption is that racial and gender hegemonic stereotypes separately influence interactional behavior.

2.2 Intersectional Prototypicality Theory

Unlike the above theoretical approaches which treat gender and race as separate, non-overlapping constructs, intersectional theories begin with the understanding that race, gender, and other categories of difference are intertwined and mutually constitutive (see Choo & Ferree, 2010). Within this tradition, Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz (2013) develop a theoretical approach to how hegemonic gender and racial frames work together for organizing social interaction. The main thrust of their argument is gender and race are socially constructed as separate concepts, yet *implicitly overlap* (see Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Johnson, Freeman, & Pauker, 2012). This implicit overlap has implications for who we consider prototypical of gender and racial stereotypes. Stereotypical prototypicality or non-prototypicality, and the salience of gender and racial stereotypes in the given interactional context, predict the nature of racialized gendered interactions.

As previously noted, hegemonic gender stereotypes implicitly refer to white men and women. Thus, gender is implicitly “raced” as white. As we associate masculinity and femininity to gender categories, and because these categories are implicitly white, prototypical (and thus “just right”) femininity and masculinity are represented by a white woman and white man respectively (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Embedded in these hegemonic beliefs of prototypical femininity and masculinity is the relative dominance of the latter over the former (for “hegemonic masculinity,” see Connell, 1987, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Indeed, hegemonic beliefs about femininity legitimize and “guarantee the dominate position of men and the subordination of women” (Schippers, 2007: 94).

Just as gender is implicitly “raced,” race is implicitly “gendered.” Since white men are the hegemonic default reference group, racial groups are perceived as possessing “subordinate” masculinities compared to white men’s “just right” masculinity (Connell, 1987, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz,

2013). For example, black people are seen as overly or dangerously masculine compared to whites, while Asians are seen as relatively feminine (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 1 and 2; Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Johnson et al., 2012). Thus, while race is socially constructed as genderless, different racial groups are associated with varying degrees of masculinity and femininity.

The implicit overlap of hegemonic gender and racial beliefs has implications for whom we consider a prototypical man, woman, black person, Asian person, and so on (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). The prototypical man is a *white* man. The prototypical woman is a *white* woman. Asian women are also prototypical women, given hegemonic beliefs about Asian femininity. The prototypical black person is a black *man*. However, black women and Asian men do not fit neatly into hegemonic gender and racial prototypes. A black woman is neither a prototypical black person nor a prototypical woman, and an Asian man is not a prototypical man.

People more easily link hegemonic gender and racial stereotypes to those who are prototypical of those stereotypes (Macrae & Quadflieg, 2010). Non-prototypical people are less likely to be remembered (Silvera, Krull, & Sessler, 2002), and non-prototypical stimuli are less easily processed (Fiske, Neuberg, Beattie, & Milberg, 1987). This suggests individuals quickly draw on gender and racial stereotypes for white men and women, black men, and Asian women, but are slower to connect hegemonic racial and gender stereotypes to black women and Asian men. As people have more difficulty applying hegemonic gender and racial beliefs to guide their interactions, non-prototypical people may be left socially “invisible” and ignored (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). The extent to which non-prototypically matters in interaction depends on whether individuals deem racial or gender stereotypes useful in processing interactional information (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Such is the case when social interaction occurs in mixed-race or mixed-gender groups or dyads, or when race or gender are culturally linked to the task or context.

3 Suggestive Evidence of Intersectional Prototypicality Theory

In this section, we review suggestive evidence of intersectional prototypicality theory. These findings are “suggestive” because, while supporting intersectional prototypicality theory, little research to date focuses on actual interactions.

Non-prototypical people can be “invisible”—less seen, less remembered, or taken less seriously—during social interaction (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Sesko and Biernat (2010) provide evidence of social invisibility: evaluators are less likely to recognize black women’s faces compared to white men and women and black men’s faces, and are less likely to correctly attribute statements back to black women. Black women are also more likely to be misclassified as men relative to white women (Goff et al., 2008; Thomas, Dovidio, & West, 2014), and are more slowly classified as black people relative to black men (Thomas et al., 2014). Evaluators are less likely to correctly attribute statements to Asian men than to Asian women and whites (Schug, Alt, & Klauer, 2015). Evaluators also are less able to understand non-prototypical people’s perspective (i.e., Asian men, black women) compared to prototypical people’s (i.e., Black men, Asian women) (Todd & Simpson, 2016).

When the context or task involved are culturally linked to masculinity, intersectional prototypicality theory predicts white men and women’s gendered interactions proceed according to the theories of gendered interactions described above. Non-prototypical people, however, in particular black women and Asian men, have unique “binds” and “freedoms” during interaction (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013).

In masculine contexts, black women’s invisibility allows them to escape lower competence expectations associated with white women and black men. Biernat and Sesko (2013) find evaluators rate black women, but not white women, as equal to white and black men in masculine-typed task competency. When the

position itself is masculine-typed, evaluators judge black women to be more position-appropriate than white or Asian women due to black women’s perceived masculinity (Hall, Galinsky, & Phillips, 2015). Outside of the workplace context, Harkness (2016) finds experimental participants are more willing to lend money to black women than to black men and white women. She argues black women are “invisible” to damaging stereotypes of black people and women, and instead are judged to be self-reliant and agentic.

There is some evidence black women escape the social backlash white women experience for violating gender norms. Hall (2012) finds black women escape penalties for dominant behavior, while white and Asian women do not. Indeed, black women may strategically behave agentically to avoid social invisibility. Ong (2005) finds black female physics students adopt a “loud black woman” persona to combat their classroom invisibility. Similarly, Wingfield (2010) finds black women professionals, unlike black male professionals, strategically express anger and irritation to be taken seriously by white coworkers. In another study, Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003) find although black female college students report the same types and number of racially-charged incidents as their male counterparts, they are more likely to confront the perpetrator. The authors hypothesize that black men “may suffer greater consequences in society than [black] women may suffer if they assertively confront” (58–59).

In leadership positions, black women may again have some freedom from hegemonic racial and gender beliefs. Experimental evaluators are more likely to select black women than white or Asian women for a masculine leadership position (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 5). Livingston, Rosette, and Washington (2012) find black women leaders do not experience the same backlash as white women leaders for displaying dominance rather than communality. However, black women’s freedom in masculine leadership positions may depend on their perceived success

or failure. When evaluators perceive the organization is failing, they are more likely to perceive black women as ineffectual leaders than black men or white women (Rosette & Livingston, 2012).

Black women's interactions in masculine-typed settings are not entirely beneficial. Black women still face interactional penalties suggested by double jeopardy theory. Minority women experience more harassment at work than both white women and minority men (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Harassment accumulation may result in black women's inurement to harassment's damaging effects (Raver & Nishii, 2010).

Intersectional prototypicality theory predicts Asian men are penalized during interaction in masculine-typed settings. Hall et al. (2015) find evaluators are least likely to select Asian men to masculine-typed jobs relative to white or black men, because of their perceived lack of masculinity. This pattern extends to masculine leadership positions (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 5). Chen (1999) finds Chinese American men adopt strategic interactional behaviors to compensate, deflect, deny, or repudiate the perception of Asian men as less masculine. Interestingly, Asian men, as unprototypical men, may escape social penalties for breaking masculine gender norms (Hall, 2012).

Black men fit the prototypical image of a black person. During social interaction, individuals quickly associate black men with hegemonic stereotypes of relatively lower competency, and hyper masculinity (Goff et al., 2008). Rather than thoroughly review this literature, which has been extensively reviewed elsewhere (see Pager, 2007), we highlight those aspects relevant to the intersectional prototypicality approach.

Like white women who display agency, black male dominance disrupts the racial interactional hierarchy, resulting in a backlash. For example, black men are more penalized for NFL celebrations than white men (Hall & Livingston, 2012). In anticipation of backlash, black men actively alter their interactional behavior. Wingfield (2010) finds black professional men, conscious of racial stereotypes, avoid behavior deemed too

aggressive. Non-behavioral characteristics also counter negative black stereotypes. Livingston and Pearce (2009), for example, argue that having a baby face (compared to a mature face) mitigates the impact of negative black stereotypes of hyper masculinity and aggression. In another study, Pedulla (2014) find feminine stereotypes of gay men counter hyper masculine stereotypes of black men during hiring decisions.

Prototypical stereotypes of hyper masculinity may *advantage* black men in some masculine-typed settings (Hall et al., 2015). In the leverage buyout industry, in which masculinity is highly prized, black men experience more social acceptance from their white male coworkers due to their knowledge of sports, aided by congruity between hyper-masculine black men stereotypes and the ideal masculine worker. White women, on the other hand, experience more social isolation (Turco, 2010).

Intersectional prototypicality theory suggests in contexts culturally linked to femininity, black women are disadvantaged during interaction compared to white women. There is some supporting evidence. Hall et al. (2015) find black women are least likely to be considered appropriate for feminine jobs compared to white and Asian women.

In female-typed jobs, gendered interaction may benefit white *men* despite white women's expected competence in such settings. During interaction, white men are expected to be generally more competent than women, and are better able to connect with female colleagues. Importantly, white men are also better able to connect with superiors (typically men), and are expected to be more competent in leadership positions. As a result, white men ride a "glass escalator" to more authoritative leadership roles (Williams, 1992). This gendered interactional process differs for black men. Like white men, black men in female-typed jobs are more visible, yet unlike white men, and as prototypical black people, black men do not observe that people expect them to be accomplished or competent during interaction (Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014). Black men in these jobs are more likely to

report awkward and unfriendly interactions with coworkers, inability to socially connect with supervisors, and client perceptions that they are unsuited for higher-status positions (Wingfield, 2009). As a result, they are less likely to ride the glass escalator.

In contexts of heterosexual attraction—dating being a primary example—prototypicality theory posits that since the hegemonic image of the prototypical man and woman is a *white* man and *white* woman, white men and white women are standards of masculinity and femininity. Indeed, there is growing evidence black women, relative to white and Asian women, are penalized during romantic interaction due to perceived masculinity (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 3; Goff et al., 2008; Lin & Lundquist, 2013). As black women are penalized during heterosexual romantic interaction for being perceived as too masculine, so too are Asian men for being perceived as too feminine (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 3). Asian men with more stereotypically Asian features are perceived as less attractive, whereas the opposite is true for Asian women (Wilkins, Chan, & Kaiser, 2011).

The non-prototypicality of black women (too masculine) and Asian men (too feminine) has consequences for assumptions about sexual orientation. Johnson and Ghavami (2011) find black women and Asian men, as unprototypical women and men, are more likely than their male and female counterparts to be perceived as homosexual.

Evidence from dating markets reflects racialized gendered interactions. White men are less likely to date black women relative to other women; female date-seekers are much more likely to exclude Asian men relative to other men; and white women are less willing to date black and Asian men relative to white men (Feliciano, Robnett, & Komaie, 2009). Census data on interracial marriage matches these preferences (Galinsky et al., 2013, Study 4).

However, all is not lost for Black women and Asian men. Non-black men are more open to dating black women, and non-Asian women are

more open to dating Asian men, when black women and Asian men initiate contact (Lewis, 2013). This suggests individuals use race and gender stereotypes for “preemptive discrimination,” but such stereotypes dissipate with more information.

4 Directions for Future Research

Despite “intersectionality” being a buzzword for decades (Davis, 2008), theorizing how gender and racial stereotypes shape social interaction is a recent endeavor (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). There is much theoretical work to be done. *Evidence* of racialized gendered interactions is lacking even more. Thus, the main push forward is for more research on actual interactions (see Babbitt, 2013). Beyond the call for basic evidence from racialized gendered interactions, we offer four general critiques of current approaches: the limitation to black and Asian racial groups; the limitation to hegemonic masculinity/femininity stereotypes; the limited investigation of racialized gendered interaction moderators; and the limitation to experimental and qualitative research designs.

By and large, research on racialized gendered interactions focuses on the experience of black women vis-à-vis white women and black men. Recently, scholars expanded their scope to Asian men and women, given Asian men and women’s relevance to intersectional prototypicality theory. We believe scholars should further expand their scope to Latinx men and women. Whether Latinx men and women are seen as prototypical men, women, or Latinxs has implications for how Latinxs “fit” into the U.S. racial hierarchy, which is particularly relevant given the rapidly growing Latinx population.

Scholars may also enrich our understanding of racialized gendered interactions by expanding to a third dimension. Given the overlap of race and masculinity, sexual orientation is a promising route. Pedulla (2014) offers interesting

experimental evidence that being gay (or simply signaling gay sexual orientation) mitigates harmful black male stereotypes of hyper-aggression. Social class is another dimension likely to influence racialized gendered interactions. Penner and Saperstein (2013), for example, have begun to explore the interplay of gender and class on perceptions of an individual's race.

We argue that a promising avenue of research is to study the conditions under which hegemonic beliefs besides masculine/feminine stereotypes and non-hegemonic beliefs are salient and influence interactions. For example, hegemonic beliefs about black women may conform to the asexual and nurturing "Mammy" image in some caretaker roles, or the hypersexual "Jezebel" image in romantic settings (West, 1995). Asian men may be seen as hyper-intelligent in a school context, while hyper-aggressive in a martial arts context (Chan, 2000). Non-hegemonic beliefs—beliefs held by certain groups, but not embedded in society's institutions—may also influence racialized gendered interactions when interacting individuals believe they share those beliefs (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Within the African American community, for example, the belief that girls and boys are equally competent may uniquely influence gendered interactions (Dugger, 1988).

In addition to prototypicality and masculine- or feminine-linked settings, other individual-, group-, institutional- or organizational-level factors likely influence racialized gendered interactions. Individuals' attitudes, goals, and motivations likely influence how and to what extent interactions are racialized and gendered (see Plant, Devine, & Peruche, 2010). For example, those who think in essentialist ways (Chao, 2013), or believe blacks and whites have little genetic overlap (Plaks, Malahy, Sedlins, & Shoda, 2012), more readily draw on racial and gender stereotypes, and may more likely engage in racialized gendered interactions.

The influence of group racial and gender composition on gendered interactions is likely more complicated than researchers have allowed. Interracial interactional anxiety, for example,

may influence how interactions are gendered. During interracial interaction, whites fear they will be seen as racist (Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). However, white men and women react differently to anxiety-producing interracial interactions, with men more likely to hold essentialist and racist views than women, and to be less friendly toward racial others (Littleford, Wright, & Sayoc-Parial, 2005). Toosi, Sommers, and Ambady (2012) find in mixed-race and mixed-sex interactional contexts, white women grow more confident over time, while white men move in the opposite direction. This pattern reduces (white) gender interactional inequality. The authors suggest social complexity of coordinating with non-whites provides opportunity for white women, who are expected to be competent in social tasks, to emerge as leaders.

While whites fear they will be seen as racist during interracial interaction, non-whites fear being discriminated against (Trawalter et al., 2009). However, women of color may interpret and respond to white people's interactional behavior differently from men of color (Remedios & Snyder, 2015). Yet it is unclear how these gender differences among men and women of color influence gendered interactions.

Scholars have generally focused on racialized gendered interactions at work or in romantic settings. Scholars should explore racialized gendered interactions in non-heteronormative dating and relationships, and in low-stakes settings, such as in friend groups, informal social clubs, or among roommates. Furthermore, organizational characteristics may also influence the role of race in gendered interactions. Fault line literature suggests when race and gender overlap with organizational hierarchical positions (e.g., all black women within an organization are secretaries), interactional tensions within organizations increase (Thatcher & Patel, 2011). Under such conditions, individuals may be more aware of racial and gender differences, leading to increased racialized and gendered interactions, or leading to avoidance of interaction all together. The extent to which race or gender are built into organizational rules, and to which organizational rules restrict individuals' interactional behavior,

may also moderate the extent to which gendered interactions are racialized within organizations (Ridgeway, 2009).

Current research on racialized gendered interactions typically uses cross-sectional research designs to collect data at one point in time. A cross-sectional research design is not well equipped to explore changes in racialized gendered interactions over one's lifetime, or from one historical period to the next. For example, research on black women's inurement to discrimination (see Raver & Nishii, 2010) would benefit from a longitudinal design. So too would the study of changes in workplace racialized gendered interaction as employers fluctuated between color- and gender-blind, affirmative action, and diversity management policies (see Skrentny, 2014).

Research on racialized gendered interactions, and intersectionality in general, lends itself theoretically and historically to qualitative research methods (Shields, 2008). Scholars have also used laboratory experiments to tease out mechanisms. We argue that quantitative survey data, while underutilized in the field (however, see Penner & Saperstein, 2013), has value for studying racialized gendered interactions (also see Shields, 2008). Such data allow scholars to test, and thus add more empirical meat to, theories generated from qualitative and experimental data, and allows scholars to generalize qualitative or laboratory findings to a wider context. Moving forward, scholars should exploit the strengths of such methods toward greater understanding of racialized gendered interactions.

In this chapter, we have provided a brief overview of the current state of the literature on racialized gendered interactions. Scholars have only begun to address how race influences gendered interactions, yet we believe theories acknowledging the role of stereotype prototypicality show much promise moving forward (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). However, as this final section makes clear, there is more work to be done in theoretical development and in basic observation of racialized gendered interactions.

We call on scholars to push our understanding of racialized gendered interactions forward in the directions suggested here.

References

- Almquist, E. M. (1975). Untangling the effects of race and sex: The disadvantaged status of black women. *Social Science Quarterly*, 56(1), 129–142.
- Babbitt, L. G. (2013). An intersectional approach to black/white interracial interactions: The roles of gender and sexual orientation. *Sex Roles*, 68, 791–802.
- Beal, F. M. (1970). Double jeopardy: To be black and female. In T. Cade (Ed.), *The black woman: An anthology* (pp. 90–100). New York: Signet.
- Bell, E. L. J. E., & Nkomo, S. M. (2001). *Our separate ways: Black and white women and the struggle for professional identity*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press Books.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: Double jeopardy for minority women. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(2), 426–436.
- Berger, J., Cohen, B. P., & Zelditch, M. (1972). Status characteristics and social interaction. *American Sociological Review*, 37(3), 241–255.
- Biernat, M., & Sesko, A. K. (2013). Evaluating the contributions of members of mixed-sex work teams: Race and gender matter. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(3), 471–476.
- Bodenhausen, G. V. (2010). Diversity in the person, diversity in the group: Challenges of identity complexity for social perception and social interaction. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 1–16.
- Chan, J. W. (2000). Bruce Lee's fictional model of masculinity. *Men and Masculinities*, 2(4), 371–387.
- Chao, M. M. (2013). Essentializing race: Its implications on racial categorization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(4), 619–634.
- Chen, A. S. (1999). Lives at the center of the periphery, lives at the periphery of the center: Chinese American Masculinities and Bargaining with Hegemony. *Gender and Society*, 33(5), 584–607.
- Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, 28(2), 129–149.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender & power*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859.
- Correll, S. J., & Ridgeway, C. L. (2003). Expectation states theory. In J. Delamater (Ed.), *Handbook of*

- social psychology* (pp. 29–51). New York: Kluwer Academic Press.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword. *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), 67–85.
- Dugger, K. (1988). Social location and gender-role attitudes: A comparison of black and white women. *Gender and Society*, 2(4), 425–448.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598.
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social role theory. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, and E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories in social psychology* (pp. 458–76). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Feliciano, C., Robnett, B., & Komaie, G. (2009). Gendered racial exclusion among white internet daters. *Social Science Research*, 38(1), 39–54.
- Fiske, S. T., Neuberg, S. L., Beattie, A. E., & Milberg, S. J. (1987). Category-based and attribute-based reactions to others: Some informational conditions of stereotyping and Individuating processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 23, 399–427.
- Foschi, M. (2000). Double standards for competence theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 21–42.
- Galinsky, A. D., Hall, E. V., & Cuddy, A. J. C. (2013). Gendered races: Implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological Science*, 24(4), 498–506.
- Ghavami, N., & Peplau, L. A. (2012). An intersectional analysis of gender and ethnic stereotypes: Testing three hypotheses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37(1), 113–127.
- Goff, P. A., Steele, C. M., & Davies, P. G. (2008a). The space between us: Stereotype threat and distance in interracial contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(1), 91–107.
- Goff, P. A., Thomas, M. A., & Jackson, M. C. (2008b). ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’: Towards an intersectional approach to person perception and group-based harms. *Sex Roles*, 59, 392–403.
- Hall, E. V. (2012). Optimal Masculinity: Feminine races or genders attenuate sanctions for domineering behavior. In *Academy of Management Proceedings*.
- Hall, E. V., Galinsky, A. D., & Phillips, K. W. (2015). Gender profiling: A gendered race perspective on person—Position fit. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(6), 853–868.
- Hall, E. V., & Livingston, R. W. (2012). The hubris penalty: Biased responses to ‘Celebration’ displays of black football players. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(4), 899–904.
- Harkness, S. K. (2016). Discrimination in lending markets: Status and the intersections of gender and race. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 79(1), 81–93.
- Hull, G. T., Scott, P. B., & Smith, B. (Eds.). (1982). *All the women are white, all the blacks are men, but some of us are brave*. New York: Feminist Press.
- Ito, T. A., & Urland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain: Electrocortical measures of attention to the race and gender of multiply categorizable individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(4), 616–626.
- Johnson, K. L., Freeman, J. B., & Pauker, K. (2012). Race is gendered: How covarying phenotypes and stereotypes bias sex categorization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102(1), 116–131.
- Johnson, K. L., & Ghavami, N. (2011). At the crossroads of conspicuous and concealable: What race categories communicate about sexual orientation. *PLoS One*, 6(3), 1–8.
- Koenig, A. M., & Eagly, A. H. (2014). Evidence for the social role theory of stereotype content: Observations of groups’ roles shape stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 107(3), 371–392.
- Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? A goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(4), 522–544.
- Lewis, K. (2013). The limits of racial prejudice. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(47), 18814–18819.
- Lin, K. H., & Lundquist, J. (2013). Mate selection in cyberspace: The intersection of race, gender, and education. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119(1), 183–215.
- Littleford, L. N., Wright, M. O. D., & Sayoc-Parial, M. (2005). White students’ intergroup anxiety during same-race and interracial interactions: A multimethod approach. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 27(1), 85–94.
- Livingston, R. W., & Pearce, N. A. (2009). The teddy-bear effect: Does having a baby face benefit black chief executive officers? *Psychological Science*, 20(10), 1229–1236.
- Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic black woman get ahead? The impact of race and interpersonal dominance on perceptions of female leaders. *Psychological Science*, 23(4), 354–358.
- Macrae, C. N., & Quadflieg, S. (2010). Perceiving people. In S. T. Fiske and D. T. Gilbert (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 428–463). New York: Wiley.
- Messner, M. A. (2000). Barbie girls versus sea monsters: Children constructing gender. *Gender and Society*, 14(6), 765–784.
- Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2014). Male backlash: Penalties for men who violate gender stereotypes. In D. A. Major and R. J. Burke (Eds.), *Gender in organizations: Are men allies or adversaries to women’s career advancement?* (pp. 247–69). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). Disruptions in women’s self-promotion: The backlash avoidance model. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34, 186–202.
- Ong, M. (2005). Body projects of young women of color in physics: Intersections of gender, race, and science. *Social Problems*, 52(4), 593–617.
- Pager, D. (2007). *Marked: Race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Pedulla, D. S. (2014). The positive consequences of negative stereotypes: Race, sexual orientation, and the job application process. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 77(1), 75–94.
- Penner, A. M., & Saperstein, A. (2013). Engendering racial perceptions: An intersectional analysis of how social status shapes race. *Gender and Society*, 27(3), 319–344.
- Pittinsky, T. L., Shih, M. J., & Trahan, A. (2006). Identity cues: Evidence from and for intra-individual perspectives on positive and negative stereotyping. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36(9), 2215–2239.
- Plaks, J. E., Malahy, L. W., Sedlins, M., & Shoda, Y. (2012). Folk beliefs about human genetic variation predict discrete versus continuous racial categorization and evaluative bias. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 3(1), 31–39.
- Plant, E. A., Devine, P. G., & Peruche, M. B. (2010). Routes to positive interracial interactions: Approaching egalitarianism or avoiding prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(9), 1135–1147.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles*, 59(5–6), 377–391.
- Raver, J. L., & Nishii, L. H. (2010). Once, twice, or three times as harmful? Ethnic harassment, gender harassment, and generalized workplace harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(2), 236–254.
- Remedios, J. D., & Snyder, S. H. (2015). How women of color detect and respond to multiple forms of prejudice. *Sex Roles*, 73, 371–383.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2001). Gender, status, and leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 637–655.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2009). Framed before we know it. *Gender and Society*, 23(2), 145–160.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender and Society*, 18(4), 510–531.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender and Society*, 27(3), 294–318.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2006). Gender and interaction. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of sociology of gender* (pp. 247–74). New York: Springer Sciences + Business Media.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 429–450.
- Rosette, A. S., & Livingston, R. W. (2012). Failure is not an option for black women: Effects of organizational performance on leaders with single versus dual-subordinate identities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(5), 1162–1167.
- Rudman, L. A., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Glick, P., & Phelan, J. E. (2012). Reactions to vanguards: Advances in backlash theory. In P. Devine & A. Plant (Eds.), *Advances in experimental sociology* (pp. 167–227). Burlington: Academic Press.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, 36(1), 85–102.
- Schug, J., Alt, N. P., & Klauer, K. C. (2015). Gendered race prototypes: Evidence for the non-prototypicality of Asian men and black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 56, 121–125.
- Sesko, A. K., & Biernat, M. (2010). Prototypes of race and gender: The invisibility of black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 356–360.
- Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles*, 59(5–6), 301–311.
- Shih, M., Pittinsky, T. L., & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological Science*, 10(1), 80–83.
- Shih, M., Sanchez, D. R., & Ho, G. C. (2010). Costs and benefits of switching among multiple social identities. In R. J. C. Chichester (Eds.), *The psychology of social and cultural diversity* (pp. 62–83). UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sidanius, J., & Veniegas, R. C. (2000). Gender and race discrimination: The interactive nature of disadvantage. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 47–69). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Silvera, D. H., Krull, D. S., & Sassler, M. A. (2002). Typhoid pollyanna: The effect of category valence on retrieval order of positive and negative category members. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 12(2), 227–236.
- Skrentny, J. D. (2014). *After civil rights: Racial realism in the new American workplace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., Fitzgerald, D. C., & Bylsma, W. H. (2003). African American college students' experiences with everyday racism: Characteristics of and responses to these incidents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 29(1), 38–67.
- Thatcher, S. M. B., & Patel, P. C. (2011). Demographic faultlines: A meta-analysis of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(6), 1119–1139.
- Thomas, E. L., Dovidio, J. F., & West, T. V. (2014). Lost in the categorical shuffle: Evidence for the social non-prototypicality of black women. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(3), 370–376.
- Todd, A. R., & Simpson, A. J. (2016). Perspective taking and member-to-group generalization of implicit racial attitudes: The role of target prototypicality. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 105–112.
- Toosi, N. R., Sommers, S. R., & Ambady, N. (2012). Getting a word in group-wise: Effects of racial diversity on gender dynamics. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(5), 1150–1155.
- Trawalter, S., Richeson, J. A., & Nicole Shelton, J. (2009). Predicting behavior during interracial

- interactions: A stress and coping approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 13(4), 243–268.
- Turco, C. J. (2010). Cultural foundations of tokenism: Evidence from the leveraged buyout industry. *American Sociological Review*, 76(6), 894–913.
- Veenstra, G. (2013). The gendered nature of discriminatory experiences by race, class, and sexuality: A comparison of intersectionality theory and the subordinate male target hypothesis. *Sex Roles*, 68(11–12), 646–659.
- Wagner, D. G., & Berger, J. (1997). Gender and interpersonal task behavior: Status expectations accounts. *Social Perspectives*, 40(1), 1–32.
- West, C. M. (1995). Mammy, sapphire, and jezebel: Historical images of black women and their implications for psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy*, 32(3), 458–466.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- Wilkins, C. L., Chan, J. F., & Kaiser, C. R. (2011). Racial stereotypes and interracial attraction: Phenotypic prototypicality and perceived attractiveness of Asians. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17(4), 427–431.
- Williams, C. L. (1992). The glass escalator: Hidden advantages for men in the ‘female’ professions. *Social Problems*, 39(3), 253–267.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator: Reconsidering men’s experiences with women’s work. *Gender and Society*, 23(1), 5–26.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2010). Are some emotions marked ‘whites only’? Racialized feeling rules in professional workplaces. *Social Problems*, 57(2), 251–268.
- Wingfield, A. H., & Wingfield, J. H. (2014). When visibility hurts and helps: How intersections of race and gender shape black professional men’s experiences with tokenization. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(4), 483–490.

Koji Chavez is a Postdoctoral Researcher at Washington University in St. Louis under the guidance of Professor Adia Harvey Wingfield. He received his Ph.D. in Sociology from Stanford University in 2016. Chavez conducts qualitative and quantitative research on gender, racial, and ethnic inequality in the organizational context. His current research is on a case study of software engineering hiring at a high technology firm in Silicon Valley in which he focuses on how managerial decision-makers—those who screen, evaluate, and eventually hire new workers—are responsible for gender, ethnic, immigrant-status, and education-based disparities in the organization’s workforce.

Adia Harvey Wingfield is Professor of Sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. Her research focuses on the processes that maintain racial and gender inequality in professional workplaces. Dr. Wingfield has lectured internationally on her research in this area, and her work has been published in numerous peer-reviewed journals including *Social Problems*, *Gender & Society*, and *American Behavioral Scientist*. She is also a contributing writer for *The Atlantic*. Professor Wingfield is the author of several books, most recently *No More Invisible Man: Race and Gender in Men’s Work* (Temple University Press), and has won multiple awards from sections of the American Sociological Association.



Kristen Myers

Abstract

The typical child in the U.S. spends 13 years in primary and secondary schools. One goal of schools is to standardize students' knowledge of core subject matter so as to make them responsible and productive citizens when they reach adulthood. In large part, then, schools are designed to inculcate American ideals into members of society, beginning at an early age. Most American ideals are gendered in various ways. As such, schools teach both formal and informal lessons about gender to all students. The gender binary is used to order children's behavior, and it is built into the curriculum. The school context enables, constrains, and gives meaning to children's gendered interactions. But children also work together to create their own meanings and to innovate in their negotiations of gender in the school context. This chapter examines the research on gendered interactions at school and explores possibilities of using sociological research for social change.

1 Introduction

For most children in the U.S. aged 5–18, school dominates their daily lives for at least nine months out of the year. Not all schools are identical in form or function. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, most (about 90%) children attend public schools, while a minority (10%) attend private schools. About 7% of public schools are charter schools, or public schools that are governed by local organizations that can change some of the rules affecting other public schools. Even though not all schools are alike, they have much more in common than they have differences. Schools in the US are overseen by the US Department of Education, as well as by state and local educational oversight boards. They are assessed and evaluated by standards. Schools aim to standardize students' knowledge of core subject matter so as to make them responsible and productive citizens when they reach adulthood. As such, we treat schooling as a formal institution in society. Schooling is a largely stable institution, structured by a formal curriculum, but also shaped in fundamental ways by informal lessons about people's roles in society. These lessons are connected to American understandings of race, class, sexuality, and gender, as well as other social meanings systems. This chapter is about the ways that schools are formally structured by gender, recognizing that gender, race, class, and

K. Myers (✉)
Northern Illinois University,
DeKalb, IL, USA
e-mail: kmyers@niu.edu

sexuality all intersect. It also explores ways that students themselves both reproduce and challenge gendered meanings in schools. In the next section, I discuss research on schools as social structures, and the ways that gender differences are built into that structure both literally and figuratively. Schools are shaped by a “gender regime” that orders daily life around gender difference, primarily, making a binary construction of gender seem natural and inflexible. After that, I shows how children themselves participate in the gender regime in their everyday interactions. They both reproduce the gender regime by following the rules unquestioningly, and they also challenge and rewrite the rules creatively. And, finally, I discuss ways to restructure schools altogether, to potentially decouple schooling from gender difference and reduce school’s role in reproducing gender inequality in society.

2 Schooling: An Important Institutional Context for Shaping Children’s Gender

The institution of schooling is complex. Schools are physical spaces, both indoors and outdoors. Indoors, schools are comprised of hallways, bathrooms, locker rooms, classrooms, and offices. Outdoors, schools have play areas, sports facilities, and parking areas. The size, quality, and configuration of these spaces depend on the school’s location, age, and resources. Students are officially organized within these spaces by age, activity, and aptitude, and unofficially by sex, class, and race/ethnicity. School spaces have historically been designed to control and manage large groups of students (Sitton, 1980). But the institution of schooling is more than its literal structure: schools are formally organized by rules and procedures. All teachers are trained to sift and sort children according to skill and ability while also keeping them orderly and under control. Standardized tests are used to assess not only individual student learning but also the effectiveness of entire schools. As such, testing mandates shape schools in myriad ways,

including the content of curriculum and how classes are organized. Schools have long been recognized to be agents of social control (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

For decades, sociologists have been examining the ways that the institutional context of schools affects gender and vice versa. The physical space of schools alone is overtly gendered, with signs in many places literally marking which sex can use which parts of each building. But every aspect of the organization of schools shapes gender relations and expectations of students. Thorne (1993) says that schools are much more segregated by gender than are homes, neighborhoods, churches, and other spaces where children spend their time. Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, and Dowsett (1985) demonstrate that schools actively construct gender. They write,

...the school as an institution is characterized at any given time by a particular gender regime. This may be defined as the pattern of practices that constructs various kinds of masculinity and femininity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labor within the institution. The gender regime is a state of play rather than a permanent condition. It can be changed, deliberately or otherwise, but it is no less powerful in its effects on the pupils for that. It confronts them as a social fact, which they have to come to terms with somehow (42).

In other words, the term, “gender regime” refers to the way that gender is built into the structure of schooling so as to treat people differently, usually unequally. This section will examine the ways that the gender regime operates in schools to control students and shape expectations of students as gendered people.

3 The Gender Regime in Schools

In his study of masculinity in schools, Swain (2004, 170) argues that schools are important for shaping children’s gender in two ways: first, schools provide the “...setting and physical space in which the embodied actions and agencies of pupils and adults take place.” Second, schools’ “...structures and practices are also

involved as an institutional agent which produces these ‘masculinizing practices,’ and which allows various patterns of masculinity to flourish.” Swain shows that, although all schools affect gender, individual schools do so differently, depending on local personnel, rules, and use of space and resources. Following Connell (1996) and Gilbert and Gilbert (1998), Swain shows that gender is produced and reproduced in the school context through four mechanisms: management/organizational practices, student-teacher interaction, curriculum, and sports/games. This is a useful framework for unpacking the ways that gender is structured into schools, so I borrow it here to discuss other studies.

3.1 Management and Organizational Practices

Thorne (1993) studied elementary school children’s interactions in classrooms during structured time and on playgrounds during less structured time. She showed how teachers use gender to organize students: children are told to line up boy–girl. They may be seated at boys-only and girls-only tables. Gender is used to threaten children so that they behave. For example, a teacher might tell a boy, “If you don’t work quietly, I’ll move you to the girls’ table.” Extra-curricular activities are gendered too: foursquare is for girls, and football is for boys (children may break these rules, of course, which I discuss below) This gendered organization is effective at maintaining social control because, as Thorne argues, girls are seen by boys as contaminating, as having “cooties.” Teachers reinforce this culture of difference by segregating students by gender: they separate girls and boys from each other, and from activities deemed appropriate for one category over another. Although Thorne’s study is decades old, the use of the gender binary to structure classrooms remains common (Myers & Raymond, 2010) with negative consequences for both boys and girls. One major consequence of this segregation is the underrepresentation of girls identifying with “boys” subjects, regardless of their aptitude

for these subjects. We see this gap most glaringly in “STEM” fields: science, technology, engineering, and math (Cervonia & Iverson, 2011).

Official school policies are often shaped by gender as well as race. We can see this most clearly when we analyze policies that regulate behavior in school. As Monahan, Van Derhei, Bechtold, and Cauffman (2014) explain, many schools began adopting “zero-tolerance” discipline policies in the 1990s. These policies levy harsh punishments, such as suspension, on students who violate school rules, even after only one incident. Monahan, et al. argue that zero-tolerance policies have been used to punish black and Latino students in general, and to punish boys of color in particular. Specifically, Morris and Perry (2016) use extensive school records to show that black students are six times more likely and Latino/as are twice as likely to be suspended than whites. Boys are much more likely to be suspended than girls. When schools suspend students, they are sent home, often without any adult supervision. These students are less attached to school, perform poorly in school, and have a greater likelihood of contact with the juvenile justice system. Monahan, et al. link suspension to what has been called the “school-to-prison pipeline,” which disproportionately affects boys of color (see Wilson, 2014). Given evidence that race and gender bias zero-tolerance policies, they argue for more individualized approaches to school discipline.

3.2 Student-Teacher Interaction

Teachers are major “sanctioning adult” figures in most children’s lives (Thorne, 1993). The teachers do most of the sifting and sorting that occurs in schools, which means that they have a great deal of power over students’ opportunities and experiences. Not all of their sifting and sorting is based on evidenced ability, such as test scores. While there are certainly stellar teachers in U.S. schools, many of them make decisions according to preconceived notions of ability that are unconsciously grounded in sexist and racist (and other problematic) understandings of

different children's abilities. Social psychologists call these preconceived notions, "expectation states" (Goar & Sell, 2005), and they have a powerful effect on how children are tracked academically as well as on how students view themselves and each other. For example, recent studies have examined the ways that teachers overtly and inadvertently sexualize girls in school. Again, teachers do this because of their own preconceived ideas about what is "appropriate" for children's bodies, sexual knowledge, and sexual activity (Myers & Raymond, 2010). Paechter (2011) points out an oxymoron in how teachers regulate children's bodies sexually: when teachers notice children's bodies at school, it is because they have been interpreted to be problematic, even pathological. She says that there are so many panics about children's bodies at school that teachers feel compelled to teach children to control their bodies. Paechter says that bodies are "schooled" in gendered ways: how they sit, how they dress, how they move. And all of this is viewed by teachers through adult, sexualized lenses, which has the effect of shaming girls' bodies. Ringrose and Renold (2012) call this "the schizoid entanglement of sexual empowerment and sexual protection for the schoolgirl child" (338), which harms both boys and girls. They call out school dress codes, ostensibly designed to keep students' bodies covered, as mechanisms through which adults shame girls as "sluts," and show how dress codes contribute to hostile learning environments.

Research shows that, if a teacher has pre-determined that certain groups of children are not likely to succeed in school, then that teacher is unlikely to invest in, challenge, and advocate on behalf of those students. Grant (1994) showed how elementary school teachers' lenses affected the ways that they interacted with and instructed young black girls in their classrooms. Rather than rewarding black girls for focusing on their own school work and improving their skills, teachers rewarded them for their social skills. In particular, teachers praised black girls for being helpers, enforcers, and go-betweens. When black girls helped out in the classroom, cleaned up, washed the erasers, and helped their peers with

classwork, teachers praised them. When black girls enforced classroom rules among their peers by telling on them, reminding peers of the rules, etc., teachers rewarded them. When black girls acted as conduits of information between peers and the teacher, teachers rewarded them. All of these activities distracted the girls from their own classwork, undermining their personal academic progress, but they made the teachers' jobs easier. And because the teachers did not see black girls as likely to have challenging careers, they rewarded social, interpersonal skills that befitted the service jobs teachers assumed these girls would have.

Race and gender also have been found to intersect in teachers' evaluations of boys' abilities. Ferguson (2001) shows how, even at a young age, black boys are singled out in school and made examples of. Using data collected with the help of a 6th grade boy called "Horace," Ferguson describes students' experiences in the "Punishing Room," or in-school detention room, which the children call the "jailhouse." Black boys like Horace seem to be held to a higher standard than other children, and teachers have a lower tolerance for their behavioral disruptions. Teachers and students—both those targeted for punishment and those who are not—all internalize the narrative that black boys as a group are "trouble makers." And this narrative helps to reinforce racially biased zero-tolerance disciplinary policies discussed below.

Latsch and Hannover (2014) use expectation states theory to show how another gendered narrative is playing out in classrooms: the "failing boys" narrative. As Kleinfeld (2009) has argued, part of a post-feminist backlash against programs designed to help girls in schools is a new narrative claiming that boys are "in crisis"—that boys are losing ground because girls are getting more than their fair share of attention in schools. This narrative is prevalent not just in the U.S. In their experimental study in Germany, Latsch and Hannover show that boys hear the "failing boys" narrative from the media, and they align their efforts in school so that this prediction becomes an outcome, regardless of boys' actual abilities. Latsch and Hannover offer strategies for teachers

to interrupt this narrative, focusing on how they use the stereotype of boys to motivate them to work harder rather than accepting it uncritically. However, such interventions will only be successful if teachers are alerted to their own pre-conceived, subconscious biases against boys.

3.3 Curriculum

Conventional wisdom asserts that there are gender differences in children's aptitude. Specifically, people believe that boys are better at analytical skills and girls are better at social skills. And so parents and teachers channel boys into math and science, while channeling girls into humanities and arts. Because so many people have bought into this conventional wisdom, they look for confirming evidence wherever they can find it. As Fausto-Sterling (1992) has shown, believing is seeing. Scientists routinely test for gender differences in math, science, and verbal ability. Usually, boys and girls score about the same, which means there is no statistically significant difference. Because of a bias toward statistical significance in the peer review publication process, studies showing no difference have a harder time getting published. Therefore, the studies that *do* get published tend to emphasize gender difference. But as both Fausto-Sterling and Guiso, Monte, Sapeinza, and Zingales (2009) show, when differences do exist, they are very small. And yet, they confirm conventional wisdom and continue to shape curriculum in overt and subtle ways.

Cervonia and Ivinson (2011) study the ways that gender is infused into the STEM curriculum even for young children. They conduct a semiotic analysis of moment-to-moment instruction and interactions during science lessons with 7 and 8 year olds in the UK. They find that the pedagogy and content used in science lessons themselves are layered with messages signaling that science is a masculine subject, leading to the exclusion of girls whether they have scientific aptitude or not. They say that the classroom consists of "social-cultural streams" communicating with kids in a gendered way:

For example, when a teacher introduced an activity about forces by setting up apparatus in which a car was rolled down a ramp, the juxtaposition of a masculine artefact within the contexts of science, together with a masculine topic, created a semiotic assemblage that reinforced the masculine valence of the subject. Neither teachers nor children were likely to be aware of this in an explicit way. Had the teacher replaced the car with, for example, a toy donkey (with wheels in their hooves) or a figure of a woman driver in the car, she would have introduced a feminine element into the assemblage (464).

Concepts like gravity, velocity, and mass have no gender, and you need not be one gender or another to understand or test them. But, as Cervonia and Ivinson show, teachers themselves approach STEM subjects as masculine, and they build masculine messages into the curriculum, (probably) unwittingly reproducing their own gender biases. Girls get the message all along the pipeline into STEM fields, and even those with the aptitude and initial inclination often switch out of STEM majors once they take these courses in college (Stout, Dasgupta, Hunsinger, & McManus, 2011).

3.4 Sport

In *The Men and the Boys*, Connell (2000) argued that sports is a major arena in which masculinity is mapped onto male bodies. Focusing on competition (winning), endurance, and strength, sports are an organized, institutionally supported way that gender is structured in, by, and for schools. Sports underscore hegemonic masculinity and the rejection of femininity by urging boys to "man up" (Myers, 2012), and praising boys when they endure intense pain without showing emotion (Oransky & Maracek, 2009). Although not all boys will succeed as athletes (Renold, 2004), the glorification of sports at school shapes boyhood in general. Messner (2011) argues that school sports are important gendering agents for both boys and girls. He points out gender essentialism and categoricalism in policies that impact boys and girls in school sports. For example, although Title IX enabled girls—disproportionately those from the middle

class—to enter sports that had previously been open only to boys, Title IX does not call for the gender integration of school sports. Boys and girls can both play soccer in high schools, but they rarely play on the same team. Essentialist beliefs about boys having more strength, size, and athletic prowess than girls affect regulations in most competitive sports, especially at the Olympic and professional levels. Not to dismiss the importance of bodies in sport, but these regulations amplify sex and gender differences rather than focusing on similarities (Fausto-Sterling, 2007). Ideologically, gender segregation within sports reifies binary understandings of gender and contributes to a larger structure that devalues femininity. Within that context, when boys and girls do play together, say, in soccer, girls complain that boys won't even pass them the ball.

Messner (2011) explains that race, class, and socio-historical context are important factors for children's involvement in different sports over time. Messner's historical analysis of one California high school shows that girls of all classes and races were involved in organized sports in U.S. schools before WWI, but starting in the 1920s, Asian and Latinas participated in intramural sports only, and white middle class girls "... achieved social status not as athletes, but as cheerleaders. As public exemplars of what Connell (1987) calls 'emphasized femininity,' cheerleaders helped to construct male football players as midcentury exemplars of hegemonic masculinity" (156). Cheerleading is certainly athletic, requiring physical prowess, teamwork, and training like most other sports. But as Adams and Bettis (2003) and Grindstaff and West (2006) have shown, cheerleading is a socially accepted vehicle for the reproduction of traditional femininity, even while girls are competing physically "like boys."

4 Ideological Underpinnings of the Gender Regime in Schools

Although scholars have problematized the ways that schools as institutions help to reproduce gender inequality in society, gender remains part

of the structure, curriculum, and practices within schools because doing so resonates with most people ideologically. In other words, it makes us feel comfortable. There are three major ideological frames (Ridgeway, 2009) that ensure the persistence of the gender regime in schools in contemporary US society: neo-liberalism, post-feminism, and heteronormativity.

4.1 Neo-Liberalism

Giddens (1991) observed the ways that "self-help" discourse began to shape ideologies about social problems. By focusing on individual choices as the key to one's success or failure, the neo-liberal ideological frame treats individuals as autonomous agents and minimizes the power of larger social structures and forces over people's life chances. Ringrose and Walkerdine (2008) critique neoliberal messages in media, writing, "What has intensified in our neo-liberal, individualizing times is the psychological imperative to improve and transform the self through the ready resources made available in self-help culture which dominates popular culture" (235). They show the impact of neoliberalism in television programming designed to capitalize on the audience's revulsion of gendered bodies that result from making "bad choices:" fat people, people with eating disorders, etc. The message is that you can choose to be healthy, and if you choose otherwise, then you deserve abjection. Ringrose and Walkerdine write, "Psychology and its attendant experts play an important role in mediating disgust and repulsion (of self and others) generated in the dynamic of abjection, offering up the possibility of rules through which rehabilitation through regulation can become available to us all" (235). Focusing on individuals' roles in their own abjection makes fixing their problems seem simple: just change your behavior. Risman et al. (2018) argue that neo-liberalism is such a pervasive frame that it has even found its way into feminist theories, shifting analyses of gender inequality from a focus on structural forces to an individual level focus on a-contextual interactions and identity

choices. Focusing on choices might empower some people to find relief from the deleterious constraints of the gender regime, but it does not threaten to undo the gender regime itself.

The ideology of neo-liberalism reinforces the gender regime in schools in subtle ways. By placing the likelihood of a student's success in her or his own hands, we can then hold them responsible when they do not succeed. For example, a few years ago, the Harvard Business School did an experiment with their graduate students. The women students performed as well as men on tests, but they did not score as high on classroom participation—which made up 50% of their overall grade. Professors said the women did not participate as often as the men, and so they penalized them. The women said that they did participate, but the professors never called on them. So, as Kantor (2013) explains, Harvard ran an experiment: They sent observers to every class and counted who raised their hands and how often they were called on. It turns out that the women *were* raising their hands, but the professors called on men instead. A feminist response to this problem would be to train the professors to treat the men and women students equitably so that grades were not affected by sexism. But Harvard took a neo-liberal response instead: they said the women were not raising their hands properly. So they trained the women students how to raise their hands more aggressively: to sit on the edge of their seats and to shoot their hands high and fast into the air. This response ignores the structural problem that led professor to call on men instead of women, and it blames the women for not getting called on: if you raise your hands like men, then you'll get called upon. Neo-liberal ideologies permeate schooling at all levels—even in the prestigious halls of Harvard Business School.

4.2 Post-feminism

Post-feminism is part of a larger shift toward neoliberalism. Stacey (1990) defined post-feminism as "...the simultaneous incorporation, revision and depoliticization of many of the central

goals of second wave feminism" (339). In other words, we no longer need feminism because we have successfully eradicated gender inequality. Girls and women affected by the post-feminist frame have bought into the narrative of self-determined success and given up the concept of sexism. They see sexism as an individual-level problem, negating its import so as to claim personal power and avoid a victim stance. Pomerantz, Raby, and Stefanik (2013) say that "...postfeminism is a powerful tactic that effaces structural oppression in order to convince girls—as well as boys—that girls can 'have it all'" (187). In their interviews with girls in school, they find a "doubleness" expressed by the girls: the girls deny the existence of sexism in their school, but they simultaneously report experiencing it. Pomerantz et al. argue that gendered expectations of girlhood may prevent girls from being able to articulate critical, feminist understandings of gender inequality:

First, they may have used postfeminism to maintain a "nice" persona so they would not have to blame anyone for the social injustices they saw around them. The desire to be seen as nice is a commonly noted feature in girls' identities... and is often attributed to girls' learned performance of femininity, which does not include "masculine" traits, such as anger or rebelliousness. Niceness is also part of the idealized neoliberal girl subject, who does what she is told and pitches in where she is needed. To be nice is to be a compliant global citizen. The opposite is someone who protests, whines, and asks for special treatment rather than dealing with their own problems. Second, girls may have used postfeminism as a strategic move away from victimization. Girls simply did not wish to describe themselves as disempowered (203).

Post-feminism allows us to believe in "fairy tales" (Messner, 2011) in which girls can do anything that boys can do, while also blaming individual girls when they fail to live up to their goals. The gender regime remains intact. Feminism is dismissed. And gender equality is assumed to be a *fait accompli*.

4.3 Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity is an ideological frame that shapes expectations for most children from birth.

It is the expectation that all people will (and should) be heterosexual. Martin (2009: 190) defines heteronormativity as “the mundane, everyday ways that heterosexuality is privileged and taken for granted as normal and natural.” Gender and heterosexuality are interconnected (Connell, 1987). Thorne and Luria (1986: 176) state, “In our culture, gender and sexuality are deeply intertwined, especially for adults; ‘woman/man,’ and especially ‘femininity/masculinity’ are categories loaded with heterosexual meanings.” As children, girls are taught to be opposites of boys, socially complementary, because they are expected to partner with them sexually when they become adults (Jackson, 2009). For children to do gender properly, they must adhere to heteronormative ideals. They compel each other to follow prescribed heterosexual scripts (Rich, 1980), continually realigning gender performances with them.

Schools build heteronormativity into many rules and practices. For example, school events such as winter formal dances and proms, presume heterosexual coupling and pressure students into enacting heterosexualized rituals (Pearson, Muller, & Wilkinson, 2007). The recent popularity of “promposals,” in which boys stage elaborate, public ways to ask girls to dances, and vice versa. The social media site, Pinterest, has 1000+ ideas for the best promposals. Dress code policies aimed at girls dressing modestly are often justified by saying that boys are distracted when girls wear revealing clothing. This presumes that boys are heterosexually interested in their girl classmates. Students are punished when they do not conform with heteronormativity. In fact, LGBTQ+ students are at a greater risk of self-harm than straight students, as a result of being stigmatized and bullied (Pearson et al. 2007). More examples of the consequences of heteronormativity in schools will be discussed below.

5 Children’s Interactions Both Reproduce and Challenge the Regime Within the School Context

So far, I have described the ways that structural and ideological forces shape the gender regime at schools. But social structures do not affect everyone equally. Students may be differentially constrained and enabled by social forces (Giddens, 1986), and they can also negotiate the structure in various ways—sometimes following the rules and reproducing the gender regime (West & Zimmerman, 1987), and at other times challenging the gender regime (Deutsch, 2007). Children exert agency (Corsaro, 1997) and construct gender relations within schools on their own terms (Paechter, 2012). Baker-Sperry (2009) says that students’ negotiation occurs within the context of everyday routines, which are stable and predictable within schools. Baker-Sperry notes that researchers tend to record disruptive incidents in which children use their agentic power so as to challenge the rules. But she urges us to also capture incidents when children use their agency to comply with rules. Kessler et al. (1985) say that a great deal of what occurs among students at school goes unnoticed by institutional agents. They say there is an “unofficial school” going on that results from students’ constructions and negotiations with each other. In this section, I will discuss the ways that students reproduce the gender regime through their everyday interactions, and then I will discuss the ways they challenge the gender regime.

6 Reproducing Gender

West and Zimmerman (1987) observe that, although there are a lot of gendered rules and expectations placed on people in society, they do not have to follow them. People have agency and

can choose to break the rules or make new rules altogether. When people break the rules, however, they are punished. Thus, as West and Zimmerman argue, most people follow the rules. By following the rules, people reinforce those rules. The literature shows that children reproduce the gender regime in schools through three major practices: by embracing (literally) heteronormativity; by sifting and sorting themselves by subject; and by policing each others' gendered enactments in school.

6.1 Embracing Heteronormativity: Crushes and Kissing Games

Students perform heteronormativity through their daily rituals and games. Adults are often surprised at what children understand about sexuality. Holford, Renold, and Huuki (2013) write, "Young children know and explore sexuality with each other, but—aware of adults' need for childhood innocence—often keep this secret, in what Best (1983) calls the hidden 'third curriculum'" (712).

Thorne and Luria (1986) showed that early adolescent boys and girls (ages 9–11) constructed heteronormativity differently. Girls in their study shared secrets to establish intimacy, making them "mutually vulnerable through self-disclosure" (183). Boys expressed "contagious excitement" (181) when they violated rules together. Contagious excitement was a sign that boys were "learning patterns of masculinity" (182). Similarly, Renold's (2006) study of 9- to 11-year-olds showed they "practiced heterosexuality" in ways that maintained traditional gender scripts and emphasized heteronormativity. For example, children engaged in a boyfriend-girlfriend culture at school in which boys asked girls to date them, and then boys "dumped" girls "like dirt." Girls who dated had higher status among their peers than those who did not. Even though boys participated in the dating scripts, they did so unromantically, associating romance with femininity. These pre-adolescent children reinforced the gender binary in their interactions at school.

Building on this research, Laura Raymond and I (Myers & Raymond, 2010) argue that heteronormativity is not only the product of a coming-of-age transformation. Instead, it is an everyday part of life, even for very young social actors. It does not only emerge from the gender divide, but is also reproduced by and for young girls themselves. We conducted focus group interviews with elementary school girls. The girls came to the focus groups knowing that we would be talking about girls' interests. Even though our recruitment flier never mentioned boys in any way, many girls seemed to expect "girls' interests" to include boys. They were openly surprised when we did not ask about them. The girls turned the tables on the interviews, reframing girls' interests as heteronormatively boy-centered. These girls performed heterosexual desire long before adolescence: It was an everyday issue for them. Girls as young as first grade brought their preexisting boy-centered language to focus groups: "hotties," "crushes," and "dating." Their heteronormative expressions created cultural meanings within the group. For example, the 2nd and 3rd graders decided to tell each other about their crushes:

Brooke (2nd grade), said, "I want to go last." She stood up, looking down upon her peers seated on the floor, and she waited until she had their attention. When it was quiet, she said, "I like-like Noah." The group began squealing, and Brooke held out her hands and yelled, "But that's not it!" She stood silently, grinning. The whole group started chanting, "Who else? Who else?" Brooke waited several seconds, and then announced: "Jesse." The girls rolled on the floor, howling. Alicia yelled, "Oh my gosh!" Morgan exclaimed, "I'm on fire!" (176).

These girls expressed what Thorne and Luria (1986) call "contagious excitement." Children are typically prohibited from sexualized discourse. In the focus group context, these girls reveled in this performance of heteronormativity. These girls measured themselves and each other according to their perceptions of boys' interests, even when no boys were present. And, like Renold's (2006) sample, these girls reported that the only way to interact with boys at school was in the context of a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship.

Holford et al. (2013) studied “kissing games” among 5 and 6 year old children. They say that kisses have “intense affective power” among children. Adults react to kids’ kissing chase games in a binary way: it’s either hypersexualized aggression or it’s innocent old fashioned fun. They write, “Within young children’s peer cultures, as viewed by adults, the kiss is over-coded, laden with interpretations that may simultaneously imbue it with meaning and strip it of power” (711). Research has shown that young children are actively engaged in making and interpreting sexualized meanings, despite adult assertions that they’re too young to understand. In fact, to make these arguments with a straight face means that adults are willfully ignoring the infusion of heteronormative romance narratives throughout childhood. Their study reveals the elaborate rituals some children create in their kissing games, as with this group of 5–6 year old girls who play kissing games with a boy, Petteri, in a tower on their playground in Finland:

When enough girls are in the tower, they stand around the edge of the tower in a small semicircle. Petteri stands near the entrance of the tower, chanting a nursery rhyme while pointing at each girl in turn. The girl who falls at the end of the rhyme is chosen by Petteri to be kissed. One or two others then take hold of the girl, while one or two take hold of Petteri. Petteri and the girl kiss – their lips are pressed together for a long time. The other children hold them still by their heads and/or bodies. The girls sometimes try and resist during the kiss, but Petteri doesn’t (717).

These data underscore ways that children use their bodies to seek and express pleasure in socially complex ways within the school context. Heterosexuality and a gender hierarchy are ritualized and reproduced through this game and others that are created by and for children.

6.2 Self-sorting by Gender

In her study of elementary school aged children, Thorne (1993) found that children usually sort themselves by gender. While this finding might lead some people to conclude that gender differences are hard-wired into children, there is

plenty of evidence that they are socially constructed. If gender segregation were hard-wired, children would always segregate regardless of the social context. Thorne found that the degree of gender segregation differed by context: in their neighborhoods, they segregate less than at school. At school, children typically prefer to be in same-gender groups. Gender segregation was more pronounced among children of the same age. Gender segregation was also more common in crowds: the children segregated more on the crowded playground than in classrooms. Children’s self-sorting by gender manifests itself in many ways. Because subject-matter is gendered as discussed above, boys and girls sort themselves into appropriate gendered coursework. This starts very early. Baker-Sperry (2009) studied elementary school children’s gendered agency regarding classroom interactions and learning. She found that boys refused to discuss the book *Cinderella* because it was a “girls’ book.” When boys refused to participate, girls became anxious that the boys were not acting like good students and overcompensated to please Baker-Sperry. She writes, “...it was a ritual of pushing and one-upping on the part of the boys and a much more subtle concern on the part of the girls that this was not acceptable behavior, or that the outcomes would be unpleasant” (45). So the boys rejected material associated with girls, and the girls enacted gendered behaviors to try to correct the problem. Rejecting all things associated with girls can have problematic outcomes for boys. As Diprete and Buchman (2013) show, boys try to appeal to other boys for respect and cultural capital by rejecting all things associated with girls, including trying hard in school. As a result, many boys are underachieving in schools.

But this self-sorting cuts both ways, affecting girls as well as boys. A great deal of scholarship has been published on girls who opt out of subjects associated with boyhood: Science, technology, engineering and math, or STEM subjects. Girls are underrepresented in most STEM fields despite their aptitude for performing well. For example, Archer, DeWitt, Osborne, Dillon, Willis, and Wong (2013) focused on

“science keen girls,” whom they describe as having the requisite skills for excelling in science, and yet who express no interest in pursuing careers in science. Many of these girls aspired instead to careers that emphasized feminine traits, such as caregiving fields like teaching and childcare, and glamorous fields like fashion, modeling, and show business. These science-keen girls rejected their STEM skillset—which, it should be noted, is often economically rewarded within the job market—in favor of more gender appropriate aspirations. Archer, et al. found that girls who *were* interested in science careers were typically middle class, and they spent a lot of time doing identity work to “reconcile” their science interests with their identities as feminine girls. These girls recognized that doing science—a “boy subject”—could mark them as boyish, and they worked to combat that image.

6.3 Boys Negotiating Power and Status

Schools themselves promote heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2000), and schools are an important context in which children vie for status (Swain, 2004). Connell has shown that there are multiple masculinities and multiple femininities, with one form of masculinity dominating all others: “hegemonic masculinity.” All boys and men are measured by hegemonic masculinity, even though most boys and men will never accomplish it. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 844) explain that “To sustain a given pattern of hegemony requires the policing of men as well as the exclusion or discrediting of women.” Women, girls, men, and boys all engage in this policing. Masculinity is embodied and enacted through displays of strength, athleticism, risk-taking, and heterosexual prowess.

Swain (2004) said that earning and maintaining status require a great deal of interactional labor. In his study, Swain finds this about boys’ negotiation of status: “Ultimately, the boys’ position in the peer group is determined by the

array of social, cultural, physical, intellectual, and economic resources that each boy is able to draw on and accumulate” (171). Some schools permit some capital and restrict others. For example, dress codes can limit expression of cultural capital. Sports may be of major importance in some schools, while physical aggression outside of sports may be more common vehicles in others. He says that when masculinity is based on toughness and/or hardness, this status can always be contested. Thus, toughness is not the most stable resource for accomplishing and maintaining status among boys. Most boys in his sample avoided fighting, and many relied on humor and athletic prowess to garner capital instead. Fashion was also important—even when school uniforms were strictly enforced, kids could acquire status through wearing name brand sports gear.

Mora (2012) argues that, in school settings, boys perform heterosexualized masculinity. High status boys dictate which masculinities have more capital. Mora says that interactional dynamics associated with race and ethnicity complicate matters more—ethnic boys put on a “cool pose,” portraying tough exteriors shaped by the “code of the street.” He studied 6th grade boys from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, finding that these boys earned status from other boys through the objectification of women. Renold (2004) found the same thing in her study of non-hegemonic 10–11 year old boys in the UK. These boys failed to live up to the tough, cool boy standard in many ways: They were picked on by popular boys for being too bookish and non-athletic. But even these “othered” boys reinforced dominant masculinities by treating hegemonic boys as the standard. These boys longed to be “normal.” They adopted the misogynist practices of their bullying classmates, rejecting all things feminine, including girls. Renold says that, ironically, “they appeared not to make the connection between the devaluing of femininity more widely and the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities” (261). Rather than altering the gender regime, non-hegemonic boys actually helped reinforce the traditional order. Because heterosexuality is a major component of

successful masculinity, boys spend a lot of energy addressing it. As Korobov (2005, 228) writes, “adolescence is a time when young men in particular begin to routinely practice forms of heteronormative masculinity that may implicitly or explicitly sanction sexism, homophobia, and ‘compulsory heterosexuality.’”

6.4 Teasing as Policing

Although not all children follow the gender rules at school, there are consequences for those who violate them. Children police the boundaries through teasing. As Hyde and Jaffee (2000, 289) say, children’s peer groups are “fundamentalists about gender conformity.” Thorne (1993) found that children self-segregated by gender in same-age groups, as compared to mixed-age groups. As part of her explanation for this segregation, Thorne noted that same-aged boys and girls who play together are subjected to heterosexualized teasing, calling them “boyfriend and girlfriend.” This teasing was unwelcomed by children, so they did not play together (see also Myers & Raymond, 2010). Mixed-age children were less likely to be teased in this way. In addition to heterosexualized teasing, children also play “cooties” games. For example, if a boy has to sit with girls at lunch, he might be teased by his peers for having caught cooties from the girls. Thorne argued that cooties signify contamination from cross-gender contact, particularly contamination from girls. The notion that femininity is polluting is very old, yet it is reinforced by children’s everyday games.

There is a lot written about the power of teasing among boys for reinforcing the gendered order. As Mora (2012) writes, “On the streets, those who did not defend themselves or seek retribution were ridiculed and called “punks,” “pussies,” “bitches,” and/or “fags”” (443). Pascoe (2005) calls this discourse “fag talk.” In Pascoe’s study, kids used “fag” to mean weak and unmanly. Fag talk was central to boys’ joking discourse. At the same time, however, fag talk was a potent threat—boys could be targeted at any time by anyone. Pascoe writes,

Fag talk and fag imitations serve as a discourse with which boys discipline themselves and each other through joking relationships... The fluidity of the fag identity is what makes the specter of the fag such a powerful disciplinary mechanism (330).

Calling someone fag was also a clever way to announce to other boys, “Not it!”

Ramlow (2003, 108) says that homophobic comments are effective because they ultimately demasculinize men: “Being called a ‘faggot,’ a ‘pussy,’ or ‘gay,’ then, is not always or overtly about the material fact of sexual difference or same-sex relations; it is about the failures of heteronormative masculinity.” In name-calling, many boys use “gay” and “girl” interchangeably (Orankys & Maracek, 2009). Indeed, Epstein (1997) argued that, in primary or elementary school, the worst thing a boy could be called is a girl.

Youths’ increasing use of social media and other technologies for teasing each other has led to many studies on the harmfulness of cyberbullying. Through the use of internet technology, children can tease each other outside of school for things that happened at school, and vice versa (Mark & Ratliffe, 2011). For some children, cyber-teasing is overwhelming and leads to self-harm (Litwiller & Brausch, 2013). The 2016 documentary, *Audrie and Daisy* (Cohen & Shenk, 2016), for example, tells the story of two high school Freshman girls from two different towns who experienced the same thing: Both were sexually assaulted at parties and then mercilessly tormented via social media afterwards. Audrie committed suicide after one week, and Daisy struggled for years to get her life back. The internet allows for a new level of heterogendered shaming to occur in a very public, devastating way. And, as film-makers Cohen and Shenk show, perpetrators involved in such incidents often go unpunished.

7 Challenging Gender and Crossing Boundaries

Despite the great pressure on children to conform to the gendered order in their everyday interactions in schools, children do challenge the gendered order too. When they challenge or break the

rules, they help “undo gender” (Deutsch, 2007). Thorne (1993) found that, although most children prefer to play in same-gender groups, some children crossed gender boundaries regularly. In particular, children who were considered to be “tomboys” and “sissies” crossed gender lines as a matter of course. A tomboy is a girl who does “boy stuff,” and a sissy is a boy who does “girl stuff.” Tomboys are considered to be going through a “phase,” which they will eventually grow out of. In the meantime, being a tomboy is not seen as problematic for girls until they reach the age where they “should be” dating boys. At that point, girls are pressured to reject their tomboyhood and embrace conventional heterofemininity. Being a sissy, on the other hand, is never a culturally valued status. Boys come to be seen as sissies when they over-associate with girls—when they become contaminated by femininity. Sissyhood is not seen as something that boys will grow out of, and these boys are teased viciously (Mora, 2012; Oransky & Maracek, 2009; Pascoe, 2005; and Ramlow 2003). Both tomboys and sissies can cross gender lines, then, but both must negotiate costs for doing so. Thorne found other circumstances under which children could cross without costs to their identities. First, popular children could cross without damage to their statuses, because they were insulated by their popularity. Second, boys could do “girl things” without cost if they were only participating to disrupt the girls’ games. For example, they could play house if they mocked the game and the girls while doing so. (Of course, this second type of crossing does not undermine or challenge gender, but instead reinforces it.) And lastly, children in Thorne’s study could cross successfully if they were sincere, persistent, and had the skills to contribute to the gendered activity. Thus, Thorne shows that crossing without contamination is possible, but doing so requires a great deal of negotiation.

Many subsequent studies have focused on crossing (see Renold, 2006; Myers & Raymond, 2010). For example, in their research on middle school children, Risman and Seale (2015) found that a lot of what used to be considered to be challenging to the gender binary is no longer

seen as such. Girls playing sports used to be seen as gender-crossing and now it is normative. Girls can be athletes without contaminating their femininity, as long as they wear dresses occasionally. Wohlwend (2012) studied children’s play negotiations in a kindergarten classroom. In her study, she found two 6 year old boys, Daniel and Anthony, who fit Thorne’s (1993) third category of crossers: Daniel and Anthony frequently pretended to be Disney Princesses, and they did so with sincerity and acumen. Wohlwend shows that crossing for these boys required a lot of extra interactional labor:

During princess play, the boys moved among identity layers in intertexts (1) to pivot to fantasy play worlds where they could enact Disney Princess and fan identities, (2) to anchor their own improvisations of shared meanings and identities in their co-constructed play narratives with other children, and (3) to negotiate power relations in transgressive media play (595).

Although these boys were atypical in this classroom, they crossed successfully and broke down gendered assumptions about who can play what games at school.

Bartholomaeus’s (2011) study of hegemonic masculinity among 6–7 year old boys at an Australian school showed that hegemonic boys recognized and respected gendered boundaries, and they looked to higher status boys as cues for how to act. Nevertheless, these high status boys were also willing to challenge gendered boundaries. When discussing books in class, they sometimes identified with girl characters instead of boy characters. They occasionally played “girl games,” and they adhered to interactional rules usually associated with girls. For example, they argued that it was better to be nice and follow rules than to act up in class. These boys expressed complex gendered ideals. They also reported being subordinated by adult masculinities, which Bartholomaeus argues, is an under-explored problem faced by boys. If adult men sanction gender innovations among boys, it is harder for boys to challenge gendered barriers.

Some children challenge gendered boundaries because the gendered boundary itself is oppressive to them. As Thorne (1993) showed, not all

children prefer to be in same-gender groups. Gender queer and gender nonconforming children may find gender homogenous groups to be hostile to them, and therefore seek out gender diverse groups (see also Risman et al., 2018). As Paechter (2012) says: “Being dominant is hard, continuous work, and for many children it may be a relief not to be caught up in that situation of constant mutual surveillance” (234). As more gender categories open for children at schools, the salience of gender categories themselves will be challenged, and the rigidity of gender structures themselves may become destabilized.

8 Using Empirical Research to Interrupt the Gender Regime at School

Although the gender structures within school are largely stable and have a great deal of constraining power over children’s interactions, we can change them and do things differently. We see that children themselves do gender at school in a variety of ways already. Paechter (2012) encourages researchers to focus on this transgressive actions among students and think about their potential for undermining gender hegemony in schools. Administrators, teachers, and parents can and should make deliberate, educated changes based on empirical research, so that children can have even more freedom to interact in new, innovative, and empowering ways. Teachers can use new pedagogies that remove gendered barriers to certain fields, expand and reward diverse learning styles, and encourage intellectual expression. For example, Archer et al. (2013) show that pedagogy impacts the extent to which girls—particularly poor and ethnic minority girls—identify themselves as scientists. McCoy, Byrne, and Banks (2012) argue that society has associated being a hard-working, serious student with being a girl, and we’ve associated academic disengagement with being a boy. This association harms boys, but we can undermine that by restructuring classroom activities and reward systems: “Adopting

structured activities/concerted cultivation practices normally associated with females has a positive effect on the attitudes of boys towards their schooling—‘playing female’” (175). Therefore, by recognizing, problematizing, and rejecting false gendered boundaries in every aspect of schooling, we benefit children of all genders.

References

- Adams, N., & Bettis, P. (2003). Commanding the room in short skirts: Cheering as the embodiment of ideal girlhood. *Gender & Society, 17*(1), 73–91.
- Archer, L., DeWitt, J., Osborne, J., Dillon, J., Willis, B., & Wong, B. (2013). ‘Not girly, not sexy, not glamorous’: Primary school girls’ and parents’ constructions of science aspirations. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 21*, 171–194.
- Baker-Sperry, L. (2009). Gendered agency: Power in the elementary classroom. *Women and Language, 29*, 38–46.
- Bartholomaeus, C. (2011). ‘I’m not allowed wrestling stuff’: Hegemonic masculinity and primary school boys. *Journal of Sociology, 48*, 227–247.
- Best, R. (1983). *We’ve all got scars: What boys and girls learn in elementary school*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Cervonia, C., & Ivinson, G. (2011). Girls in primary school science classrooms: Theorising beyond dominant discourses of gender. *Gender and Education, 23*, 461–475.
- Cohen, B., & Shenk, J. (2016). *Audrie and daisy*. San Francisco, CA: Actual Films.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender & power*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1996). ‘Teaching the boys’: New research on masculinity and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers College Record, 98*, 206–235.
- Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society, 19*, 829–859.
- Corsaro, W. (1997). *The sociology of childhood*. California: Pine Forge Press.
- Deutsch, F. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society, 21*, 106–127.
- Diprete, T., & Buchanan, C. (2013). *The rise of women: The growing gender gap in education and what it means for American schools*. New York: Russell Sage.

- Epstein, D. (1997). Boyz' own stories. *Gender and Education*, 9, 105–115.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (1992). *Myths of gender*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2007). *Sexing the body*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Giddens, A. (1986). *The constitution of society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gilbert, R., & Gilbert, P. (1998). *Masculinity goes to school*. London: Routledge.
- Goar, C., & Sell, J. (2005). Using task definition to modify racial inequality with task groups. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 46, 525–543.
- Grant, L. (1994). Helpers, enforcers, and go-betweens: Black females in elementary school classrooms. In M. B. Zinn & B. T. Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in US society* (pp. 43–62). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Grindstaff, L., & West, E. (2006). Cheerleading and the gendered politics of sport. *Social Problems*, 53, 500–518.
- Guiso, L., Monte, F., Sapeinza, P., & Zingales, L. (2009). Culture, gender, & math. *Science*, 320, 1164–1165.
- Holford, N., Renold, E., & Huuki, T. (2013). What (else) can a kiss do? Theorizing the power plays in young children's sexual cultures. *Sexualities*, 16, 710–729.
- Hyde, J., & Jaffee, S. (2000). Becoming a heterosexual adult. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56, 283–296.
- Jackson, S. (2009). Sexuality, heterosexuality, and gender hierarchy. In A. Ferber, K. Holcomb, & T. Wentling (Eds.), *Sex, gender & sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kantor, J. (2013). Harvard business school case study: Gender equity. *New York Times*. September 7. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/08/education/harvard-case-study-gender-equity.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.
- Kessler, S., Ashenden, D. J., Connell, R. W., & Dowsett, G. W. (1985). Gender relations in secondary schools. *Sociology of Education*, 58, 34–48.
- Korobov, N. (2005). Ironizing masculinity. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 13, 225–246.
- Latsch, M., & Hannover, B. (2014). Smart girls, dumb boys!? How the discourse on “failing boys” impacts performances and motivational goal orientation in German school students. *Social Psychology*, 45, 112–126.
- Litwiller, B., & Brausch, A. (2013). Cyber bullying and physical bullying in adolescent suicide: The role of violent behavior and substance use. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 42, 675–684.
- Mark, L., & Ratliffe, K. (2011). Cyber worlds: New playgrounds for bullying. *Computers in Schools*, 28, 92–116.
- Martin, K. (2009). Normalizing heterosexuality. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 190–207.
- McCoy, S., Byrne, D., & Banks, J. (2012). Too much of a good thing? Gender, ‘concerted cultivation’ and unequal achievement in primary education. *Child Indicators Research*, 5, 155–178.
- Messner, M. (2011). Gender ideologies, youth sports, and the production of soft essentialism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 28, 151–170.
- Monahan, K., Van Derhei, S., Bechtold, J., & Cauffman, E. (2014). From the school yard to the squad car: School discipline, truancy, and arrest. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 43, 1110–1122.
- Mora, R. (2012). ‘Do it for all your pubic hairs!’: Latino boys, masculinity, and puberty. *Gender & Society*, 26, 433–460.
- Morris, E., & Perry, B. (2016). The punishment gap: School suspension and racial disparities in achievement. *Social Problems*, 63, 68–86.
- Myers, K. (2012). ‘Cowboy Up!’ Non-hegemonic representations of masculinity in children's television programming. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 20, 125–143.
- Myers, K., & Raymond, L. (2010). Elementary school girls and heteronormativity: The girl project. *Gender & Society*, 24, 167–188.
- Oransky, M., & Maracek, J. (2009). ‘I’m not going to be a girl: Masculinity and emotions in boys’ friendships and peer groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 24, 218–241.
- Paechter, C. (2011). Gender, visible bodies and schooling: Cultural pathologies of childhood. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16, 309–322.
- Paechter, C. (2012). Bodies, identities and performances: Reconfiguring the language of gender and schooling. *Gender and Education*, 24, 229–241.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2005). Dude, you're a fag: Adolescent masculinity and the fag discourse. *Sexualities*, 8, 329–346.
- Pearson, J., Muller, C., & Wilkinson, L. (2007). Adolescent same-sex attraction and academic outcomes: The role of school attachment and engagement. *Social Problems*, 54, 532–542.
- Pomerantz, S., Raby, R., & Stefanik, A. (2013). Girls run the world? Caught between sexism and postfeminism in school. *Gender & Society*, 27, 185–207.
- Ramlow, T. (2003). Bad boy. *GLQ*, 9, 107–132.
- Renold, E. (2004). ‘Other’ boys: Negotiating non-hegemonic masculinities in the primary school. *Gender and Education*, 16, 247–266.
- Renold, E. (2006). ‘They won't let us play. Unless you're going out with one of them’: Girls, boys and Butler's ‘heterosexual matrix’ in the primary years. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27, 489–509.
- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs*, 5, 631–660.
- Ridgeway, C. (2009). Framed before we know it. *Gender & Society*, 23, 145–160.
- Ringrose, J., & Renold, E. (2012). Slut-shaming, girl power and ‘sexualisation’: Thinking through the

- politics of the international SlutWalks with teen girls. *Gender and Education*, 24, 333–343.
- Ringrose, J., & Walkerdine, V. (2008). Regulating the abject: The TV make-over as site of neo-liberal reinvention toward bourgeois femininity. *Feminist Media Studies*, 8, 227–246.
- Risman, B., Myers, K., & Sin, R. (2018). (Re)Turning to gender as a social structure. Pp. 277–296 in R. Connell, P. Martin, & M. Messner (Eds.), *Gender reckonings: New social theory and research*. New York: New York University Press.
- Risman, B., & Seale, E. (2015). Betwixt and between: Gender contradictions among middle schoolers. In B. Risman & V. Rutter (Eds.), *Families as they really are* (pp. 570–592). New York: WW Norton.
- Sitton, T. (1980). Inside school spaces: Rethinking the hidden dimension. *Urban Education*, 15, 65–82.
- Stacey, J. (1990). *Brave new families*. New York: Basic Books.
- Stout, J., Dasgupta, N., Hunsinger, M., & McManus, M. A. (2011). STEMing the tide: Using ingroup experts to inoculate women's self-concept in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100, 255–270.
- Swain, J. (2004). The resources and strategies that 10–11 year old boys use to construct masculinity in the school setting. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30, 167–185.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Thorne, B., & Luria, Z. (1986). Sexuality and gender in children's daily worlds. *Social Problems*, 33, 176–190.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1, 125–151.
- Wilson, H. (2014). Turning off the school-to-prison pipeline. *Reclaiming Children and Youth*, 23, 49–53.
- Wohlwend, K. (2012). The boys who would be princesses: Playing with gender identity intertexts in disney princess transmedia. *Gender and Education*, 24, 593–610.

Kristen Myers is a professor of sociology at Northern Illinois University. Her scholarship centers on the hegemony of structures of inequality, including gender, race, class, and sexualities.

Part IV

The Macro Level of Analysis

Anna Chatillon, Maria Charles and Karen Bradley

Abstract

This chapter provides a broad overview of sociological research on gender ideologies and their co-constitutive relationships with individuals, social groups, and societies. Gender ideologies are sets of widely taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about the essential natures and relative worth of men and women. In contemporary Western societies, these beliefs are nearly always based on a binary understanding of two naturally distinct and “opposite” sexes that are rooted in biology and map unambiguously onto two gender categories. The chapter starts with a discussion of measurement issues. This is followed by a review of empirical and theoretical research on how ideologies about gender shape persons, interpersonal interactions, and social institutions, and on the factors that predict ideological variability within and across societies. The chapter closes with suggestions for further study.

Gender ideologies are sets of widely taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about the essential natures and relative worth of men and women. In contemporary Western societies, these beliefs are nearly always based on a binary understanding of two naturally distinct and “opposite” sexes that are rooted in biology and map unambiguously onto two gender categories. Culturally dominant understandings of masculinity and femininity are built into social institutions and traditions, and they support gender-differentiated identities, behaviors, and divisions of labor. Gender ideologies are disseminated and reproduced through mass media and popular culture, through organizational arrangements and practices in families, schools, and workplaces, through everyday interpersonal interactions, and through effects on cognition. Although people vary widely in their attitudes and behaviors, transgressions against hegemonic understandings of gender may be punished with social or legal sanctions.

This chapter provides a broad overview of sociological research on gender ideologies and their co-constitutive relationships with individuals, social groups, and societies. We start with a discussion of measurement issues. We then review empirical and theoretical research on how ideologies about gender shape persons, interpersonal interactions, and social institutions, and on the factors that predict ideological variability within and across societies. The chapter closes with suggestions for further study.

A. Chatillon · M. Charles (✉)
University of California, Santa Barbara,
California, USA
e-mail: MCharles@soc.ucsb.edu

A. Chatillon
e-mail: AChatillon@umail.ucsb.edu

K. Bradley
Western Washington University, Bellingham,
Washington, USA
e-mail: Karen.Bradley@wwu.edu

1 Measuring Gender Ideologies

Measurement of gender ideologies is complicated by variability in what gender means to people across time, space, and social context (Kroska, 2000).¹ Sociological researchers typically assess ideology at three analytical levels: individual, social group, and societal. Information about individuals' beliefs and their lived experiences of those beliefs is often gathered through surveys or interviews; a smaller number of studies use time diaries, direct observation, or experimental methods. Research at higher levels of analysis generally aggregates individual attitudinal data, with the aim of assessing similarities and differences across social groups, countries, or time periods. In addition, scholars have described and analyzed specific forms of femininity and masculinity at the intersection of crosscutting identity categories such as race, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, and nativity (e.g., Acosta, 2013; Kane, 2000; McGuffey, 2013; Moore, 2011).

Sociologists have typically assessed gender ideology from a unidimensional perspective, using single attitudinal indicators, summary indices, or narrative depictions to characterize persons, organizations, historical eras, or countries as more or less egalitarian. This treatment of gender egalitarianism as a monolithic entity that grows—or “stalls”—in conjunction with other indicators of women's status aligns well with the liberal view of evolutionary progress that is embedded in American popular discourse and in modernization and functionalist theories of social stratification (Jackson, 1998; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Treiman, 1970). But recent research casts doubt on unidimensional conceptualizations, showing that different dimensions of gender ideology often move independently of one another and may exert independent causal effects (Charles & Bradley, 2009; Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2011; Knight & Brinton, 2017).

Charles and colleagues distinguish between two distinct dimensions of gender ideology that are related to different inequality forms (Charles & Bradley, 2002, 2009; Charles & Grusky, 2004). *Gender essentialism* represents men and women as fundamentally different, but not necessarily unequal, and *male primacy* represents men as hierarchically superior. Ideologies of male primacy support “vertical” forms of segregation, such as women's underrepresentation in high-prestige professions and elite universities, while gender essentialism supports “horizontal” inequalities, such as segregation by field of study and between service work and manual labor (Charles, 2011a; Levanon & Grusky, 2016).

Knight & Brinton (2017) also find clear evidence of multidimensionality in their study of attitudinal change in 17 European countries between 1990 and 2009. While gender traditionalism (“male primacy”) declined in all countries they studied, traditionalism was replaced by three distinct varieties of egalitarianism, “liberal,” “familist,” and “flexible,” which are characterized by different mixtures of essentialist and individualistic beliefs. In other words, declining male primacy has been accompanied not by a uniform “rising tide” of liberal egalitarianism but by diverse new understandings of gender roles and gender difference.

Davis and Greenstein provide a useful catalog of items used to measure different tenets of gender ideology in large-scale surveys (2009, Table 1; see also Baber & Tucker, 2006). Not surprisingly, some ideological dimensions are better documented than others. For example, trends in support for traditionally gendered divisions of paid and unpaid labor have been explored through large national and international surveys, such as the General Social Survey (e.g., “It is much better for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family”), the International Social Survey Programme (e.g., “Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income”), and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (e.g., “A woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop”), and through smaller survey-based experiments,

¹Our use of the plural form, *ideologies*, is meant to reflect this contextual contingency. We use the singular form when referencing either a specific ideological tenet or the general concept of *ideology*.

interviews, and participant observation (Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Jacobs & Gerson, 2016; Thébaud & Pedulla, 2016). Trends in beliefs about intrinsic differences between women and men (“gender essentialism”) and beliefs about male privilege (“male primacy”) have not been as widely studied, but relevant survey items include the following from the World Values Survey: “On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do” (gender essentialism), and “A university education is more important for a boy than a girl” (male primacy).²

Most previous sociological analyses of gender ideology have reified the fixed, binary gender categories that are taken for granted in the broader society. But with growing evidence of gender’s fluidity and complexity (e.g., Francis & Paechter, 2015; Nicholas, 2014), some scholars have begun to develop research designs and survey instruments that allow for non-binary and contingent gender identities and beliefs (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Westbrook & Saperstein, 2015). Westbrook and Saperstein review treatment of sex and gender in four large national social surveys and find that most research designs are permeated by popular understandings of sex and gender as synonymous, easily read, and unchanging. They recommend that scholars revise questions about respondents sex and gender and distinguish between sex assigned at birth and current gender identity. In addition, researchers should “provide clear criteria or instructions for how to determine sex and gender, acknowledge change in sex and gender over the life course, and rethink the necessity of employing binary sex and gender categories throughout the survey materials” (Westbrook & Saperstein, 2015, 555).

²Sociologists and psychologists have documented many cross-culturally common beliefs about men’s and women’s distinct traits and abilities and about men’s intrinsically greater competence and social status (Conway, Pizzamiglio, & Mount, 1996; Ridgeway, 2011; Wagner & Berger, 1997; Williams & Best, 1990), but we know much less about cross-cultural and historical variability on these ideological dimensions (but see Knight & Brinton, 2017).

2 How Do Gender Ideologies Affect Societies?

Ideologies about gender shape society directly and indirectly at multiple levels of analysis. At the individual level, they influence behavior, choices, and beliefs; at the interactional and societal levels, they support the production, reproduction, and legitimation of gendered relations and institutions that perpetuate inequality.

Dominant gender ideologies present sex categories as mutually exclusive and exhaustive: they do not allow for other sexes or genders, or for ungendered identities. Some characteristics—such as empathy, beauty, and selflessness—are understood to be essentially feminine, and others—such as leadership, assertiveness, and strength—are understood to be essentially masculine. Clothing, careers, and hobbies are also associated with one gender or the other. By performing the qualities associated with their respective genders, many women and men enact, or “do,” normative gender identities in their everyday interactions (Butler, 1999; Ridgeway, 2011; West & Zimmerman, 1987). There may be interactional rewards for gender-conforming displays and penalties for gender-nonconforming ones. These gender performances may or may not reflect deeply internalized individual identities and affinities; either way, they help to reproduce and legitimate the gender structure.

In addition to influencing identities and behaviors, cultural gender beliefs generate powerful cognitive biases about the aptitudes and affinities of self and others. One bias, which can be self-fulfilling (Ridgeway, 2011), is the belief that people are not good at gender-nonconforming work. Another is that we are most likely to enjoy gender-conforming work.³ For example, the masculine stereotyping of

³People seek congruence between core personality traits and the task content of jobs (Eagly & Karau, 2002). But understandings of core personality traits are biased by gender stereotypes, as are understandings of jobs (e.g., stereotypes of math nerds and science geeks are highly gendered). This tension may influence not only the gender identity of the people in a given field, but how they present their gender (see, e.g., Alfrey & Twine, 2017).

scientific, technical, engineering, and mathematical (STEM) activities may lead adolescent girls to assume that they will not be good at related jobs and will not enjoy them. Boys may assume the opposite. The gender-specific career aspirations and investments that result help naturalize and legitimate gender segregation and reproduce masculine stereotyping of these fields (Cech, 2013; Correll, 2001).

Gender ideologies also shape social institutions and regulate access to them and the power they bestow. They may lead policymakers, managers, and other gatekeepers to discriminate against members of gender-nonconforming groups in hiring and promotion, and to organize schools and workplaces in ways that presume a primary male breadwinner (Kanter, 1977; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015; Risman, 2004). Implicit understandings of gender divisions of family labor also structure welfare states (Charles & Cech, 2010; Orloff, 1993; Pfau-Effinger, 2010). Mandel (2009) distinguishes, for example, the ideologies of gender difference that underlie state interventions in conservative and social democratic welfare state regimes (e.g., Germany and Sweden, respectively) from ideals of similarity and equal treatment that underlie *non-interventions* by states in liberal welfare regimes (e.g., the United States). The resultant policies, structures, and traditions can gender public-sphere opportunities even without the endorsement of institutional leaders or any explicit reference to gender.

Different tenets of gender ideology may rise and fall independently to produce complex patterns of gender inequality. For example, weakening norms of male primacy may combine with persistent gender essentialist beliefs to generate both women's increasing access to educational and occupational institutions and increasing gender segregation within these institutions (Charles & Bradley, 2002; Charles & Grusky, 2004; Weeden, 2004). Since World War II, governments and organizations have been held increasingly accountable to global ideals of liberal individualism and universalism. These define equality in formal procedural terms: as equal opportunity to realize preferences (understood as intrinsic

properties of individuals). Liberal egalitarian principles have proven to be powerful ideological instruments for resisting the sort of overt discrimination that historically excluded women from major social institutions (Berkovitch & Bradley, 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, & Shanahan, 1997),⁴ but they have also proven able to coexist quite comfortably alongside essentialist gender beliefs. Under this “different but equal” ideological regime, the most persistent gender inequalities are those that are “readily interpreted as outcomes of free choices by formally equal *but innately different* men and women” (Charles, 2011a, 351).

In affluent societies, moreover, gender essentialist beliefs may interact with cultural ideals of *self-expressiveness* to strengthen the gender typing of educational and occupational fields (Charles & Bradley, 2009; Charles, 2017). Where concerns about material security are less pronounced, personal fulfillment and self-expression come to be normatively sanctioned grounds for making life choices—especially in privileged social classes. Political scientist Ronald Inglehart and colleagues has shown that “postmaterialist” ideals of self-expressiveness are indeed more prevalent in affluent late-modern democracies (Inglehart, Ponarin, & Inglehart, 2017). But his analyses do not consider that the “authentic” inner selves to which we are expected to stay true are also social products that develop in cultural environments permeated by beliefs about gender and other differences. The ideal of self-expression through work renders these cognitive biases more powerful. Young people are encouraged to do what they love and follow their passions, but they rarely know in advance which careers will allow them to achieve these ideals. They may therefore draw on stereotypes about what “people like them” love and are good at. Since gender is one of the most salient human identities, they will often draw on gender stereotypes.

⁴Besides universalistic cultural shifts, equalizing trends have been attributed to feminist activism, declining fertility, and the demands and opportunities associated with (post-)industrial economic restructuring (Ferree, 2012; Goldin, 2006; Jackson, 1998; Treiman, 1970).

The resultant aspirations and choices do not feel like forced conformity to societal gender norms; they are experienced as a product of likes and dislikes that are quintessentially individual and must be respected as a matter of personal freedom (Cech, 2013; Charles, 2017; Charles & Bradley, 2009). This emotional investment gives some forms of gender segregation tremendous staying power, even in social contexts where overt gender discrimination is perceived as illegitimate. Far from violating egalitarian ideals, therefore, gender segregation may seem to honor them—by allowing “Mars and Venus” to follow their passions and express their true selves.

3 How Do Gender Ideologies Vary?

Today most gender scholars treat ideology as one of the central forces in the generation and maintenance of gender inequalities. It is not surprising, therefore, that a great deal of contemporary sociological research aims to describe and explain variability in gender attitudes among social groups, over time, and across societies. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) distinguish interest-based and exposure-based explanations for variability in gender ideology. The former posit effects of individuals’ (real or perceived) interests on their attitudes, while the latter treat attitudinal variation as a function of personal exposure to egalitarian ideology, which may come in the form of socialization, education, or experience (see also Davis and Greenstein 2009).

3.1 Variability Within Societies

Surveys, in-depth interviews, and ethnographies have documented considerable variability in gender beliefs across social subgroups. Survey researchers typically compare responses to attitudinal items across salient demographic categories (or combinations thereof), while interviewers and ethnographers often explore understandings of gender, masculinity, and femininity in specific social locations, or at the

intersections of different categorical identities (gender, race, class, etc.).

In the United States, race and gender are the demographic characteristics with the best-documented relationships to gender ideology. The relative ideological positions of social groups depend on the attitudinal indicators and the demographic classifications used. For example, people of color tend to espouse more egalitarian views of women’s labor force participation than do white Americans. This difference varies across minority subgroups, however, with African Americans showing more favorable views than other people of color (Kane, 2000). With respect to the gendered division of family labor, women are more likely than men to hold egalitarian beliefs, especially if their mothers were employed (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Other demographic predictors of specific gender attitudes include religion, age, social class, educational attainment, labor force participation, parental role models, place of residence, and family structure.⁵ Higher levels of education correspond to less support for separate gender roles, and women who are employed full time (and, if applicable, their husbands) demonstrate more support for equal treatment of women in the workplace and shared family responsibilities than do women who are not. Higher levels of religiosity tend to correlate positively with more traditional beliefs about divisions of family labor, though the strength of this relationship varies by denomination (Peek et al., 1991). Parents’ gender ideologies and their divisions of household labor also have strong influences on some attitudes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Ciabattari, 2001).

Of course, individuals are not defined—and their attitudes cannot be predicted—by a single identity category or characteristic (Crenshaw, 1989). Quantitative and qualitative research has demonstrated that race, class, gender, religion, and other identities interact in complex ways to produce unique experiences of, and attitudes

⁵The effect of marital status and number of children on gender ideology has also been the subject of numerous studies (e.g., Corrigan & Konrad, 2007; Cunningham, Beutel, Barber, & Thornton, 2005).

about, gender (Bettie, 2014; Damaske, 2011; Dugger, 1991; Hill, 2002; see overview by Davis and Greenstein 2009). For example, class status—including education, income, and occupation—can alter substantially the attitudinal effects of other demographic factors (e.g., race), and vice versa. Similarly, geography intersects with gender and race to diversify respondents' attitudes about various aspects of gender ideology within demographic groups (Powers et al., 2003).

3.2 Historical Trends Within the United States

During the nineteenth century, production in factories and mines gradually replaced family agriculture and pre-industrial manufacturing in the United States, and the formal labor force became demographically and symbolically masculinized. A growing “ideology of separate spheres” accompanied this economic transformation, calling for married women and men to devote themselves to their “natural” places in the home and market, respectively. Although a single breadwinner was not economically viable for many families, this hegemonic ideal structured communities and workplaces, leaving poor and working class men and women—especially immigrants and people of color—to struggle for respect and material security (Kimmel, 2000; Padavic & Reskin, 2002).

The ideology of separate spheres began to lose force during the second half of the twentieth century. By the 1970s, attitudes about women's labor force participation and shared power and responsibility had become decidedly more gender-egalitarian (Cherlin & Walters, 1981). This trend has been attributed to cohort replacement (younger generations replacing older ones), social structural changes (declining fertility, rising educational attainment of girls and women, growing opportunities for women's employment, feminist movements), and a generic attitudinal shift toward liberal, rights-based ideology

(Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Goldin, 2006; Ramirez et al., 1997).

In the mid-1990s, trends in gender attitudes flattened out across American age, gender, racial, class, and educational groups (Cotter et al., 2011; see also <http://vanneman.umd.edu/endofgr/gssattititems.html>). Cotter and colleagues characterize the current U.S.-American ideological regime as “egalitarian essentialist,” reflecting both widespread support for liberal egalitarian principles in the United States and a growing mobilization against those tenets of second-wave feminism that are seen as undermining women's deep involvement in mothering (Blair-Loy, 2003; Charles & Cech, 2010; Hays, 1998; Shu and Meagher, 2018). A closer look at disaggregated trends during the first decade of the twenty-first century reveals significant variability across indicators, however. While gender-essentialist attitudes (“Men make better politicians”) strengthened, support for egalitarian divisions of family labor recovered most of the ground lost during the 1990s. One interpretation is that liberal egalitarian principles had become sufficiently normative that, to be successful, antifeminist discourse had to affirm women's equal right to “choose” paid employment even while emphasizing “natural” gender differences in aptitudes and affinities (Charles, 2011a; Charles & Grusky, 2004).

More recent scholarship investigates effects of workplace and welfare-state policies on gendered attitudes within heterosexual relationships (Gerson, 2011; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). Kathleen Gerson, for instance, finds that both men and women say they prefer an egalitarian division of family labor as “Plan A.” However, if structural constraints press individuals to identify a “Plan B,” men and women report different preferences: men say they would fall back on traditional family roles while women prefer the economic self-reliance that remaining single provides. The spread of hybrid forms of egalitarianism may reflect this discrepancy between men's and women's perspectives—along with the workplace barriers to equally-shared family

responsibilities, the low social status of caretakers, and the (perhaps unforeseen) pressures of executing the egalitarian model.

3.3 Variability Across Societies

Most cross-national comparative studies treat gender ideology as a unidimensional entity, often measured using a composite index of responses to questions about women's market and family roles (e.g., Fuwa, 2004; Pampel, 2011). As discussed above, this approach is not ideal because it falsely assumes that the indices' component indicators covary (Braun & Scott, 2009; Charles & Grusky, 2004; Knight & Brinton, 2017) and because the available indicators provide an incomplete picture (Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Kane, 2000)—for example, capturing beliefs related to the separate spheres ideology but not beliefs about male privilege or essentialist gender stereotypes.

The pervasiveness of unidimensional conceptualizations of gender ideology partly reflects their homology with evolutionary accounts of societal modernization. For example, Robert Max Jackson (1998) attributes growing egalitarianism to the competitive pressures of modern political and economic structures, and Inglehart and Norris (2003) point to the egalitarian cultural effects of broad-based material security. Neo-institutionalist scholars offer a more culture-centric evolutionary account, arguing that countries with tighter links to world society are more strongly influenced by diffusing world cultural norms of egalitarianism (Ramirez et al., 1997).

But gender inequality sometimes varies in “counter-evolutionary” fashion, as exemplified in the stronger segregation of some educational and occupational fields in advanced industrial countries than in developing and transitional ones.⁶ Charles and coauthors attribute this pattern to the interaction of structural and ideological forces (Charles &

Bradley, 2002; Charles & Grusky, 2004). First, women's incorporation into advanced industrial labor markets and educational systems occurred in part through expansion of industrial and curricular sectors understood to be intrinsically feminine. In 1953, for example, UNESCO issued a formal resolution stating that universities should facilitate women's access to higher education by permitting them to specialize in fields “particularly suited to feminine aptitudes” (263). In ensuing decades, starting in the affluent West, “feminine aptitudes” were accommodated through establishment of new higher education programs and institution types, some granting two-year degrees in fields like home economics, healthcare, business administration, tourism, and hospitality. Second, persistent gender-essentialist beliefs interact with ideals of individual self-expression to exacerbate some forms of gender segregation in affluent, postmaterialist societies. For instance, since stereotypes about American girls' authentic inner selves rarely include an affinity for STEM pursuits, it is unlikely that these girls will consider such work a means of following their passions (Charles, 2017). Because the resultant gendered aspirations are experienced as personal choices, not gender conformity, they will be highly resilient even in the most liberal egalitarian cultural contexts.

4 Directions for Future Research

Our analysis of the existing sociological literature points to at least three ways of advancing the study of gender ideologies. First, relatively little is known about how cross-cutting social group identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, nativity, sexuality) and social contexts (e.g., historical period, country, region) interact to shape individuals' gender beliefs and values. Qualitative and quantitative intersectional and macro-comparative research can help illuminate complex interactions among social identities and locations within and across societies. Second, more data should be collected to capture dimensions of gender ideology beyond divisions of family labor. In particular, systematic data that allow different attitudinal dimensions (e.g. male

⁶Women's share of science graduates is nearly 50 percentage points higher in some Eastern European and Muslim countries than in the Netherlands, for example (Charles, 2011b).

primacy, gender essentialism, norms of self-expressiveness) to be distinguished would allow us to test theories about the independence or covariation of these ideological tenets. Third, non-binary gender identities warrant more serious attention. Although gender researchers in sociology demonstrate a growing awareness of these identities, further development of innovative measurement strategies is required to adequately capture such understandings and to evaluate their salience at the societal level. This is especially necessary for assessing the pervasiveness of heteronormativity and binary gender bias, which are obscured by most methods currently in use. These newer lines of inquiry promise to deepen our understanding of the ideological roots of gender and related structures of inequality.

References

- Acosta, K. L. (2013). *Amigas y amantes: Sexually nonconforming Latinas negotiate family*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Alfrey, L., & Twine, F. W. (2017). Gender-fluid geek girls: Negotiating inequality regimes in the tech industry. *Gender & Society, 31*, 28–50.
- Baber, K. M., & Tucker, C. J. (2006). The social roles questionnaire: A new approach to measuring attitudes toward gender. *Sex Roles, 54*, 459–467.
- Bettie, J. (2014). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2003). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bolzendahl, C., & Myers, D. J. (2004). Feminist attitudes and support for gender equality: Opinion change in women and men, 1974–1998. *Social Forces, 83*, 759–789.
- Berkovitch, N., & Bradley, K. (1999). The globalization of women's status: Consensus/dissensus in the world polity. *Sociological Perspectives, 42*, 481–498.
- Braun, M., & Scott, J. (2009). Gender-role egalitarianism: Is the trend reversal real? *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 21*, 362–367.
- Brewster, K. L., & Padavic, I. (2000). Change in gender ideology, 1977–1998: The contributions of intracohort change and population turnover. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 62*, 477–487.
- Brooks, C., & Bolzendahl, C. (2004). The transformation of U.S. gender role attitudes: Cohort replacement, social-structural change, and ideological learning. *Social Science Research, 33*, 106–133.
- Butler, J. (1999/1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York City, NY: Routledge.
- Cech, E. A. (2013). The self-expressive edge of occupational sex segregation. *American Journal of Sociology, 119*, 747–789.
- Charles, M. (2011a). A world of difference: International trends in women's economic status. *Annual Review of Sociology, 37*, 355–371.
- Charles, M. (2011b). What gender is science? *Contexts, 10*, 22–28.
- Charles, M. (2017). Venus, Mars, and math: Gender, societal affluence, and eighth graders' aspirations for STEM. *Socius, 3*, 1–16.
- Charles, M., & Bradley, K. (2002). Equal but separate? A cross-national study of sex segregation in higher education. *American Sociological Review, 67*, 573–599.
- Charles, M., & Bradley, K. (2009). Indulging our gendered selves? Sex-segregation by field of study in 44 countries. *American Journal of Sociology, 114*, 924–976.
- Charles, M., & Cech, E. (2010). Beliefs about maternal employment. In J. Treas & S. Drobníč (Eds.), *Dividing the domestic: Men, women, and household work in cross-national perspective* (pp. 147–174). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Charles, M., & Grusky, D. (2004). *Occupational ghettos: The worldwide segregation of women and men*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Cherlin, A., & Walters, P. B. (1981). Trends in United States men's and women's sex-role attitudes: 1972–1978. *American Sociological Review, 46*, 453–460.
- Ciabattari, T. (2001). Changes in men's conservative gender ideologies: Cohort and period influences. *Gender & Society, 15*, 574–591.
- Conway, M., Teresa Pizzamiglio, M. T., & Mount, L. (1996). Status, communality, and agency: Implications for stereotypes of gender and other groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*, 25–36.
- Correll, S. J. (2001). Gender and career choice processes: The role of biased self-assessments. *American Journal of Sociology, 106*, 1691–1730.
- Corrigan, E. A., & Konrad, A. M. (2007). Gender role attitudes and careers: A longitudinal study. *Sex Roles, 56*, 847–855.
- Cotter, D., Hermsen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. (2011). The end of the gender revolution? Gender role attitudes from 1977 to 2008. *American Journal of Sociology, 117*, 259–289.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1*, 139–167.
- Cunningham, M., Beutel, A. M., Barber, J. S., & Thornton, A. (2005). Reciprocal relationships between attitudes about gender and social contexts during young adulthood. *Social Science Research, 34*, 862–892.

- Damaske, S. (2011). A 'major career woman'? How women develop early expectations about work. *Gender & Society*, 25, 409–430.
- Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2009). Gender ideology: Components, predictors, and consequences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35, 87–105.
- Dugger, K. (1991). Social location and gender-role attitudes: A comparison of black and white women. In B. Lorber & S. Farrell (Eds.), *The social construction of gender* (pp. 38–55). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109, 573–598.
- Freee, M. M. (2012). *Varieties of feminism: German gender politics in global perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Francis, B., & Paechter, C. (2015). The problem of gender categorisation: Addressing dilemmas past and present in gender and education research. *Gender and Education*, 27, 776–790.
- Fuwa, M. (2004). Macro-level gender inequality and the division of household labor in 22 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 69, 751–767.
- Gerson, K. (2011). *The unfinished revolution: Coming of age in a new era of gender, work, and family*. New York City, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Goldin, C. (2006). The 'quiet revolution' that transformed women's employment, education and family. *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings*, 96, 1–21.
- Hays, S. (1998). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hill, S. A. (2002). Teaching and doing gender in African American families. *Sex Roles*, 47, 493–506.
- Hochschild, A. R., & Machung, A. (2012). *The second shift*. New York: Viking.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, R. F., Ponarin, E., & Inglehart, R. C. (2017). Cultural change, slow and fast: The distinctive trajectory of norms governing gender equality and sexual orientation. *Social Forces*, 95, 1313–1340.
- Jackson, R. M. (1998). *Destined for equality: The inevitable rise of women's status*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jacobs, J. A., & Gerson, K. (2016). *The time divide: Work, family, and gender inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kane, E. W. (2000). Racial and ethnic variations in gender-related attitudes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 419–439.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York City, NY: Basic Books.
- Kimmel, M. (2000). *The gendered society*. New York City, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Knight, C. R., & Brinton, M. C. (2017). One egalitarianism or several? Two decades of gender-role attitude change in Europe. *American Journal of Sociology*, 122, 1485–1532.
- Kroska, A. (2000). Conceptualizing and measuring gender ideology as an identity. *Gender & Society*, 14, 368–394.
- Levanon, A., & Grusky, D. B. (2016). The persistence of extreme gender segregation in the twenty-first century. *American Journal of Sociology*, 122, 573–619.
- Mandel, H. (2009). Configurations of gender inequality: The consequences of ideology and public policy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 60, 693–719.
- McGuffey, C. S. (2013). Rape and racial appraisals: Culture, intersectionality, and black women's accounts of sexual assault. *Du Bois Review*, 10, 109–130.
- Moore, M. (2011). *Invisible families: Gay identities, relationships and motherhood among black women*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Nicholas, L. (2014). *Queer post-gender ethics: The shape of selves to come*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 303–328.
- Padavic, I., & Reskin, B. (2002). *Women and men at work* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.
- Pampel, F. (2011). Cohort change, diffusion, and support for gender egalitarianism in cross-national perspective. *Demographic Research*, 25, 667–694.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family, socialization and interaction process*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Pedulla, D. S., & Thébaud, S. (2015). Can we finish the revolution? Gender, work-family ideals, and institutional constraint. *American Sociological Review*, 80, 116–139.
- Peek, C. W., Lowe, G. D., & Williams, L. S. (1991). Gender and God's word: Another look at religious fundamentalism and sexism. *Social Forces*, 69, 1205–1221.
- Pfau-Effinger, B. (2010). Cultural and institutional contexts. In J. Treas & S. Drobnič (Eds.), *Dividing the domestic: Men, women, and household work in cross-national perspective* (pp. 125–146). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Powers, R. S., Suito, J. J., Guerra, S., Shackelford, M., Mecom, D., & Gusman, K. (2003). Regional differences in gender-role attitudes: Variations by gender and race. *Gender Issues*, 21(2), 40–54.
- Ramirez, F. O., Soysal, Y., & Shanahan, S. (1997). The changing logic of political citizenship: Cross-national acquisition of women's suffrage rights, 1890–1990. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 735–745.
- Ridgeway, C. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18, 429–450.
- Shu, X., & Meagher, K. D. (2018). Beyond the stalled gender revolution: Historical and cohort dynamics in gender attitudes from 1977 to 2016. *Social Forces*, 96(3), 1243–1274.

- Thébaud, S., & Pedulla, D. S. (2016). How gender ideologies and norms shape young men's responses to work-family policies. *Gender & Society, 30*, 590–617.
- Treiman, D. J. (1970). Industrialization and social stratification. *Sociological Inquiry, 40*(2), 207–234.
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization). (1953). *Women and education*. Paris, FR: UNESCO.
- Wagner, D. G., & Berger, J. (1997). Gender and interpersonal task behaviors: Status expectation accounts. *Sociological Perspectives, 40*, 1–32.
- Weeden, K. A. (2004). Profiles of change: Sex segregation in the United States, 1910–2000. In M. Charles & D. B. Grusky (Eds.), *Occupational ghettos: The worldwide segregation of women and men* (pp. 131–178). Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*, 125–151.
- Westbrook, L., & Saperstein, A. (2015). New categories are not enough: Rethinking the measurement of sex and gender in social surveys. *Gender & Society, 29*, 534–560.
- Williams, J. E., & Best, D. L. (1990). *Measuring sex stereotypes: A multinational study*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Anna Chatillon is a doctoral student in the Sociology Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research examines the intersections of race and gender in

feminist organizing, with particular attention to the influence of cultural constructions of motherhood. Most recently, she analyzed these topics through a study of feminist organizations' portrayal of Black Lives Matter as a feminist concern.

Maria Charles is Professor of Sociology, Director of the Broom Demography Center, and faculty affiliate of Feminist Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research explores how and why gender-based inequalities differ across national and historical contexts. Charles is an elected member of the Sociological Research Association and recipient of numerous research awards and grants for her comparative work on gender segregation and gender belief systems around the world.

Karen Bradley is Professor of Sociology at Western Washington University. She specializes in the comparative study of educational organizations, with particular focus on women's participation in higher education cross-nationally. She is author of multiple award-winning articles, including "Indulging our Gendered Selves" (in *American Journal of Sociology*, 2009, with Maria Charles). Bradley has also written on how unidimensional understandings of "women's status" influence global strategies to ameliorate (and measure) gender inequality.



Marie Laperrière and Ann Shola Orloff

Abstract

Feminist scholars offer distinctive theoretical tools to conceptualize the relationship between gender relations and welfare states. Mainstream scholars have been responsive to this work, increasingly considering the centrality of gender to the transformations of contemporary welfare states, although some of the most important theoretical and political implications of feminist analyses have not yet been fully integrated. In this paper, we reflect on the theoretical and methodological challenges facing scholarship that aims to make gendered power relations central to the analysis of welfare states. We discuss the main implications of feminist analyses, centering on the significance of the gendered division of labor and power, and the way they have been or are yet to be integrated into our understandings of welfare states. Next, we examine scholarship on policies that are particularly significant for reflecting, reshaping and occasionally undermining the gendered division of labor. Finally, we offer two suggestions for improving our analyses of gender and welfare states. First,

scholars should consider how social provision is always involved in the regulation of individuals and groups as well as redistribution; the relationship between the disciplinary and redistributive functions of the state should be analytically central for understanding the political shaping of gender relations. Second, we discuss the connection between state policies and social politics, briefly reviewing the political drivers underpinning policies that differ in generosity, scope of coverage, bases for entitlement, and in the goals they purport to address and logics they instantiate, and suggest that gendered political goals and identities be contextualized.

Welfare states—the common term for systems of social provision and regulation in the rich democracies of the global North—today are facing challenges, both structural and conjectural, in which transformations of gender play a central role. Demographic shifts are particularly notable: aging populations, an increase in the pace of migration, declining fertility in many places, as well as the reconfiguration of household and family formations. Political-economic changes are also crucial, with increasingly mobile capital and shifts toward a more service-centered economy in which women workers are key. Gender relations both shape and are transformed by the strategies that states adopt

M. Laperrière (✉) · A. S. Orloff
Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, USA
e-mail: marielaperriere2018@u.northwestern.edu

A. S. Orloff
e-mail: a-orloff@northwestern.edu

to respond to these challenges. This means that in order to understand the transformations of welfare states, scholars must address the mutually constitutive character of states, gender and other dimensions of power, difference and inequality such as race, sexuality, citizenship status and religion to complement the rich comparative tradition of considering the relationship of welfare states and class power.

Feminist scholars offer distinctive theoretical tools to conceptualize the relationship between gender relations and welfare states. Mainstream scholars have been responsive to this work, increasingly considering the centrality of gender to the transformations of contemporary welfare states, although some of the theoretical and political implications of feminist analyses have not yet been fully integrated (Orloff, 2009). We see this as a distinction between gender awareness and feminism. Gender awareness—the recognition of gender disparities in familial care responsibilities and of the associated impact on women’s and men’s employment patterns—has been taken up by mainstream scholars, and is reflected in new calls for state policies to assist in “work-family reconciliation” (Jenson, 2009, 2015). Feminist analysis goes further and deeper, investigating structures and dimensions of gender relations as centrally about power and inequality, not just difference.

In this chapter, we reflect on the theoretical and methodological challenges facing scholarship that aims to make gendered power relations central to the analysis of welfare states. We focus on the US and, in somewhat less detail, on the rich capitalist democracies of the Global North. We start by discussing the main implications of feminist analyses and the way they have been or are yet to be integrated into our understandings of welfare states. Next, we examine scholarship on policies that are particularly significant for reflecting, reshaping and occasionally undermining the gendered division of labor. We argue that scholars should consider, critically, concepts of women’s and men’s gendered interests or political goals, and how policies may or may not address these. We also take note of scholarship that shows that reduced inequality in one sphere can be associated with increased inequality in

another. Second, we discuss how social provision is always involved in the regulation of individuals and groups as well as redistribution; the relationship between the disciplinary and redistributive functions of the state should be analytically central for understanding the political shaping of gender relations. We argue that evaluating the consequences of social regulation as well as redistribution is necessary in order to assess the extent to which states are, to put it colloquially, “women-friendly,” and towards which women. Finally, we discuss the connection between state policies and social politics, briefly reviewing the political drivers underpinning policies that differ in generosity, scope of coverage, bases for entitlement, and in the goals they purport to address and logics they instantiate.

1 Gender-Blind, Gender-Aware and Feminist Analyses of Welfare States

Scholars of welfare states aim to explain variation across countries and over time in the operations and outcomes of social provision. Early comparative investigations drew on Polanyi, Marshall, Weber and (reformist) Marxism to explain the cross-national variation observed among the systems of Western rich democracies, exploring the impact of capitalist industrialization or the potential of “politics against markets” to create welfare for the working classes, which in turn empowered workers in their struggles against capital (Castles, Stephan, Jane, Herbert, & Christopher, 2010). Scholars investigated the importance of class political power, class coalitions, partisan and political cleavages and the relationship between state and market for welfare systems, as in Esping-Andersen’s (1990) classic work on welfare regimes. While this scholarship elucidated key aspects of capitalism, class relations, and income inequalities, it did not fully illuminate the ways in which welfare states affected the situation of women beyond what

could be expected given their location as members of households “headed” by men or as individuals experiencing poverty. Gender relations and masculine domination were not on the radar analytically, nor was the variation over time and place in how states shaped these relations and outcomes for men and for women understood in gendered terms.

Gendered analyses of welfare states have their roots in feminist intellectual work of the 1970s and 1980s on patriarchy—the common term for describing gender relations of difference, inequality and masculine domination—and how to end it. Scholars sought to understand the relation of patriarchy to capitalism and to other forms of domination like white supremacy, and how these system(s) were reproduced. In these accounts, the state was central. The “sexual contract” preceded the social contract; sexual subordination, as the core of gender, undergirded capitalism and democracy, including the welfare state understood as the expression of the compromise between the two. Early investigations of the “patriarchal welfare state” (e.g. Pateman, 1988) showed how such states construct masculine and feminine subjects by supporting specific types of households, and attaching differentiated welfare entitlements and regulations to gendered activities. Scholars questioned the meaning and political underpinnings of independence and dependence; unmasked as androcentric the seemingly universal notions of citizenship, the political subject and the working class; and exposed the heretofore hidden—but altogether socially crucial—work of care and domestic labor, performed almost entirely by women, mostly unpaid.

Key feminist interventions into the literature on welfare states highlighted the significance of the family, alongside states, communities, voluntary organizations and markets, in providing welfare, understood in broader terms than income alone, focusing also on the provision of care, as well as the gendered character of all these institutions (Jenson, 2004; O’Connor, Orloff, & Shaver, 1999; Orloff, 1993). Scholars described how states relied on women’s unpaid

work in the home, which made possible men’s full-time participation into the workforce. They delved into the gendered underpinnings of existing Keynesian welfare states, with transfers targeted mainly on the problems of income insecurity of breadwinning men, secondarily on the problems of economically-dependent wives and mothers. Organized around the “male breadwinner model” as an institutional logic (Lewis, 1992), such states strongly pushed women into housewifery, motherhood and second-class status as workers through economic incentives and allowing explicit discrimination in the labor market and benefit systems. Scholarship also challenged the understanding of social politics as simply “class struggle by other means”, and forwarded analyses encompassing gender, class, race and nation, investigating the role of women and men as political actors with gendered goals and modes of participation (e.g. Pedersen, 1993; Skocpol, 1992).

The contribution of feminist scholars has strongly shaped the field of welfare state research. In fact, scholars of welfare states have become increasingly aware of gender issues and inequalities. For example, recent comparative work includes discussions of issues central to feminist analyses such as care and domestic work, work-family reconciliation, the challenges of “feminizing” men’s life courses, or the feminization of immigration. Studies also consider the different types of family models that welfare states support through their family policies. Women, as workers, child-bearers, caregivers or political actors, have become central subjects of these analyses. Moreover, while feminist scholars have long been interested in the potential for social provision to foster gender equality, other scholars increasingly share this concern, as when Esping-Andersen (2002, 2009) argues that European states need a “new gender contract,” with “social investment” policies redesigned to reflect the principle of gender equality understood as men and women pursuing more symmetrical life courses of engagement in both employment and care. Yet this increasing gender awareness and acceptance of some aspects of a

gender equality political agenda is not quite the same as an embrace of feminists' radical critique of masculine domination.

While the increasing recognition of the centrality of gender is undeniable, the feminist analytic agenda is still unfinished (Orloff, 2009)—much as is the political agenda of gender equality—and gender scholars still have a lot to contribute to the field. Some of the most important theoretical and political insights of feminist scholars have yet to be integrated into mainstream research. For example, the feminist understanding of states as simultaneously involved in redistribution and regulation is particularly useful to understanding and evaluating the impact of different policies. While mainstream scholars of welfare states usually focus on states as systems of redistribution, they have paid less attention to the way in which social provision is always entangled with projects of regulation and social control (although there was always a minority of scholars emphasizing their regulatory functions vis-à-vis employment and capitalism, e.g. Gough, 1979; Piven & Cloward, 1971/1993). As we have noted, feminist scholars of the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Abramovitz, 1988; McIntosh, 1978; Wilson, 1977) emphasized how social policies regulated women and men through various mechanisms that reinforced the gendered division of labor.

Research and policy often focus on strategies encouraging women's employment and men's care under the optimistic assumption that this does not involve a serious challenge to men's power and prerogatives. However, less attention is given to the informal ways in which power is still structured by gender such as remaining practices of masculine domination in the household, the office and the public sphere (e.g. sexual harassment), gender status beliefs that structure women's access to power in employment and politics (Ridgeway, 2011), and the persistent gender norms that shape both women's and men's preferences.

To a surprising extent, feminist analyses have also shaped policy practice, especially with the emergence of a "social investment" perspective, which, in contrast to neoliberal policy prescriptions, focuses on programs to build citizens'

capacities, particularly through activation, good care and education services enabling women's employment (Jenson, 2009; Morel et al., 2012; Orloff & Palier, 2009). The gendered content of policies has shifted over the last two to three decades, following from and further encouraging shifts in gender relations (Crompton, 2006). As we discuss in the following section, the strict division between housewifery/caregiving and employment is no longer the explicit aim of policy; rather, states are increasingly promoting maternal employment, though often in ways that maintain an "updated" division of labor that is still premised on women's responsibility for the bulk of caregiving.

2 Care, the Gendered Division of Labor and Work-Family Policies

Feminist analyses have long identified as central to oppressive gender relations the gendered division of labor, including women's consignment to the work of daily and generational reproduction, of which "care work" is a principal component. While too often absent from mainstream conceptions of the welfare state, feminist analyses focus on the unequal division of care and housework responsibilities as well as their social devaluation. Feminist scholars challenge the conceptual division between public and private sphere through exposing the extent to which welfare states rely on the availability of women to take up domestic responsibilities, and revealing the associated barriers to women's opportunities in the world of paid employment and public life. Not surprisingly, much feminist political activism attempts to overcome these barriers while trying to find ways to valorize care work (as quintessentially "women's work" and unjustly devalued) and to distribute more equitably the burdens of providing care in ways that allow caregivers to combine care with employment (i.e. to instantiate a logic of "encumbered workers" in the world of employment). "Work-family" policies (often also called "reconciliation" policies) especially aim at this last goal.

Broadly defined, care refers to the work of attending to the wellbeing of individuals who are dependent on others for their basic needs, including children, but also adults with disabilities (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Waerness & Ringen, 1984). Family is the main institution to which caretaking has been historically relegated, although markets, voluntary organizations and welfare states are also involved. In most societies, deeply gendered “normative guidelines” have attributed the work of care to women (Finch, 1989). Across the rich democracies, changing gender norms as well as the adoption of policies that attempt to change the division of care work and/or encourage women’s employment have had some success, but have not entirely offset this balance. In fact, women today still carry the bulk of care and housework responsibilities, even when they are employed (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Folbre, Gornick, Connolly, & Munz, 2014; Himmelweit, 2005; Sayer et al., 2004). While men’s share of the work has increased, in her comparison of 20 OECD countries, Hook (2006) found no country in which men’s share of housework was more than about a third of such work. Moreover, the division of tasks remains gendered, with women devoting more time to routine and time-inflexible care, and alone with their children (Coltrane, 2000; Craig & Mullan, 2011; Hook, 2010).

Care responsibilities explain a large part of the remaining gendered gap in labor-force participation. In almost all rich democracies, mothers have considerably lower employment rates than women without children (Pettit & Hook, 2009). Hence, larger caregiving responsibilities are associated with lower incomes (if not lack of income altogether), which, in the absence of policies promoting women’s capacities to form and maintain an autonomous household (Orloff, 1993), fosters economic vulnerability and dependence (Alstott, 2004; England, 2005; Meyer, 1996; Rose & Hartmann, 2004). The risks—of poverty, eviction, and other social ills—attendant on economic dependency are mitigated by policies promoting employment or offering other forms of economic support, which vary cross-nationally.

Scholars of gendered welfare states have paid a lot of attention to state policies that shape the gendered division of labor by promoting different types of family models (Lewis, 1992, 2001) and ideals of care (Kremer, 2007). Gendered analyses of welfare states during the so-called “golden age” of the 1940s through 1970s have shown how systems of social provision promoted a “male breadwinner model,” in which men’s entitlement claims were based on employment and women’s on their status as wives of covered breadwinners (Lewis, 1992); they aimed at providing income security to workingmen and their economic dependents. Women’s caregiving was sustained largely through their ties to breadwinners, and to a lesser extent by state policies supporting care. These policies were accompanied by discriminatory practices in the labor market and social security, which made it difficult for women to support themselves through employment.

Recent work discusses how welfare states are now moving towards models characterized as “gender-neutral” (Morel, 2007), or as supporting the “independent adult worker” (Lewis, 2001) or “dual-earner household” (Huber & Stephens, 2000; Korpi, 2000); all increasingly support and mandate women’s presence in the workforce. As discriminatory practices have been outlawed and various social and economic forces have encouraged women’s employment over the last half century, social policies have increasingly targeted the deleterious effects of the unequal division of care work on women. These policies have become increasingly significant across the welfare systems of the Global North (Ferragina & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2014) even as the policies sustaining the male breadwinner model have seen cutbacks (Orloff, 2017). Of course, there is a lot of variation across countries and social groups in the specificities of the policies aimed at fostering women’s employment. They can entail promoting women’s and men’s employment on a symmetrical basis while increasingly commodifying care (a “breadwinner approach”), updating the old breadwinner model by making it “cost less” for carers to be employed (neo-maternalism, or a “caregiver parity” approach), or adopting policies

aimed at facilitating men's and women's involvement with both care and paid work with some public provision of care services (a "dual earner/dual carer" or "universal caregiver" approach) (Fraser, 1994). The investigation of what types of family divisions of labor are promoted in which countries or regions is a key line of inquiry among comparative gender scholars (see, e.g. Cooke, 2011; Misra, Budig, & Moller, 2007; Pettit & Hook, 2009). In many OECD countries, as many as half of heterosexual couples have adopted a dual-earner model, with both parents working full time (O'Connor, 2014). However, the "one and a half worker model" remains more common, however, with wives working for pay as a secondary worker ("junior partners," to use Ellingsæter (1998) term) while men continue to contribute the bulk of income.

While women's labor force participation is driven in large part by market forces, the provision of generous parental leaves and entitlements attached to part-time employment in many OECD countries has resulted in a substantial increase in women's employment (Blau & Kahn, 2013). In fact, rates of maternal employment are higher in countries with widely-available childcare services and/or generous parental leaves (Keck & Saraceno, 2013). Some argue that defamilialization, more than labour market characteristics, shapes women's decision to join the labor force (Kleider, 2015). (Here, the term defamilialization indicates the institutional location of care provision outside of the "family"). Scholars have identified trade-offs between the policies producing higher rates of women's employment and gendered segregation in the labor market. The growth of women's employment resulting from certain family policies has disproportionately been in part-time jobs that offer lower wages and reduced benefits (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2010). In the public sector, family policies have stimulated women's employment in routinized positions (Reese, D'Auria, & Loughrin, 2015). This means that fewer women are present in high-level managerial and professional jobs, in contrast to the US, which has few explicit reconciliation policies and where women are more likely to

work full time and in traditionally masculine occupations (Bertrand & Hallock, 2001; Blau & Kahn, 2013). Finally, it is important to note that the increased presence of women into the workforce has not pushed any large number of men towards occupations traditionally dominated by women (e.g., care services) or "stay at home" parenting (England, 2010; Gerson, 2010; Hochschild & Machung, 2003).

Work-family reconciliation policies can also increase other inequalities. Well-educated women are everywhere in the workforce at relatively higher levels than women with lower educational attainments (Evertsson et al., 2009). However, the ease with which they can combine paid work and care is affected by state policies and the quality of services they can access on the private market. For less-educated women, the character of policy is more crucial to their participation rates. Some have argued that in the European context, work-family reconciliation policies have failed to bring less educated women into full-time employment (Vandembroucke & Vleminckx, 2011), and tend to benefit the most advantaged dual-earner households (Cantillon, 2011; Ghysels & Van Lancker, 2011). But Esping-Andersen and other proponents of the dual-earner policies of the Nordic states claim that they have been effective precisely in bringing less-educated women into the workforce, on fairly advantageous terms.

These claims about trade-offs between participation and occupational segregation have been most contentious with respect to the Nordic welfare states, widely seen as the world's most egalitarian. In fact, their extensive work-family reconciliation programs may actually reinforce occupational segregation by pushing women into feminized types of employment—a so-called "welfare state paradox", according to Mandel and Semyonov (2006). A number of defenders of the Nordic social-democratic model argue that while occupational sex segregation may be higher there, the public-sector jobs dominated by women are in fact "good" jobs, and there are fewer full-time housewives (who are not counted in indices of occupational sex segregation, as

they stand outside of the formal workforce). Still others make the point that these effects may not be at all “paradoxical”, for they reflect the different political emphases of different countries’ policies, with, for example, the US emphasizing formal legal equality and anti-discrimination policies that favour better-educated women while the Nordic countries have developed policies to allow almost all women—including working-class women—to work for pay while also engaging in care work (Mandel, 2012; Orloff, 2006; Shalev, 2000). Knowing the details of the policies designated as fostering “reconciliation” is critical to our capacity to assess these competing claims.

While it is clear that parental leaves shape women’s employment, there is a lot of variation in leave policies across countries with different effects on women’s employment prospects. In fact, a lot of research emphasizes the disruptive effects of longer maternal leaves. For example, long maternal leaves tend to delay women’s return to the labor force and hence, are associated with lower wages and increased occupational segregation for mothers (Akgündüz & Plantega, 2013; Morgan & Zippel, 2003; Lalive & Zweimüller, 2009; Puhani & Sonderhof, 2011). However, some research also indicates that shorter leaves might encourage mothers to quit the labor force completely or to reduce their working hours (Keck & Saraceno, 2013). Moreover, while maternal employment seems to result in a more equal division of care work (Craig & Mullan, 2011, Kleider, 2015), long parental leaves and policies that encourage women to engage in part-time work are less efficient at challenging the division of housework. In contrast, public childcare and father leaves allow women to take up a smaller share of housework, while men tend to increase their share when their partner works full time (Hook, 2006, 2010).

Since the 1970s, feminist analyses have tended to be more favourable to policies that foster women’s employment, but also encourage the redistribution of care work within households, from mothers alone to fathers and public services (e.g. Gornick & Meyers, 2009). (In the past,

there were strong feminist traditions calling for the valorization and resourcing of women’s full-time and life-long caregiving; these have declined.) In fact, policies that incentivize men’s take-up of childcare have become central to many gender equality projects (Haas & Rostgaard, 2011; Kamerman & Moss, 2011; Mahon, 2002). These have been most fully developed in the Nordic countries, where “daddy politics” expanded the explicit commitment to gender equality and a “dual earner-dual carer” household, with the proliferation of changes in leave policies to encourage fathers’ caring (see, e.g. Eydal & Rostgaard, 2014; Leira, 2004). Leaves with “use it or lose it” provisions that offer additional months of (well-compensated) paid leave for the parent who has not taken the bulk of the leave (usually fathers) have been shown to increase fathers’ use of family policy and their participation in childcare responsibilities (Browne, 2013; Duvander & Johansson, 2012; Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011).

The increasing tendency of states to support marketized as opposed to “familialized” forms of care (Williams & Gavanoas, 2008; Carbonnier & Morel, 2015) has captured scholars’ attention. In fact, feminist scholars have engaged in debates around the potential benefits and negative consequences of this development (Bowman & Cole, 2009). Some scholars have pointed to the fact that the marketization of care might reinforce gender hierarchies by creating part-time, unstable, low-wage jobs for women in the public as well as private sector (Shire, 2015). Commodification can deepen inequalities among women, especially on the basis of class and immigration. Immigrant and less educated women, and often women without rights of residence (Mandel, 2011; Mandel & Shalev, 2009; Korpi, Ferrarini, & Englund, 2013), do the lion’s share of care work in those affluent private households that “outsource” care (Simonazzi, 2009). In fact, global inequalities come into play in rather spectacular form in the “global care chain” (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002), which encompasses but extends beyond private households. Across the rich democracies, care service providers both private and public, along with

private households, turn to the global care market, attracting women from less wealthy nations in order to fulfill their increasing need for care workers (Bettio, Simonazzi, & Villa, 2006; Estévez-Abe, 2015; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; León, 2010; Lutz, 2008; Milkman, Reese, & Roth, 1998; Österle & Hammer, 2007; Ungerson, 2003; Williams & Gavanoas, 2008).

The negative consequences of outsourcing care can be mediated by state policies. For example, in states with a strong public sector, employment in public care services can allow women to unionize, form professional associations, receive social security and other benefits, and even access training that can lead to career progression (Ungerson, 2006). These work conditions tend to be much better than those of care workers who provide in-house service or work in the private sector. For example, care work in private households represents one of the most precarious jobs in the US and most workers are uneducated. In Sweden and France, where most childcare is publicly funded, most care workers hold specialized degrees and their wages are around the average of that of all women (Morgan, 2005).

The organization of outsourcing also carries consequences for children, with good quality childcare particularly beneficial for children's development, a fact that has informed advocates for "social investment" policies, including international organizations formerly distinguished by their neoliberal orientations (Anderson, 2000; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). At the national level, generous funding for public childcare is associated with lower rates of child poverty (Ferrarini, 2006; Gornick & Meyers, 2003) as well as higher educational attainment (Engster & Helena, 2011). Moreover, the quality of childcare seems to be higher when it is provided by the state or other non-profit organizations than by for-profit providers (Mathers & Sylva, 2007; Rush, 2006). This means that marketization heightens inequalities among families with quality childcare available only for those with sufficient financial resources (Brennan, Cass, Himmelweit, & Szebehely, 2012; Morgan, 2005).

While the outsourcing of care can be a powerful tool to increase women's opportunities in the labor market, concerns over the creation of new inequalities have been central to the debate on the benefits of the commodification of women's labor and of care provision. However, Bowman and Cole (2009) remind us that arguments against commodification tend to blame women for the inequalities that characterize new forms of care provision and to impede reflection on how states can support forms of commodification that are beneficial for women who choose to outsource care and those who provide it, as well as for children. Given the pervasiveness of care outsourcing, many scholars argue that an emphasis on the working conditions and opportunities of care workers is a core feminist political issue for the 21st century (Kröger & Yeandle, 2013; Williams & Brennan, 2012).

3 Redistribution and Regulation

Redistributive functions have been central to most scholarship on welfare states, but scholars increasingly argue that it is better to consider the redistributive and regulatory—sometimes outright punitive—functions of the state as mutually constitutive, rather than as belonging to separate spheres. A growing body of literature looks at disciplinary practices attached to welfare provision. This research was spurred by the recognition that the disciplinary and redistributive functions of the state have more and more become entangled in the last two to three decades, bringing us closer to late nineteenth century systems of social provision that relied on deterrence (e.g., relief could be provided only in a workhouse or in otherwise degrading conditions) and "less eligibility" (i.e., the idea that welfare benefits should always be lower than the lowest prevailing wages, to "encourage" employment). However, we argue that social provision has always gone hand in hand with social regulation. In fact, welfare policies always involve some amount of individual regulation and control, while punitive policies tend to shape access to welfare. And of course, regulatory practices are

deeply gendered. (Here, we do not assess the somewhat separate literatures that examine the classificatory and category-creating activities of states, nor their effects in producing certain types of subjects; see Morgan & Orloff, 2017).

Co-existing projects of redistribution and regulation might reflect the fact that different state policies often follow different and possibly contradictory logics. In fact, states might implement welfare policies that foster gender equality through redistribution while attaching to these practices disciplinary rules that reinforce gender hierarchies. This is important for analyses of welfare states in at least two ways. First, not only have welfare policies and institutions become tools to regulate and control the lives of certain populations (Haney, 2000; Schram et al., 2009; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011), but these regulatory practices also shape redistributive projects by creating opportunities and barriers that differentially affect individuals' capacity to access welfare. Second, certain disciplinary policies in spheres that have not been conceptualized as belonging to the realm of welfare policy also shape gendered welfare systems, for example, by shaping women's capacity to participate equally to the public sphere.

In the context of economic insecurity associated with the retrenchment of welfare states, welfare provision increasingly follows "complex and rule-based administrative schemes" that are meant to govern disadvantaged and marginal groups; hence, welfare benefits become contingent on individuals' capacity to conform themselves to a system of strict rules and strong incentives, while inability to conform can be followed by different types of sanctions and punishments (Bashevkin, 2002, 138). Because frequent contact with service providers and state agencies become opportunities for intrusive interventions, large welfare bureaucracies are often associated with increased regulation (Edwards, 2016). Often, welfare officers as well as local governments are given wide discretion to design and implement penalties, reflecting the fact that power is becoming more diffuse in state offices, with welfare case managers being granted the power and responsibility to discipline and

punish the clientele that they serve (Schram, 2006). There is evidence that demographic characteristics are associated with risk of incurring sanctions. This is particularly true when deviant behavior confirms stereotypes, as, for example, when Black and Hispanic welfare recipients are sanctioned for deviance more harshly than are whites in the US (Hasenfeld, Ghose, & Larson, 2004). Sanctions might also increase economic hardship for the most disadvantaged recipients (Watkins-Hayes, 2009), an example in which redistribution very clearly does not follow an egalitarian logic.

Welfare and punitive policies regulate behavior by focusing on individual responsibility and framing social problems in terms of individual pathologies. For example, welfare discourses that promote autonomy and independence frame women's reliance on welfare and/or absence of paid employment as a sign of a personal propensity to be dependent (Korteweg, 2003). Through therapeutic intervention, policies aim to teach individuals to self-regulate (Haney, 2004; Haney, 2010; Hays, 2003). The form that this regulation takes depends on the logics instantiated by different policies. For example, specific interventions can be used to foster new family models by enforcing work, but also "proper" choices in terms of employment, relationships, fertility and care responsibilities, often in ways that support traditional gender arrangements or broader economic goals. Thus, the potential of redistributive welfare policies to promote gender equality can only be assessed by also paying attention to their regulatory functions.

The US Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program first adopted in 1996 represents the perfect example of the increasing attempt of the state to regulate gender relations through welfare provision. Through a set of federal and state-level rules promoting heterosexual marriage and involved fatherhood (e.g. compulsory paternity identification), TANF programs may push women into unequal family arrangements. While TANF programs encourage maternal employment, they also assume that women will act as primary caregivers and favor

married-parent households as the main tool to decrease the reliance on the state by the poor. Poor African-American and Hispanic women are disproportionately targeted by this system that puts their sexual behavior under scrutiny and punishes them for not conforming to traditional family models (Smith, 2007). While the behavior of mothers tends to be the main object of regulation in the welfare context, welfare programs increasingly target “undeserving” fathers, and especially African-American men, through programs that promote marriage and “responsible” fatherhood. For example, with the adoption of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act that created TANF, several states have developed rules that allow them to sanction fathers for failing to provide for their children (e.g. pay child support) by withholding their wages or revoking their professional licenses (Geva, 2011).

Regulatory practices attached to welfare policies shape access to benefits in a very direct way. In fact, scholars have argued that disciplinary practices and regulations have made welfare benefits less accessible and that a desire to avoid sanctions might even drive welfare recipients to renounce benefits (Schram, Soss, Fording, & Houser, 2009). However, they also shape welfare distribution indirectly by constructing understandings of deserving and undeserving populations that shape attitudes and political actions regarding welfare (Reichman, Teitler, & Curtis, 2005). For example, ideas about race and gender have been central to discourses of deservingness in the US, with the stereotype of the black “welfare queen” serving to legitimate welfare retrenchment (see, e.g., Gilens, 1995; Steensland, 2006). Similarly, Fraser (1994) argues that welfare states tend to translate men’s needs into juridical and administrative issues and women’s needs into therapeutic issues, thus constructing men as right-bearing citizens and women as dependent or undeserving individuals (see also Hancock, 2004; Reese, 2005). In this context, women’s hardship is perceived as the result of personal attributes, behaviors and choices, which in turn legitimates state intervention.

Discourses that promote individual independence and autonomy render invisible the structural forces that create disadvantage. Not only do welfare policies with regulatory logics often fail to address structural inequalities, but they might also exacerbate individual vulnerabilities. Hence, they frame welfare benefits as a last resort for problematic individuals rather than as a right attached to citizenship. In other words, welfare provision is conceived of as merely a redress for individual failures rather than as the state’s responsibility to address the vulnerabilities we all face as part of the human condition (Fineman, 2008). Discourses that define needs and construct different individuals as (un)deserving of social benefits also shape public support to welfare provision. In fact, welfare issues tend to be very politically charged. Research shows that even individuals who support the welfare state in general are averse to redistributive policies that they believe are benefitting undeserving recipients who take advantage of the system, especially when these recipients are identified as belonging to a minority group (such as African-Americans in the US) (Gilens, 1999). Moreover, these discourses impede the political mobilization of those who are the most in need of social provision by depriving them of the material resources that they need to be politically active, but also by failing to provide them with understandings of issues around which they can mobilize collectively.

4 Politics and Representation

Early attempts to include gender in analyses of the politics of welfare states asked whether increased gender equality organically follows reduction in class inequalities through social spending. The scholarship on welfare states has extensively assessed the origins and effects on class imbalances of power of different systems of social provision and regulation—such as Esping-Andersen’s (1990) still-ubiquitous conservative, liberal and social-democratic regime-types. They focus on the role of powerful unions and left parties in fostering

decommodification, which in turn builds working class power, or, more often in the current era of retrenchment, to the role of mobile capital and the spread of global forces promoting neoliberal ideas, policies and politics. Hence, mainstream scholars interested in the generosity of welfare states look at the extent to which social policies challenge or reinforce social class hierarchies. Subsequent attempts at gendering this research have posed two main questions. The first raises the possibility that the generosity of welfare states in terms of their capacities to redress class inequalities will be correlated with increased gender equality. The second concerns the extent to which women as political actors forwarding gender equality projects also shape the generosity and content of welfare policies.

While some scholars argue that regimes that contribute most strongly to the reduction of class inequalities are also most beneficial to women (Ruggie, 1984), others have shown that these patterns are not correlated (Lewis, 1992; O'Connor et al. 1999), indicating that gender ideologies or policy logics are at least partially independent from class ones. In his study of the impact of welfare states on both class and gender inequalities, Korpi (2000) finds that while there is a certain degree of overlap, the political and economic forces that foster reduction in inequalities in each sphere might have contradictory effects. He shows that only the Nordic states, with policies promoting the dual-earner model, have symmetrical effects. Later work builds on these findings, showing that different political forces have been associated with the different family models that states have promoted over the last few decades (Korpi et al., 2013). Social democratic parties have promoted the dual-earner/dual carer model, while Christian Democratic parties promote the breadwinner/caregiver model, and countries where neither force has been very strong—such as the US—have less-developed family policies, leaving social provision to market forces.

In the last few decades, women's roles in society have undergone dramatic changes while traditional political cleavages have become somewhat less significant. A reduction in care

responsibilities, the increased presence of women in the workforce as well as the expansion of the public sector might encourage women to mobilize for equality. While women have historically made political claims as mothers or as women in need of masculine protection and in favour of so-called traditional gender relations (Bock & Thane, 1991; Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Koven & Michel, 1993; Skocpol, 1992), these changes allowed them to make political claims on different bases, as workers and independent citizens. Women as workers can mobilize to demand better working conditions, policies that foster work-family reconciliation as well as increased public services (Lewis, 2002). Hence, increased rates of women's employment are associated with increased overall social spending (Huber & Stephens, 2000; Korpi, 2000, 2001), expanded childcare leave policies (Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008), as well as more generous child benefits (Stier, Lewin-Epstein, & Braun, 2001). Women as workers can also influence policy through unionization (e.g. Blom-Hansen, 2000) and pressure the state for increased social spending as the main recipients of many public services and welfare benefits (Brooks & Manza, 2007; Misra et al., 2007). Finally, when women's movements have strong political allies, welfare policies are made more beneficial to employed women (e.g. Jenson & Mahon, 1993; Reese, 2011).

With women joining legislative bodies in increasing numbers, research also looks at the extent to which this trend affects social spending, and especially the adoption of policies that foster gender equality. Generally, research shows that women representatives are more likely to propose or vote for legislation supporting women's equal rights (e.g. equal pay), opportunities in the labor market (e.g. affirmative action programs for women) and health (e.g. insurance coverage for mammograms) (Luker, 1984; Mansbridge, 1986). Research also shows that women are more likely than men to support public welfare spending (Bratton, 2005; Frederick, 2011; Gerity, Osborn, & Mendez, 2007; Swers, 2002), public spending on children (e.g. per-child cash transfers) (Bolzendahl & Brooks, 2007; Shirazi

& Biel, 2005; Yang & Barrett, 2006), expansive employment policies (Edlund, Haider, & Pande, 2005) and policies aimed at reducing income inequalities (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2010). But occupying legislative offices does not always translate into political influence. Legislatures are inherently gendered, raced and classed, and political influence is unevenly distributed (e.g. Hawkesworth, 2003; Smooth, 2006). Women legislators with their own political agendas work inside state institutions with already-instantiated logics about gender, definitions of social problems and grounds for entitlement. Hence, the specific articulation of policies will often reflect institutionalized practices and ideas about the role of the state, the market and the family in providing welfare (Eagly & Diekmann, 2006).

Yet even the increased presence of women in the workforce and legislatures might not be enough to foster more generous social spending or the adoption of gender equality policies. In different contexts, different political actors have been instrumental in supporting or blocking equality projects. In fact, traditional partisan cleavages remain the main predictor of social spending that supports gender equality, with women's mobilization having an impact through their support for left or center-left parties (Huber & Stephens, 2001; O'Connor, 2014; Shalev, 2000). Religion and its entanglement with the political system also shapes gendered logics and the extent to which states intervene to change family structures; the political power of religious forces has been significant in upholding "traditional" family patterns and policies (Korpi, 2000).

Historically, both traditional partisan cleavages and the increased presence of women as political actors have shaped welfare spending. But recent research shows that traditional bases for mobilization are eroding. For example, Gingrich and Häuserman (2015) argue that in the post-industrial period, support to welfare states relies increasingly on the middle class rather than on the working class. This shapes not only the amount of social spending, but also the content of social policies because the middle class tends to favor social investment policies over

traditional forms of redistribution. The sphere of gender politics is also changing with countries that have been very supportive of equality policies up until the 1990s such as Australia, Canada and the UK slowly dismantling the welfare state in response to the increasing strength of right-wing parties (O'Connor, 2014). Hence, the future of gendered welfare states will likely reflect new political configurations. And the new political landscape will require gendered analysis to be properly mapped and understood.

5 Conclusion

The involvement of welfare states with gender has undergone major reconfigurations in the last century. In fact, most democracies of the Global North are supporting mothers' employment and to a somewhat lesser extent, fathers' engagement in childcare. Many scholars are optimistic about the "gender equality awareness states" that have resulted from these shifts (O'Connor, 2014). However, we are still far from achieving gender equality, and some speak of an "incomplete" or "unfinished" revolution in gender relations that states should address (Esping-Andersen, 2009; Gerson, 2010). Gender awareness has also become the norm in much of the scholarship on welfare states. In fact, women as care-givers, workers and political actors are now central to many analyses of social policy. Also common are evaluations of the degree to which different welfare regimes as well as specific policies are "women-friendly", associated with the assumption that the gendered division of labor is the main obstacle to equality. However, here too, there is still much to be done. In fact, some of the main insights from early feminist analyses—that welfare states emerge from and reinforce oppressive gender relations—have not been integrated into the literature, which often focuses on specific social policies without embedding them in the larger context of gender relations, a context characterized by great unevenness, and considerable remaining elements of masculine domination.

Feminist welfare state analyses bring our attention to the always evolving, mutually constitutive relationship between states, gender and other power relations. Central to these analyses are issues of power; how they shape redistributive and regulatory state projects, politics, and relationships within households. However, it is important to note that while scholars of gender and the welfare state today still examine how states may contribute to maintaining gender hierarchies, they no longer conceive of gender relations or states in such totalizing ways as in the past. Rather, states are conceptualized as complex structures characterized by a diverse array of institutions organized around multiple logics and acting on gender in many, sometimes conflicting ways, across a range of sites, from prisons to welfare offices and beyond (Haney, 2000; Orloff, 2017; Htun & Weldon, 2017). In fact, there has been a widespread analytic move to “disaggregating the state,” that is, examining different state institutions separately, on the assumption that states are not unitary actors with unitary goals and effects. Morgan and Orloff (2017) characterize this as an intellectual move toward institutional multiplicity, with various state institutions—including welfare policies—instating different and potentially contradictory logics, and, building on earlier insights about divergent state activities (e.g., Bourdieu’s analysis of the “left and right hands of the state”), developing a set of approaches that appreciate the “many hands of the state” that are involved in taxation, redistribution, coercion, punishment, and so on. The insight about institutional multiplicity is particularly important for understanding the extent to which states can simultaneously promote gender equality and foster inequality. This conception of the state pushes scholars to examine the different processes of gendering, degendering and regendering involved in social provision, and the ways this interacts with gendered effects in other arenas. Hence, adopting a feminist perspective illuminates the potential for gender-equality projects to reinforce existing gender hierarchies (as well as other social inequalities).

Feminist analyses also bring to the analytic fore how welfare states contribute toward the creation or reshaping of gendered subjectivities, individual preferences in terms of employment, care and relationships, as well as collective identities and political projects. In fact, contemporary gender scholarship often stresses the productive and classificatory effects of states on gender. Thus, “friendliness” (or enmity) to variously-defined gendered interests is always in play, always historically and spatially specific. This means that “women’s” issues, interests and political goals are not constituted prior to social politics and the operation of social policies (any more than are the interests of labor and capital). At specific historical times, some women might mobilize politically “as women”, but this is not always the case, and indeed different women have different ideas about what that even means. Women’s political goals and identities are also shaped by race, class and other social divisions in historically contingent ways. Issues that are central to feminist political projects in certain contexts might not be relevant in others, and those favouring greater gender equality sometimes have to contend with organized opposition—including by other women—to feminist agendas, which may well shape their agendas in search of allies (O’Connor et al., 2009). Understanding the reconfiguration of systems of social provision and regulation and its relationship with evolving gender relations requires bringing some of these insights back into the comparative analysis of welfare states. Those evaluating the impact of social policies should be clear about what they think the specific aim of policies should be, and what it means to promote gender equality in different contexts.

References

- Abramovitz, M. (1988). *Regulating the lives of women: Social welfare policy from colonial times to the present*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Akgündüz, Y. E., & Plantega, J. (2013). Leisure smoothing: An alternative approach to analysing care policy. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 23(4), 376–389.

- Alstott, A. (2004). *No exit: What parents owe their children and what society owes parents*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, B. (2000). *Doing the dirty work?*. The global politics of domestic labour: London Zed Books.
- Bashevkin, S. (2002). *Welfare hot buttons: Women, work, and social policy reform*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bertrand, M., & Hallock, K. F. (2001). The gender gap in top corporate jobs. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 55, 3–21.
- Bettio, F., Simonazzi, A., & Villa, P. (2006). Change in care regimes and female migration: The care drain in the mediterranean. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), 271–285.
- Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milkie, M. (2006). *The changing rhythms of american family life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Blau, F. D., Ferber, M. A., & Winkler, A. E. (2010). *The economics of women, men, and work*. Upple Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2013). Female labor supply: Why is the United States falling behind? *American Economic Review*, 103(3), 251–256.
- Blom-Hansen, J. (2000). Still corporatism in scandinavia? A survey of recent empirical findings. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 23(2), 157–181.
- Bock, G., & Thane, P. (1991). *Maternity and gender policies: Women and the rise of the European welfare states: 1880s–1950s*. New York: Routledge.
- Bolzendahl, C., & Brooks, C. (2007). Women's political representation and welfare state spending in 12 capitalist democracies. *Social Forces*, 85(4), 1509–1534.
- Bolzendahl, C., & Olafsdottir, S. (2008). Gender group interest or gender ideology? Understanding U.S. support for family policy within the liberal welfare regime. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51(2), 281–304.
- Bowman, J. R., & Cole, A. M. (2009). Do working mothers oppress other women? The swedish “maid debate” and the welfare state politics of gender equality. *Signs*, 35(1), 157–184.
- Bratton, K. (2005). Critical mass theory revisited: The behavior and success of token women in state legislatures. *Politics & Gender*, 1(1), 97–125.
- Brennan, D., Cass, B., Himmelweit, S., & Szebehely, M. (2012). The marketisation of care: Rationales and consequences in Nordic and liberal care regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(4), 377–391.
- Brooks, C., & Manza, J. (2007). *Why welfare states persists: The importance of public opinion in democracies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Browne, J. (2013). The default model: gender equality, fatherhood, and structural constraint. *Politics & Gender*, 9, 152–173.
- Cantillon, B. (2011). The paradox of the social investment state: Growth, employment and poverty in the lisbon era. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 21(5), 432–449.
- Carbonnier, C., & Morel, N. (Eds.). (2015). *The political economy of household services in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, F. G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H., & Pierson, C. (Eds.). (2010). *The oxford handbook of the welfare state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modelling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1208–1233.
- Cooke, L. P. (2011). *Gender-class equality in political economies*. New York: Routledge.
- Craig, L., & Mullan, K. (2011). How mothers and fathers share childcare: A cross-national time-use comparison. *American Sociological Review*, 76(6), 834–861.
- Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment and the family: The reconfiguration of work and family life in contemporary societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daly, M., & Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 281–298.
- Duvander, A.-Z., & Johansson, M. (2012). What are the effects of reforms promoting fathers' parental leave use? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(3), 319–330.
- Eagly, A. H., & Diekmann, A. B. (2006). Examining gender gaps in sociopolitical attitudes: It's not mars and venus. *Feminism & Psychology*, 16, 26–34.
- Edlund, L., Haider, L., & Pande, R. (2005). Unmarried parenthood and redistributive politics. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3, 95–119.
- Edwards, F. (2016). Saving children, controlling families: Punishment, redistribution, and child protection. *American Sociological Review*, 81(3), 575–595.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (Eds.). (2002). *Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*. London: Granta Books.
- Ellingsæter, A. L. (1998). Dual breadwinner societies: Provider models in the scandinavian welfare states. *Acta Sociologica*, 41, 59–73.
- England, P. (2005). Emerging theories of care work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31, 381–399.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 149–166.
- Engster, D., & Stensöta, H. O. (2011). Do family policy regimes matter for children's well-being? *Social Politics*, 18(1), 82–124.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2002). A new gender contract. In Why We (Ed.), *Need a new welfare state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The incomplete revolution: Adapting to women's new roles*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Estévez-Abe, M. (2015). The outsourcing of house cleaning and low skill immigrant workers. *Social Politics*, 22(2), 147–169.

- Evertsson, M., England, P., Mooi-Reci, I., Hermsen, J., De Bruijn, J., & Cotter, D. (2009). Is gender inequality greater at lower or higher educational levels? Common patterns in the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. *Social Politics, 16*(2), 210–241.
- Eydal, G. B., & Rostgaard, T. (2014). *Fatherhood in the nordic welfare states: Comparing care policies and practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Ferragina, E., & Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2014). Determinants of a silent (R)evolution: Understanding the expansion of family policy in rich OECD countries. *Social Politics, 22*(1), 1–37.
- Ferrarini, T. (2006). *Families, states and labour markets: Institutions, causes and consequences of family policy in post-war welfare states*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Finch, J. (1989). *Family obligations and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fineman, M. A. (2008). The vulnerable subject: Anchoring equality in the human condition. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism, 20*(1), 1–23.
- Folbre, N., Gornick, J. C., Connolly, H., & Munzi, T. (2014). Women's Employment, Unpaid Work, and Economic Inequality. In C. Janet (Ed.), *Studies in social inequality: Income inequality: Economic disparities and the middle class in affluent countries*. Gornick and Markus Jäntti. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fraser, N. (1994). After the family wage: Gender equality and the welfare state. *Political Theory, 22*, 591–618.
- Fraser, N., & Gordon, L. (1994). A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the U.S. welfare state. *Signs, 19*(2), 309–336.
- Frederick, B. (2011). Gender turnover and roll call voting in the US Senate. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 32*(3), 193–210.
- Gerrity, J. C., Osborn, Tracy, & Mendez, J. M. (2007). Women and representation: A different view of the district. *Politics & Gender, 3*(2), 179–200.
- Gerson, K. (2010). *The unfinished revolution: How a new generation is reshaping family, work, and gender in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geva, D. (2011). Not just maternalism: Marriage and fatherhood in American welfare policy. *Social Politics, 18*(1), 24–51.
- Ghysels, J., & Van Lancker, W. (2011). The unequal benefits of activation: An analysis of the social distribution of family policy among families with young children. *Journal of European Social Policy, 21* (5), 472–485.
- Gilens, M. (1995). Racial attitudes and opposition to welfare. *Journal of Politics, 57*, 994–1014.
- Gilens, M. (1999). *Why Americans hate welfare: Race, media, and the politics of antipoverity policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gingrich, J., & Häusermann, S. (2015). The decline of the working-class vote, the reconfiguration of the welfare support coalition and consequences for the welfare state. *Journal of European Social Policy, 25*(1), 50–75.
- Gornick, J. C., & Meyers, M. K. (2003). *Families that work: Policies for reconciling parenthood and employment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gornick, J. C., & Meyers, M. K. (2009). Institutions that support gender equality in parenthood and employment. In C. Janet (Ed.), *Gender equality: Transforming family divisions of labor*. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers. London; New York: Verso.
- Gough, I. (1979). *The political economy of the welfare state*. London: Macmillan.
- Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T. (2011). Father's rights to paid parental leave in the nordic countries: Consequences for gendered division of leave. *Community, Work & Family, 14*(2), 177–195.
- Hancock, A.-M. (2004). *The politics of disgust: The public identity of the welfare queen*. New York: New York University Press.
- Haney, L. A. (2000). Feminist state theory: Applications to jurisprudence, criminology, and the welfare state. *Annual Review of Sociology, 26*, 641–666.
- Haney, L. A. (2004). Gender, welfare, and states of punishment. *Social politics, 11*(3), 333–362.
- Haney, L. A. (2010). *Offending women: Power, punishment, and the regulation of desire*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hasenfeld, Y., Ghose, T., & Larson, K. (2004). The logic of sanctioning welfare recipients: An empirical assessment. *Social Service Review, 78*, 304–319.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2003). Congressional enactments of race-gender: Toward a theory of raced-gendered institutions. *The American Political Science Review, 97*(4), 529–550.
- Hays, S. (2003). *Flat broke with children: Women in the age of welfare reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Himmelweit, S. (2005). Caring. *New Economy, 12*(3), 168–173.
- Hochschild, A. R., & Machung, A. (2003). *The second shift*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Doméstica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hook, J. L. (2006). Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965–2003. *American Sociological Review, 71*(4), 639–660.
- Hook, J. L. (2010). Gender inequality in the welfare state: Sex segregation in housework, 1965–2003. *American Journal of Sociology, 115*(5), 1480–1523.
- Htun, M., & Weldon, L. (2017). States and gender justice. In K. J. Morgan & A. S. Orloff (Eds.), *The many hands of the state: Theorizing political authority and social control* (pp. 158–177). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, E., & Stephens, J. D. (2000). Partisan governance, women's employment, and the social democratic service state. *American Sociological Review, 65*(3), 323–342.

- Huber, E., & Stephens, J. D. (2001). *Development and crisis of the welfare state*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Iversen, T., & Rosenbluth, F. (2010). *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jenson, J. (2004). *Catching up to reality: Building the case for a new social model*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.
- Jenson, J. (2009). Lost in translation: The social investment perspective and gender equality. *Social Politics*, 16(4), 446–483.
- Jenson, J. (2015). The fading goal of gender equality: Three policy directions that underpin the resilience of gendered socio-economic inequalities. *Social Politics*, 22(4), 539–560.
- Jenson, J., & Mahon, R. (1993). Representing solidarity: Class, gender and the crisis in social-democratic Sweden. *New Left Review* I (201).
- Kammerman, S. B., & Moss, P. (Eds.). (2011). *The politics of parental leave policies: Children, parenting, Gender and the Labour Market*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Keck, W., & Saraceno, C. (2013). The impact of different social-policy frameworks on social inequalities among women in the European Union: The labour-market participation of mothers. *Social Politics*, 20(3), 297–328.
- Kleider, H. (2015). Paid and unpaid work: The impact of social policies on the gender division of labour. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 25(5), 505–520.
- Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of inequality: Gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics*, 7(2), 127–191.
- Korpi, W., Ferrarini, T., & Englund, S. (2013). Women's opportunities under different family policy constellations: Gender, class, and inequality tradeoffs in western countries re-examined. *Social Politics*, 20(1), 1–40.
- Korteweg, A. C. (2003). Welfare reform and the subject of the working mother: 'Get a job, a better job, then a career'. *Theory and Society*, 32, 445–480.
- Kotsadam, A., & Finseraas, H. (2011). The state intervenes in the battle of the sexes: Causal effects of paternity leave. *Social Science Research*, 40, 1611–1622.
- Koven, S., & Michel, S. (1993). *Mothers of a new world: maternalist politics and the origins of welfare states*. New York: Routledge.
- Kremer, M. (2007). *How welfare states care*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Kröger, T., & Yeandle, S. (2013). *Combining paid work and family care: Policies and experiences in international perspective*. Bristol: Policy Press at the University of Bristol.
- Lalive, R., & Zweimüller, J. (2009). How does parental leave affect fertility and return to work? Evidence from two natural experiments. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(3), 1363–1402.
- Leira, A. (2004). Post-industrial families—New forms of bonding. In Trudie Knijn & Aafke Komter (Eds.), *Solidarity between the sexes and the generations: Transformations in Europe* (pp. 185–200). London: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- León, M. (2010). Migration and care work in Spain: The domestic sector revisited. *Social Policy and Society*, 9(3), 409–418.
- Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), 159–173.
- Lewis, J. (2001). The decline of the male breadwinner model: Implications for work and care. *Social Politics*, 8(2), 152–169.
- Lewis, J. (2002). Gender and welfare state change. *European Societies*, 4, 331–357.
- Luker, K. (1984). *Abortion and the politics of motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lutz, H. (2008). Introduction: Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe. In Helma Lutz (Ed.), *Migration and domestic work: A european perspective on a global theme* (pp. 1–12). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Mahon, R. (2002). Child care in Canada and Sweden: Politics and policy. *Social Politics*, 4(3), 382–418.
- Mandel, H. (2011). Rethinking the paradox: Tradeoffs in work-family policy and patterns of gender inequality. *Community, Work & Family*, 14(2), 159–176.
- Mandel, H. (2012). Winners and losers: The consequences of welfare state policies for gender wage inequality. *European Sociological Review*, 28(2), 241–262.
- Mandel, H., & Semyonov, M. (2006). A welfare state paradox: State interventions and women's employment opportunities in 22 countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(6), 1910–1949.
- Mandel, H., & Shalev, M. (2009). Gender, class, and varieties of capitalism. *Social Politics*, 16(2), 161–181.
- Mansbridge, J. (1986). *Why we lost the ERA*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mathers, S., & Sylva, K. (2007). 'Infants and toddlers in centre-based childcare: Does quality matter?' *National evaluation of the neighbourhood nurseries initiative: Integrated report*. London: HMSO.
- McIntosh, M. (1978). The state and the oppression of women. In Annette Kuhn & Ann Marie Wolpe (Eds.), *Feminism and materialism: Women and modes of production* (pp. 254–289). London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.
- Meyer, M. H. (1996). Making claims as workers or wives: The distribution of social security benefits. *American Sociological Review*, 61(3), 449–465.
- Milkman, R., Reese, E., & Roth, B. (1998). The macrosociology of paid domestic labor. *Work and Occupations*, 25(4), 483–510.
- Misra, J., Budig, M. J., & Moller, S. (2007). Reconciliation policies and the effects of motherhood on employment, earnings and poverty. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 9(2), 135–155.

- Morel, N. (2007). From subsidiarity to 'free choice': Child and elder-care policy reforms in France, Belgium and the Netherlands. *Social Policy and Administration*, 41(6), 618–637.
- Morel, N., Palier, B., & Palme, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Towards a social investment welfare state? Ideas, policies and challenges*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morgan, K. J. (2005). The "production" of child care: How labor markets shape social policy and vice versa. *Social Politics*, 12(2), 243–263.
- Morgan, K. J., & Orloff, A. S. (Eds.). (2017). *The many hands of the state: Theorizing political authority and social control*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, K. J., & Zippel, K. (2003). Paid to care: The origins and effects of care leave policies in Western Europe. *Social Politics*, 10(1), 49–85.
- O'Connor, J. S. (2014). The state and gender equality: From patriarchal to women-friendly state? In S. Leibfried, E. Huber, M. Lange, J. D. Levy, & J. D. Stephens (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of transformations of the state*. Oxford.
- O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (2009). Liberalism, gendered policy logics and mobilisation: A story of coherence and contradictions. In Markets States (Ed.), *Families: gender, liberalism, and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (1999). *States, markets, families: Gender, liberalism, and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of state policies and gender relations. *American Sociological Review*, 58(3), 303–328.
- Orloff, A. S. (2006). From maternalism to 'employment for all': State policies to promote women's employment across the affluent democracies. In J. D. Levy (Eds.), *The state after statism: New state activities in the era of globalization and liberalization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Orloff, A. S. (2009). Gendering the comparative analysis of welfare states: An unfinished agenda. *Sociological Theory*, 27(3).
- Orloff, A. S. (2017). Gendered states made and remade: Gendered labor policies in the United States and Sweden, 1960–2010. In K. J. Morgan & A. Orloff (Eds.), *The many hands of the state: Theorizing political authority and social control* (pp. 131–157). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Orloff, A. S., & Palier, B. (2009). The power of gender perspectives: Feminist influence on policy paradigms, social science, and social politics. *Social Politics*, 16(4), 405–412.
- Österle, A., & Hammer, E. (2007). Care allowances and the formalization of care arrangements: The Austrian experience. In Clare Ungerson & Clare Yeandle (Eds.), *Cas for care in developed welfare states*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pateman, C. (1988). The patriarchal welfare state. In A. Gutmann (Eds.), *Democracy and the welfare state*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pedersen, S. (1993). *Family, dependence, and the origins of the welfare state: Britain and France, 1914–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pettit, B., & Hook, J. L. (2009). *Gendered tradeoffs: Women, family, and workplace inequality in twenty-one countries*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1971 [1993]). *Regulating the poor: The functions of public welfare*. New York: Vintage.
- Puhani, P. A., & Sonderhof, K. (2011). The effects of parental leave extension on training for young women. *Journal of Population Economics*, 24(2), 731–760.
- Reese, E. (2005). *Backlash against welfare mothers: Past and present*. Thousand Oaks, CA: University of California Press.
- Reese, E. (2011). *They say cutback, we say fightback! Welfare rights activism in an era of retrenchment*. New York: American Sociological Association's Rose Series.
- Reese, E., D'Auria, S., & Loughrin, S. (2015). Gender. In D. Béland, K. J. Morgan, & C. Howard (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of U.S. social policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reichman, N. E., Teitler, J. O., & Curtis, M. A. (2005). TANF sanctioning and hardship. *Social Service Review*, 79(2), 215–236.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rose, S. J., & Hartmann, H. (2004). *Still a man's labor market: The long-term earnings gap*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research.
- Ruggie, M. (1984). *The state and working women: A comparative study of Britain and Sweden*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rush, E. (2006). *Child care quality in Australia*. Canberra: Australia Institute.
- Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), 1–43.
- Schram, S. F. (2006). *Welfare discipline: Discourse, governance, and globalization*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Schram, S. F., Soss, J., Fording, R. C., & Houser, L. (2009). Deciding to discipline: Race, choice, and punishment at the frontlines of welfare reform. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 398–422.
- Shalev, M. (2000). Class meets gender in comparative social policy. *Social Politics*, 7(2), 220–228.
- Shirazi, R., & Biel, A. (2005). Internal-external causal attributions and perceived government responsibility for need provision: A 14-culture study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 96–116.

- Shire, K. (2015). Family supports and insecure work: The politics of household service employment in conservative welfare regimes. *Social Politics*, 22(2), 193–219.
- Simonazzi, A. (2009). Care Regimes and national employment models. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 33(211–232).
- Skocpol, T. (1992). *Protecting soldiers and mothers: Political origins of social policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, A. M. (2007). *Welfare reform and sexual regulation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Smooth, W. (2006). A case of access denied? Gender, race and legislative influence. Women in Politics: Seeking Office and Making Policy, Institute of Government Studies and Center for Politics, University of California-Berkely.
- Soss, J., Fording, R. C., & Schram, S. F. (2011). *Disciplining the poor: Neoliberal paternalism and the persistent power of race*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Steensland, B. (2006). Cultural categories and the American welfare state: The case of guaranteed income policy. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(5), 1273–1326.
- Stier, H., Lewin-Epstein, N., & Braun, M. (2001). Welfare regimes, family-supportive policies, and women's employment along the life-course. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(6), 1731–1760.
- Swers, M. L. (2002). *The difference women make: The policy impact of women in congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ungerson, C. (2003). Commodified care work in European labour markets. *European Societies*, 5(4), 377–396.
- Ungerson, C. (2006). Gender, care, and the welfare state. In K. Davis, M. E., & J. Lorber (Eds.), *Handbook of gender and women's studies* (pp. 272–286). London: SAGE.
- Vandenbroucke, F., & Vleminckx, K. (2011). Disappointing poverty trends: Is the social investment state to blame? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 21(5), 450–471.
- Waerness, K., & Ringen, S. (1984). Women in the welfare state: The case of formal and informal old-age care. *International Journal of Sociology*, 16(3/4), 161–173.
- Watkins-Hayes, C. (2009). *The new welfare bureaucrats—Entanglements of race, class and policy reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, F., & Brennan, D. (2012). Care, markets and migration in a globalising world: Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(4), 355–362.
- Williams, F., & Gavanas, A. (2008). The intersection of childcare regimes and migration regimes: A three-country study. In H. Lutz (Ed.), *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Wilson, E. (1977). *Women and the welfare state*. London: Tavistock.
- Yang, P., & Barrett, N. (2006). Understanding public attitudes towards social security. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 15, 95–109.

Marie Laperrière is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University. Her interests include gender, women's movements, feminist politics, and gender-based violence. Her dissertation research explores the meanings and purposes of violence inside intimate relationships. She is particularly interested in better understanding the ways in which individuals mobilize different social identities to make sense of their use of violence or experiences as victims. She also examines state responses to domestic violence, focusing on the ways in which perpetrators programs serve as tools to regulate gender identities.

Ann Shola Orloff is Professor of Sociology and Political Science and Board of Lady Managers of the Colombian Exposition Chair at Northwestern University. Her interests include gender, social policies and feminist politics in historical, comparative and global perspective, and social theory. Orloff is the co-editor of *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology* (with Julia Adams and Elisabeth Clemens), the author of *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States* (with Julia O'Connor and Sheila Shaver). Her most recent book is *Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*, co-edited with Kimberly Morgan.



Anne McDaniel and Erica Phillips

Abstract

In the past few decades, there has been a dramatic shift in education. Females once lagged behind males in their years of schooling, but now males lag behind females. Now, females consistently earn higher grades, have fewer behavioral problems, and are more likely to graduate from high school and college than males. A great deal of research has examined reasons for these gender differences in education. This chapter identifies patterns of gender inequality in education from kindergarten through college completion, outlines key explanations for these inequalities and highlights promising areas for further inquiry to better understand the female advantage in school, especially college completion. We focus on the United States and particularly emphasize research on higher education. While much is known about patterns of and reasons for gender differences in academic performance, as well as the role of families, resources and the school environment in producing unequal outcomes by gender, there is still much to learn. We

conclude by offering suggestions for future research that should focus on the daily lives and experiences of students, and how the education system coupled with societal structures of gender intersect to shape student experiences and outcomes.

1 Introduction

In the past few decades, our understanding of gender and education has shifted dramatically. In 1996, Jacobs published a review stating that the research on gender inequalities in education “often treats all aspects of education as disadvantaging women” (Jacobs, 1996). By 2008 an updated review noted that “much research now examines the ways in which girls and women are advantaged in some aspects of education” (Buchmann, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2008). While females once lagged behind males in college completion and were widely considered “disadvantaged” in schools (for example, see the American Association of University Women’s 1992 publication “How Schools Shortchange Girls”), now females consistently earn higher grades, have fewer behavioral problems, and are more likely to graduate from high school and college than males (Buchmann, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2008). Females are less likely to drop out of high school (55% of dropouts are male) and are more likely to graduate high school on

A. McDaniel (✉) · E. Phillips
The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, USA
e-mail: McDaniel.145@osu.edu

E. Phillips
e-mail: Phillips.1157@osu.edu

time than males (84% vs. 77%; NCES, 2014; Child Trends, 2015). In the 2014–2015 academic year, females earned 57% of bachelor's degrees, 60% of Master's degrees, and 51% of doctoral degrees (NCES, 2016).

Beginning with the work of Buchmann and DiPrete (2006) and Goldin (2006), a great deal of research has begun to examine why females earn more college degrees than males. Females are more likely to enter higher education than men and this patterns holds across different racial and ethnic groups, although the size of the gender gap varies (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). The female favorable gender gap in college completion is largest among African Americans; black females complete 66% of all bachelor's degrees awarded to blacks (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; McDaniel, DiPrete, Buchmann, & Shwed, 2011). Females' share of college degrees is 61% for Hispanics/Latinas, 60% for Native Americans/American Indians, 55% for Asians and 56% for whites (Snyder & Dillow, 2010). And while much recent research has focused on the "reversal" of the gender gap in completion, from once male-favorable to female-favorable, this is not true across racial and ethnic groups. Black females have earned more college degrees than black males dating back to at least the 1940s (McDaniel et al., 2011). While overall completion rates show a broad picture of the gender gap in higher education, gendered pathways into and through college shed light on how this gap emerges.

These gaps are due to increasing rates of females entering college over time, as the rate of completion, once enrolled, has remained similar for females (McDaniel et al., 2011). More females enroll in college the fall after their high school graduation than males; delaying enrollment decreases the chances of completing a degree (Bozick & DeLuca, 2005; Carbonaro, Ellison & Covay, 2011). Once enrolled in college, females are less likely to disrupt enrollment than men (Ewert, 2010, 2012; Goldrick-Rab, 2006).

Pathways into and through college can trace where males may fall behind females, but do not explain why they fall behind. Researchers offer

several explanations for why females earn more college degrees than males, including individual differences in academic preparation, expectations, and interests (Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006; Reynolds & Burge, 2008; Riegle-Crumb, 2010); shifting incentives for females to complete college (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2006); greater control of their fertility (Goldin & Katz, 2002); larger societal changes in families (Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006) and the labor market (Goldin, 2006).

Gender differences in educational attainment, which now favor females, mask continued horizontal gender stratification within education. Despite females' inroads in completing college degrees, stratification in fields of study has been slower to change. Desegregation of majors stalled over the period from 1971 to 2001, partially because females have entered traditionally male-dominated fields like business or biology, but males have not entered traditionally female-dominated fields like education or the arts (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; England & Li, 2006). By 2001, females earned half of all bachelor's degrees in science and engineering, but there is great variation within fields; females represent around 60% of biological and agricultural science majors, but fewer than 40% of physical science and math majors, and fewer than 20% of engineering majors (Mann & DiPrete, 2013). Research on the continued gender segregation of majors has found that gender stereotypes and discrimination often steer women away from male-dominated fields like computer science and engineering (Beasley & Fischer, 2012; Jones, Ruff, & Paretto, 2013; Schmader, Johns, & Barquissau, 2004). At the same time, however, women and men's gendered interests also contribute to differences in major selection, with women expressing more interest in the humanities and social sciences while men are drawn to math-intensive fields (Cech, 2013; Charles & Bradley, 2009; England, 2010). Gender segregation in majors strongly influences labor market outcomes; it is estimated that differences in college majors account for 14% of the male-favorable gender gap in early career wages (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2007). While the focus of this

chapter is primarily on educational attainment in the aggregate (i.e. degree completion), research on gender and education must also consider horizontal stratification as well. For more information gender and diversity in STEM and medical fields, see Hirshfield and Glass's chapter in this volume.

These aggregate patterns of educational attainment highlight gender disparities in education that have sparked volumes of research. In the last decade, the research on gender and education has become more nuanced by focusing on areas of advantage and disadvantage for both males and females, as well as beginning to disentangle how gender intersects with race, class, geography and sexuality to produce differential experiences and outcomes in schooling.

This chapter traces gender differences in educational experiences and outcomes based on traditional and emerging theories. We begin with an overview of gender differences in educational attainment, then discuss explanations for these differences. Since the vast majority of existing research defines gender as male and female, throughout this chapter we will use the language male and female generally, or boys and girls when referring to school-aged children. We use the terms men and women when referring to research (primarily qualitative) where individuals have expressed their gender identity. When possible, we will highlight emerging research that considers intersections of gender with other statuses such as race or class. Because there is no scarcity of research on the topic of gender and education, we focus this chapter on formal schooling (kindergarten through college) in the United States, and particularly focus on higher education. We also limit our discussion to educational experiences and attainment more broadly, not on field of study. We focus specifically on experiences in academic performance, behaviors, families, teachers and the school environment in K-12 schooling and higher education as a way to understand ultimate gender differences in attainment as well as gender differences in experiences in formal schooling.

2 Gender Differences in Educational Attainment

Gender differences in experiences and academic performance exist even prior to the start of formal schooling in the United States, and these trajectories continue through post-secondary education. Success in school is most frequently measured in the U.S., and in the research literature, by class grades or grade point average, standardized test scores, and progression to the next grade or graduation. This section outlines gender differences in these main metrics, while providing potential explanations for the observed differences.

2.1 Test Scores

A great deal of research examines gender differences in scores on standardized tests, from assessments of math and reading to college admissions tests like the SAT or ACT (for reviews, see Hyde, 2014; Willingham & Cole, 1997). It was once assumed that differences in standardized test scores could explain gender differences in educational outcomes, but this is no longer the case. In general, males outperform females on standardized math tests while females outperform males on reading tests and these findings have been relatively stable for decades (Hedges & Nowell, 1995). Gender differences in standardized assessments are sometimes present as early as kindergarten, but grow from that point onward. Entwisle, Alexander, and Olson (2007) found that students start first grade with similar reading scores, but a female advantage emerges by fifth grade. Penner and Paret (2008) found that at the start of kindergarten gender differences in math scores are small and statistically insignificant, but boys are more likely to be represented at the top of the score distribution and girls are at the bottom. By third grade, males and females are equally represented at the bottom of the distribution but males maintain their advantage at the top of the distribution. Meta-analyses suggest there is more variability

for males than females on standardized tests; meaning that males are more likely to appear at the top and bottom of the distribution (Hyde, 2014). While much research has focused on test scores, there is a growing consensus that gender differences in test scores do not explain larger gender inequalities observed in student outcomes and educational attainment. Grades, for example, are a far better predictor of educational attainment (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013).

2.2 Grades

Girls have long earned higher grades in schools than boys, dating back to at least the 1950s and 1960s (Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Alexander & McDill, 1976; Mickelson, 1989). Some evidence suggests girls earned higher grades and were more likely to be advanced to the next grade level at higher rates than boys dating back to the 19th century (Hansot & Tyack, 1988). While females used to take less rigorous courses in high school, now females, on average, take more advanced math and science courses than males during high school (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). Females continue to earn better grades than males in all major subjects, even fields thought to be traditionally “male” like math and science (DiPrete & Buchamnn, 2013; Perkins, Kleiner, Roey & Brown, 2004). Female’s continually improving grades over the past three decades are a significant contributor to their increased college enrollment, and by extension, the gender gap in enrollment (Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006; Cho, 2007). Flashman (2013) found that female’s academic achievement is more likely to impact their college attendance decisions in recent cohorts of students than in the 1970s.

Conger and Long (2010) estimated that male’s lower high school grades explain three-fifths of the female-favorable difference in GPA and earned credits during the first semester of college. Poor academic performance increases male’s likelihood that they will stop out or drop out of college compared to females (Ewert, 2010). These patterns could be influenced by

college admissions decisions since colleges work to achieve a gender balanced cohort of incoming students each year, some schools admit male students with lower test scores and grades (Green, 2011). While grades are certainly an important predictor of females’ college success, there are also important gender differences in behaviors and engagement with school that shape students’ educational experiences.

2.3 Behaviors and Academic Success

Social and behavioral skills are key predictors of academic performance. As early as kindergarten, boys are assessed as having more difficulty being attentive in class and are less eager to learn than girls (Zill & West, 2001). Research asserts that boys have greater behavioral problems than girls due to a combination of physiology, biology, and socialization (Belsky & Beaver, 2011). Boys are more likely to display aggression, antisocial behaviors, and be diagnosed with attention disorders or learning disabilities than girls (Halpern, 1997; Rutter et al., 2004; Trzesniewski, Moffitt, Caspi, Taylor, & Maughan, 2006). Girls have higher levels of non-cognitive skills, such as attentiveness, organizational skills, self-discipline, and the ability to self-regulate behavior (Duckworth & Seligman, 2006; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990; Jacob, 2002). Girls’ greater self-discipline is associated with higher grade point averages (Duckworth & Seligman, 2006), and boys’ behavioral problems are related to gender gaps in math and reading achievement in elementary school (DiPrete & Jennings, 2012).

In high school, boys continue to have more behavioral problems, including risky behaviors such as drinking, drug use, and fighting, and are more likely to get suspended or expelled from school or to drop out (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; Child Trends, 2015). Using data on individuals from birth to age 29, Owens (2016) found that early behavioral problems in school are related to later behavioral problems and lower academic achievement as well as the overall gender gap in educational attainment. It is possible that behavioral problems reinforce lower

academic achievement, and vice versa. Trzemeski et al. (2006) found that antisocial behaviors in boys lead to reading difficulties, and poor reading skills lead to antisocial behaviors.

In addition to behaviors, there are gender differences in attachment to schooling. Girls consistently expect to go farther in school than boys (Reynolds & Burge, 2008). These higher educational expectations, especially to attend graduate and professional school, are one factor that explains girls' higher GPAs (Fortin, Oreopoulos & Phipps, 2015). Among middle-school students, girls are more likely to say they enjoy school and feel close to teachers (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). In a study of children of immigrants, Feliciano (2012) finds that boys spend less time on homework, have more negative perceptions of school staff, and negative experiences with peers at school. Riegle-Crumb (2010) found that white and Hispanic girls have higher levels of social capital, including academically-focused peer groups and talking to guidance counselors about college, which improved their likelihood of attending college compared to males. Girls' greater attachment to school and expectation to complete higher levels of education contributes to gender differences in experiences and achievement.

3 Families, Resources and Gender Gaps in Education

Outside of the school environment, families play a critical role in students' academic success. Experiences in families, from socialization and gendered expectations from parents of their children to gender stereotypes about behaviors, are key mechanisms that help frame children's and young adults' gendered experiences in schools. Starting at birth, experiences in the home shape children's educational attainment in important ways. Gender is a primary frame for social relations that often play out within families first and foremost (Ridgeway, 2011; for more information, see Chap. 9 by Fisk and Ridgeway in this volume). Because of this, research strongly considers how the family and what

children learn in families shape gendered differences in educational outcomes.

An emerging line of research suggests that males are more vulnerable than females to growing up in homes with fewer resources or without fathers. Buchmann and DiPrete (2006) found that males who grew up with absent fathers or with parents without a college education are less likely to complete college than females from similar backgrounds. Boys with absent fathers have lower achievement scores and more behavioral problems compared to boys with two parents in elementary and middle school (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). Buchman and DiPrete (2006) posited that gender socialization theories could help explain these patterns. If boys look to their fathers as role models personally and educationally, boys without fathers in the home may be less successful. While there is much to unpack about the processes behind these findings, it is congruent with the idea that at a very early age, children categorize individuals by sex, then assign gendered stereotypes to sex as a way to see the world (Ridgeway, 2011).

Some families have a greater college-going "habitus," meaning children assume they will go to college from a very young age. This family culture, or habitus, has a greater influence on females than males, as well as on white, native-born students with college-educated parents (Grodsky & Riegle-Crumb, 2010). Reynolds and Burge (2008) found that from 1972 to 1992, high school girls became more likely to perceive their parents to be equally or more encouraging of them pursuing higher education than boys, and this was especially true among white students.

Family culture and expectations shape students' experiences in college, yet previous research finds that these processes work differently across dimensions of race and class. Hamilton (2014, 2016) found that affluent parents tend to focus on college as a way for their daughters to develop social skills and social networks in order to find successful husbands; parents focused on their daughters' profession expect them to be successful on their own and to find husbands with similar successes; and lower socioeconomic status parents expect their

daughters to be able to support themselves. These differing viewpoints, when combined with an institutional context that may privilege more affluent female students, means that parents, and their connections to internships, jobs, and summer resources, may matter significantly for their daughters' experiences of higher education.

Family culture and expectations also vary by racial and ethnic groups. In a qualitative study of Latinas' experiences in college, Ovink (2014) found that Latina women experience very strong ties and responsibilities to their family of origin, which could be seen as a burden and cause strain. However, this strong commitment to family led to better educational attainment in the long term because it was rooted in Latinas' desire for economic independence and to their family's view of them as symbols of educational achievement.

There is growing evidence that families, their expectations, role modeling, and children's access and exposure to resources within families, differentially influence males' and females' academic expectations and educational experiences. A long line of research beginning with the Wisconsin model of status attainment (Sewell, Haller & Portes, 1969) finds that families are key predictors of educational attainment, and we know gender shapes parenting (see Kane's chapter in this volume). Therefore, it follows that gendered experiences and expectations beginning in early childhood within the home serve as key mechanisms in producing gender differences in educational attainment. Yet, future research should continue to investigate reasons for these differences, unpacking how these mechanisms operate, as well as how other statuses, such as race, ethnicity, and nationality intersect with gender to shape individual outcomes.

4 Teachers and the School Environment

Research has examined how teachers and school environments may favor males or females. Traditionally it was thought that schools "short-change" girls (AAUW, 1992), but in light of the

female advantage in advanced course-taking in high school, grades, and educational attainment, more recent arguments have discussed a "war against" or "trouble with" boys (Sommers, 2000; Tyre, 2009). To fully understand how gender is related to school success, scholars must look not only at families and individual metrics, but also at the teachers and the school environment more broadly. Teachers, like others, use gender as a frame to understand and interact with the world, including their students. The majority of teachers in the United States are female, and it has been argued that because of this, the school environment as a whole is feminized and structured in a way that benefits gendered behaviors and ways of learning associated with being female, which could potentially explain gender differences in educational attainment.

There is disagreement amongst scholars about whether teachers favor one gender or another, and if this is related to boys' academic performance (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013). Yet, there is some evidence that teachers may favor girls. A study by Farkas et al. (1990) found that boys received lower course grades for being disruptive in class, but girls did not. Teachers are more likely to report that boys are harder to control than girls, more disruptive, and put forth less effort than girls; these stereotypes may lead to lower grades, harsher discipline, including suspensions, and in turn, lower achievement (Bertrand & Pan, 2013; Downey & Vogt Yuan, 2005; Ferguson, 2001; Skiba et al., 2014).

There is also evidence that gender, race and class interact in ways that particularly bias teachers and schools against African American and Latino boys and boys from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. African American boys are punished at higher rates and are more likely to be put in special education than white peers, and it is argued that this is because teachers and schools have lower expectations of these students (Noguera, 2008). A study of discipline records from 364 elementary and middle schools found that African Americans are more likely to be sent to the school office for behavioral problems, and African American and Latino students are more likely to be suspended or expelled than

their white peers for similar problem behaviors (Skiba et al., 2011). Entwisle et al. (2007) studied a cohort of students in Baltimore and found that boys from lower SES backgrounds received lower classroom behavior and reading skills ratings by teachers and parents had lower expectations for boys' school performance. Feliciano (2012) found that among high SES children of immigrants, there is no gender gap in educational expectations or GPA, but a female-favorable gender gap exists among low SES families.

Beyond teachers, there is a larger question of how do masculinities and femininities operate in the school setting? And how does the school environment influence gender differences in educational outcomes? It has been argued that traditional gender stereotypes prevent male students from participating in and displaying cultural capital, such as taking art or dance lessons or visiting libraries or museums, while encouraging the same behaviors in girls, and cultural capital has positive effects on girls' grades (Dumais, 2002). This suggests that school environments preference stereotypically feminine expressions and behaviors.

School environments can shape local definitions of masculinity and what it means to be male. Work by Morris (2011) and Pascoe (2006) argues that the social construction of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality is at odds with what is expected of and accepted from males in schools. School culture values more feminized behaviors and activities. In his ethnographic research of urban and rural schools, Morris (2012) found that definitions of masculinity vary by locale. In some areas, academic success is associated with femininity and, therefore, seen as lower status. This unfortunate pairing not only undervalues women's academic achievements, but it also discourages young men from excelling in school. For a more detailed review of masculinity and sexuality in high school, see Pascoe's chapter in this volume. Elementary and high school environments have been studied to a greater extent than the college environment, but the culture of college and student experiences in college are a critical

area of focus for sociologists wanting to understand gender differences in educational experiences and outcomes.

5 Future Directions

There is ample research on gender differences in educational experiences and outcomes from kindergarten through higher education. Much has been uncovered on the pathways and mechanisms that produce the current female-favorable gender gap in higher education, but there is still much to learn, especially as gender inequalities in attainment continue to shift. The vast majority of current research focuses on achievement (grades, test scores) and degree completion as the ultimate outcomes, but there is much to learn by turning our attention to the daily experiences of students both inside and outside the school environment to understand those outcomes. More work should dive deeper into the daily lives and experiences of students and how the education system and cultures within that system, coupled with societal structures of gender, intersect to affect students' experiences and outcomes. Certainly, understanding these more nuanced interactions can shed light on overall achievement and attainment, but they also illuminate how gender frames education more broadly. We suggest the following questions that future research could answer which would help shed light on this; (1) How does gender influence how students make decisions about their schooling, especially in terms of financing their education and selecting future careers? (2) How do sex and intimate relationships affect educational outcomes differently for students of different genders? And how do gender and education intersect to shape later family and relationship experiences? (3) How does rape culture on college campuses affect students' lives? (4) How do transgender and gender non-conforming students experience education? We discuss some promising recent studies related to these questions, and offer directions for future research.

Students' decisions in education, related to finances and their majors, will be of growing

importance as college becomes more expensive. Some emerging research has begun to investigate how the cost of college influences gender differences in college-going. Dwyer and colleagues found that males are more likely to drop out of college at lower levels of student loan debt than females (Dwyer, Hodson, & McCloud, 2013). Choice of major is often a gendered decision that is related to future perceived roles and financial capabilities. One qualitative, interview-based study of an elite liberal arts university found that high and middle-SES women are more interested in being fulfilled in their major and in their future career than in their future earnings potential (Mullen, 2014). These women also connected their academic and career interests more than men. Men, on the other hand, were more interested and desired careers with status and power, and also considered their future financial responsibility for their children. Men tried to choose majors that were meaningful and financially advantageous. More research is needed to determine if women's decisions to enroll in majors that provide personal fulfillment are related to women's greater likelihood of degree completion compared to men, as well as how finances play into these decisions.

Another key area for future research to continue to explore is how sex and intimate relationships during college shape student experiences. These experiences certainly can influence experiences during college, but also shape future expectations about relationships. College is often seen as a time to explore intimate and sexual relationships, at least among traditional-age students. Men and women experience these explorations very differently and in ways that will shape future relationships. Women's gendered experiences of relationships also intersect with their class status; economically privileged women experience a double bind in which relationships are highly valued, but often seen as incompatible with self-development, while working class women's interest in committed relationships may lead them to be ostracized by their peers (Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009). Traditional views of female sexuality do not align with women's

desires during college. Women do not necessarily want to practice monogamy during college, even though they feel pressure to do so. Women will often move directly from one monogamous relationship to another in order to reconcile these competing desires (Wilkins & Dalessandro, 2013). Some recent work found that hook-ups, or short, non-committed sexual encounters, were the primary way college students form relationships (England, Shafer, & Fogarty, 2011); while other research found that the frequency of hooking up varies for women, but is less common among first year college women than having sex in relationships (Fielder, Carey & Carey, 2013; see Rachel Allison and Arielle Kuperberg's chapter on hooking up and Virginia Rutter and Braxton Jones' chapter on sexuality in this volume for more information). While researchers are beginning to study sex and intimate relationships during college, to our knowledge, they have yet to explore how this may intersect or affect students' success, for both men and women and for students with diverse sexual orientations.

As this research continues, it should continue exploring how gender and education are connected to family and intimate relationships. Understanding how gender identities influence how individuals make marriage and intimate partner decisions on the basis of educational experiences and attainment will be vitally important. Some research is beginning to do this; Qian (2017) finds that highly educated females are still more likely to marry 'up' in income and Schwartz and Han (2014) suggest that higher education levels for females in marriages are less likely to predict divorce than they did in the past. Moreover, the most highly educated females are also the most likely to be married (Krause, Sawhill, & Reeves, 2016). Researchers need to keep considering the changing norms and attitudes around the intersection of marriage and education to understand more fully the role of women not only in families, but also in the workplace and at school.

Another understudied phenomenon is how the culture of college campuses creates unsafe environments for students. In recent years, there has been an increasing focus in the media and

federal government, if not the scholarly literature, on the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses, sometimes known as “rape culture.” A study of 37 universities conducted by the Association for American Universities found that 1 in 4 undergraduate women experienced sexual assault since enrolling in college; for undergraduate men 1 in 20 experience sexual assault; for transgender, genderqueer, and questioning students, 1 in 4 experienced sexual assault since enrolling in college (Cantor et al., 2015). The vast majority of these assaults are perpetrated by other students in situations that involve alcohol. Many have called into question how the culture of college campuses, including “hook-up” and drinking culture, work in tandem to promote a culture of sexual violence. Armstrong and Hamilton’s longitudinal, qualitative study following a cohort of women throughout college at a large, state university found that many women feel the pressure to follow a “party pathway” in college, which puts women at greater risk of sexual assault (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013). Future research should continue to investigate the norms and culture that may increase the prevalence of sexual assault as well as the impact of sexual assault and consent initiatives on campuses. Research should also explore more intentionally and thoroughly college men’s understanding of their sexuality, masculinity, and intimate relationships.

Finally, sociologists need to start thinking beyond the dichotomies of women and men when exploring gendered experiences in education. In AAU’s survey on sexual assault on college campuses, almost 1% of students identified as transgender, genderqueer, or gender non-conforming, but almost no research exists on these students. Research in K-12 and higher education has found that transgender students experience overt gender discrimination, violence and stigma on campuses, and that schools lack resources and education on transgender issues (Johnston, 2016; McKinney, 2005; Meyer, Tilland-Stafford & Lee, 2016). Research similarly finds K-12 schools do not serve transgender students.

These are just a few directions for future research to explore, but certainly as scholars move forward researching gender and education, we should continue to explore the complicated intersectionalities of gender with race, class, geography and sexual orientation that affect student outcomes. Continuing to bring gender identity theory to the forefront when possible will help us to understand gendered experiences of education (Vantiegheem, Vermeersch & Van Houtte, 2014). Particularly as we strive for gender equality, we must consider the ways in which the structure of education impacts gender inequality. While we have learned a great deal in recent decades about gender inequalities in educational outcomes, much space exists for research to continue to unmask the changing patterns and differential experiences within education based on gender.

References

- Alexander, K. L., & Eckland, B. K. (1974). Sex differences in the educational attainment process. *American Sociological Review*, 39(5), 668–682.
- Alexander, K. L., & McDill, E. L. (1976). Selection and allocation within schools: Some causes and consequences of curriculum placement. *American Sociological Review*, 41(6), 963–980.
- American Association of University Women. (1992). *How schools shortchange girls*. Washington, DC: AAUW & National Education Association.
- Armstrong, E. A., & Hamilton, L. T. (2013). *Paying for the party: How college maintains inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Beasley, M. A., & Fischer, M. J. (2012). Why they leave: The impact of stereotype threat on the attrition of women and minorities from science, math, and engineering majors. *Social Psychology of Education*, 15, 427–448.
- Belsky, J., & Beaver, K. M. (2011). Cumulative-genetic plasticity, parenting and adolescent self-regulation. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 52, 619–626.
- Bertrand, M., & Pan, J. (2013). The trouble with boys: Social influences and the gender gap in disruptive behavior. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5, 32–64.
- Bobbitt-Zeher, D. (2007). The gender income gap and the role of education. *Sociology of Education*, 80(1), 1–22.

- Bozick, R., & DeLuca, S. (2005). Better late than never? Delayed enrollment in the high school to college transition. *Social Forces*, *84*(1), 531–554.
- Buchmann, C., & DiPrete, T. A. (2006). The growing female advantage in college completion: The role of family background and academic achievement. *American Sociological Review*, *71*(4), 515–541.
- Buchmann, C., DiPrete, T. A., & McDaniel, A. (2008). Gender inequalities in education. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *34*, 319–337.
- Cantor, D., Fisher, B., Chibnall, S., Townsend, R., Lee, H., & Bruce, C., et al. (2015). Report on the AAU campus climate survey on sexual assault and sexual misconduct. *American Association of Universities*. https://www.aau.edu/uploadedFiles/AAU_Publications/AAU_Reports/Sexual_Assault_Campus_Survey/AAU_Campus_Climate_Survey_12_14_15.pdf. Accessed 17 December 2016.
- Carbonaro, W., Ellison, B. J., & Covay, E. (2011). Gender inequalities in the college pipeline. *Social Science Research*, *40*(1), 120–135.
- Cech, E. A. (2013). The self-expressive edge of occupational sex segregation. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *119*(3), 747–789.
- Charles, M., & Bradley, K. (2009). Indulging our gendered selves? Sex segregation by field of study in 44 countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, *114*(4), 924–976.
- Child Trends. (2015). *High school dropout rates: Indicators on children and youth*. http://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/01_Dropout_Rates.pdf. Accessed 17 December 2016.
- Cho, D. (2007). The role of high school performance in explaining women's rising college enrollment. *Economics of Education Review*, *26*(4), 450–462.
- Conger, D., & Long, M. C. (2010). Why are men falling behind? Gender gaps in college performance and persistence. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *627*(1), 184–214.
- DiPrete, T. A., & Buchmann, C. (2006). Gender-specific trends in the value of education and the emerging gender gap in college completion. *Demography*, *43*, 1–24.
- DiPrete, T. A., & Buchmann, C. (2013). *The rise of women: The gender gap in education and what it means for American schools*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- DiPrete, T. A., & Jennings, J. L. (2012). Social and behavioral skills and the gender gap in early educational achievement. *Social Science Research*, *41*, 1–15.
- Downey, D. B., & Vogt Yuan, A. S. (2005). Sex differences in school performance during high school: Puzzling patterns and possible explanations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *46*(2): 299–321.
- Duckworth, A. L., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2006). Self-discipline gives girls the edge: Gender in self-discipline, grades, and achievement test scores. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *98*, 198–208.
- Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of Education*, *75*(1), 44–68.
- Dwyer, R. E., Hodson, R., & McCloud, L. (2013). Gender, debt, and dropping out of college. *Gender & Society*, *27*(1), 30–55.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender and Society*, *24*(2), 149–166.
- England, P., & Li, S. (2006). Desegregation stalled: The changing gender composition of college majors, 1971–2002. *Gender & Society*, *20*(5), 657–677.
- England, P., Shafer, E. F., & Fogarty, A. C. K. (2011). Hooking up and forming romantic relationships on today's college campuses. In M. S. Kimmel & A. Aronson (Eds.), *The gendered society reader* (pp. 531–593). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Entwisle, D. R., Alexander, K. L., & Olson, L. S. (2007). Early schooling: The handicap of being poor and male. *Sociology of Education*, *80*, 114–138.
- Ewert, S. (2010). Male and female pathways through four-year colleges: Disruption and sex stratification in higher education. *American Educational Research Journal*, *47*(4), 744–773.
- Ewert, S. (2012). Fewer diplomas for men: The influence of college experiences on the gender gap in college graduation. *Journal of Higher Education*, *83*(6), 824–850.
- Farkas, G., Grobe, R. P., Sheehan, D., & Shuan, Y. (1990). Cultural resources and school success: Gender, ethnicity, and poverty groups within an urban school district. *American Sociological Review*, *55*(1), 127–142.
- Feliciano, C. (2012). The female educational advantage among adolescent children of immigrants. *Youth & Society*, *44*(3), 431–449.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fielder, R. L., Carey, K. B., & Carey, M. P. (2013). Are hookups replacing romantic relationships? A longitudinal study of first-year female college students. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *52*(5), 657–659. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.09.001>.
- Flashman, J. (2013). A cohort perspective on gender gaps in college attendance and completion. *Research in Higher Education: Journal of the Association for Institutional Research*, *54*(5), 545–570.
- Fortin, N. M., Oreopoulos, P., & Phipps, S. (2015). Leaving boys behind gender disparities in high academic achievement. *Journal of Human Resources*, *50*(3), 549–579.
- Goldin, C. (2006). The quiet revolution that transformed women's employment, education, and family. *The American Economic Review*, *96*(2), 1–21.
- Goldin, C., & Katz, L. F. (2002). The power of the pill: Oral contraceptives and women's career and marriage decisions. *Journal of Political Economy*, *110*(4), 730–770.

- Goldin, C., Katz, L. F., & Kuziemko, I. (2006). The homecoming of American college women: The reversal of the college gender gap. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(4), 133–156.
- Goldrick-Rab, S. (2006). Following their every move: An investigation of social-class differences in college pathways. *Sociology of Education*, 79(1), 61–79.
- Green, K. C. (2011). 2011 survey of college and university admissions officers. *Inside Higher Ed Report*.
- Grodsky, E., & Riegle-Crumb, C. (2010). Those who choose and those who don't: Social background and college orientation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 627(1), 14–35.
- Halpern, D. F. (1997). Sex differences in intelligence: Implications for education. *The American Psychologist*, 52, 1091–1101.
- Hamilton, L. T. (2014). The revised MRS: Gender complementarity at college. *Gender & Society*, 28(2), 236–264.
- Hamilton, L. T. (2016). *Parenting to a degree: How family matters for college women's success*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hamilton, L., & Armstrong, E. (2009). Gendered sexuality in young adulthood. *Gender & Society*, 23(5), 589–616.
- Hansot, E., & Tyack, D. (1988). Gender in American public schools: Thinking institutionally. *Signs*, 13, 741–760.
- Hedges, L. V., & Nowell, A. (1995). Sex differences in mental test scores, variability, and numbers of high-scoring individuals. *Science*, 269, 41–45.
- Hyde, J. S. (2014). Gender similarities and differences. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 373–398.
- Jacob, B. A. (2002). Where the boys aren't: Noncognitive skills, returns to school and the gender gap in higher education. *Economics of Education Review*, 21, 589–598.
- Jacobs, J. (1996). Gender inequality and higher education. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22, 153–185.
- Johnston, M. S. (2016). 'Until that magical day ... no campus is safe': Reflections on how transgender students experience gender and stigma on campus. *Reflective Practice*, 17(2), 143–158.
- Jones, B. D., Ruff, C., & Paret, M. C. (2013). The impact of engineering identification and stereotypes on undergraduate women's achievement and persistence in engineering. *Social Psychology of Education*, 16, 471–493.
- Krause, E., Sawhill, I. V., & Reeves, R. V. (2016). The most educated women are the most likely to be married. *Brookings Institution, Social Mobility Memos*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2016/08/19/the-most-educated-women-are-the-most-likely-to-be-married/>. Accessed 16 December 2016.
- Mann, A., & DiPrete, T. A. (2013). Trends in gender segregation in the choice of science and engineering majors. *Social Science Research*, 42(6), 1519–1541.
- McDaniel, A., DiPrete, T. A., Buchmann, C., & Shwed, U. (2011). The black gender gap in educational attainment: Historical trends and racial comparisons. *Demography*, 48, 889–914.
- McKinney, J. S. (2005). On the margins: A study of the experiences of transgender college students. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Issues in Education*, 3(1), 63–76.
- Meyer, E. J., Tilland-Stafford, A., & Airton, L. (2016). Transgender and gender-creative students in PK-12 schools: What we can learn from their teachers. *Teachers College Record*, 118(8).
- Mickelson, R. A. (1989). Why does Jane read and write so well? The anomaly of women's achievement. *Sociology of Education*, 62, 47–63.
- Morris, E. W. (2012). *Learning the hard way: Masculinity, place, and the gender gap in education*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press Series in Childhood Studies.
- Morris, E. W. (2011). Bridging the gap: 'Doing gender', 'hegemonic masculinity', and the educational troubles of boys. *Sociology Compass*, 5, 92–103.
- Mullen, A. L. (2014). Gender, social background, and the choice of college major in a liberal arts context. *Gender & Society*, 28(2), 289–312.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2016). *Digest of education statistics*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2014). *Public high school four-year on-time graduation rates and event dropout rates: School years 2010–2011 and 2011–2012*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Noguera, P. A. (2008). *The trouble with black boys: And other reflections on race, equity, and the future of public education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ovink, S. M. (2014). They always call me an investment: Gendered familism and latino/a college pathways. *Gender and Society*, 28(2), 265–288.
- Owens, J. (2016). Early childhood behavior problems and the gender gap in educational attainment in the United States. *Sociology of Education*, 89(3), 236–258.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2006). *"Dude, you're a fag": Masculinity in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Penner, A. M., & Paret, M. (2008). Gender differences in mathematics achievement: Exploring the early grades and the extremes. *Social Science Research*, 37, 239–253.
- Perkins, R., Kleiner, B., Roey, S., & Brown, J. (2004). *The high school transcript study: A decade of change in curricula and achievement, 1990–2000*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

- Qian, Y. (2017). Gender asymmetry in educational and income assortative marriage. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12372>.
- Reynolds, J. R., & Burge, S. W. (2008). Educational expectations and the rise in women's post-secondary attainments. *Social Science Research*, 37(2), 485–499.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riegle-Crumb, C. (2010). More girls go to college: Exploring the social and academic factors behind the female postsecondary advantage among hispanic and white students. *Research in Higher Education: Journal of the Association for Institutional Research*, 51(6), 573–593.
- Rutter, M., Caspi, A., David Fergusson, L., Horwood, J., Goodman, R., Maughan, B., et al. (2004). Sex differences in developmental reading disability new findings from 4 epidemiological studies. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 291, 2007–2012.
- Schmader, T., Johns, M., & Barquissau, M. (2004). The costs of accepting gender differences: The role of stereotype endorsement in women's experience in the math domain. *Sex Roles*, 50, 835–849.
- Schwartz, C. R., & Han, H. (2014). The reversal of the gender gap in education and trends in marital dissolution. *American Sociological Review*, 79(4), 605–629. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414539682>.
- Sewell, W. H., Haller, A. O., & Portes, A. (1969). The educational and early occupational attainment process. *American Sociological Review*, 1, 82–92.
- Skiba, R. J., Chung, C.-G., Trachok, M., Baker, T. L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R. L. (2014). Parsing disciplinary disproportionality contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal*, 51, 640–670.
- Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Choong-Geun Chung, M., Rausch, K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). Race is not neutral: A national investigation of african american and latino disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Review*, 40(1), 85–107.
- Snyder, T. D., & Dillow, S. A. (2010). *Digest of education statistics 2009*. Washington DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Sommers, C. H. (2000). *The war against boys: How misguided feminism is harming our young men*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Trzesniewski, K. H., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Taylor, A., & Maughan, B. (2006). Revisiting the association between reading achievement and antisocial behavior: New evidence of an environmental explanation from a twin study. *Child Development*, 77, 72–88.
- Tyre, P. (2009). *The trouble with boys*. New York: Random House.
- Vantieghem, W., Vermeersch, H., & Van Houtte, M. (2014). Why “gender” disappeared from the gender gap: (Re-) Introducing gender identity theory to educational gender gap research. *Social Psychology of Education*, 17(3), 357–381.
- Wilkins, A. C., & Dalessandro, C. (2013). Monogamy lite cheating, college, and women. *Gender & Society*, 27(5), 728–751. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213483878>.
- Willingham, W. W., & Cole, N. S. (1997). *Gender and fair assessment*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Zill, N., & West, J. (2001). *Entering kindergarten: A portrait of American children when they begin school: Findings from the condition of education, 2000*. Washington, D.C: Technical report, National Center for Education Statistics.

Anne McDaniel Ph.D., is the Executive Director in the Center for the Study of Student Life at The Ohio State University. She held previous roles as the Associate Director of Research in the Center for the Study of Student Life and as Assistant Professor of Education and Sociology (by courtesy) at the University of California, Irvine. Dr. McDaniel's research interests include gender and racial inequalities in higher education, especially as they relate to student experiences and persistence. Her research has appeared in many peer-reviewed journals, including the Annual Review of Sociology, Demography, Demographic Research, Sociology Compass, and Comparative Education Review.

Erica Phillips M.A., is a Research Associate in the Center for the Study of Student Life at The Ohio State University and a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at Ohio State. She conducts and coordinates the multi-institutional Study on Collegiate Financial Wellness and College Prescription Drug Study. Erica has an M.A. in Sociology from Ohio State and B.A. in English Literature and Spanish from Denison University. Erica's research interests include higher education, student finances, inequality, and organizational studies, particularly in the nonprofit sector.

Gender Inequality and Workplace Organizations: Understanding Reproduction and Change

19

Alexandra Kalev and Gal Deutsch

Abstract

The modern workplace is a pivotal arena for shaping societal gender inequalities. This chapter reviews theory and research on gender inequality in workplace organizations. We first provide a quick historical overview of the role of gender in the modern division of labor and present data on intersectional patterns of gender inequality in labor force participation, as well as horizontal and vertical occupational sex segregation. We then discuss prevailing theoretical explanations for these inequalities, moving from individual-level theories to structural and organizational explanations. This is followed by a review of empirical evidence on gender inequality at work, beginning with studies exploring the cultural, relational and structural mechanisms for reproducing gender inequality in organizations and moving to discussing research on mechanisms for reducing inequality. We argue that more theory and research ought to be focused on the remediation of inequality and discuss two directions: the first is an institutional theory of remediation, examining the ways in which institutional

environments and actors can weaken gendered organization; and the second is a political theory focusing on the means and conditions for women to act as agents of organizational change. We conclude with suggestions for future research and theory development.

The modern workplace has always been a central arena for reproducing societal gender inequalities and producing new ones, as well as a key institution for promoting social change. This chapter reviews extant theory and research on gender inequality in workplace organizations. Such a review is important because patterns of sex segregation in workplaces remain stable even after industries and occupations integrate; because gender is constitutive of organizational cultures, relations and structures; and because organizational theory has much to offer for understating organizational inequality and its remediation.

We begin by providing a brief historical overview of gender in the modern division of labor, data on patterns of gender inequality, and a broad-brush overview of prevailing theoretical explanations for these inequalities. The two main sections in this chapter discuss cultural, relational and structural mechanisms for producing gender inequality in organizations, and theory and evidence related to remedying gender inequalities. We conclude with suggestions for future research and theory development.

A. Kalev (✉) · G. Deutsch
Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel
e-mail: akalev@post.tau.ac.il

G. Deutsch
e-mail: galdeutsch@mail.tau.ac.il

1 A Brief History of the Gendered Modern Division of Labor

Patterns of the gendered division of labor at work that may seem natural to the everyday observer are a product of historical processes, related at their core to the industrial revolution and the modern organization of work (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Prior to the industrial revolution, both men and women participated in small scale, mostly family-managed, agricultural and manufacturing work. Preindustrial work was divided along gender lines, with some of these divisions persisting to date, such as women's predominance in textile labor. Yet both men and women worked, their tasks often overlapped and there was little-to-no devaluation of women's work. Among enslaved African American men and women there was even less division of labor by gender.

The industrial revolution in Europe and in the U.S. replaced family and slave production with market production. For the most part, the new paid labor force that fed factories and mines was composed of men, while women worked in unpaid labor in the household, taking care of children and life needs that could free men for long hours of exploitative work. By 1890, only 17% of women in the U.S. worked in paid labor, with white married women being the least likely to be employed (Padavic & Reskin, 2002).

The white middle class ideology of separate spheres further cemented the gendered division of labor. This ideology portrays homemaking as the appropriate occupation for women, while men's natural place is the public sphere where work is paid. To be sure, many women and mothers, especially poor and single, have always worked. But this ideology—coupled with a reality in which industrial work was male-dominated, and buttressed by stereotypes about masculinity and femininity as well as an emerging status hierarchy based on the gendered division of labor—has had long-lasting effects on the kind of jobs, opportunities and pay each group received (Acker, 2006).

Early labor protection laws in the U.S. enhanced gender segregation at work, as they did

in many other industrial countries, by barring women from a long line of blue-collar jobs regarded as a risk to women's health or dignity. Wartime labor regulations, especially during World War II, gave working women a temporary opportunity to enter the better-paying, unionized, male-dominated jobs to fill-in for missing hands. Most women, however, lost their jobs to veteran men after the war. This was backed by a massive government campaign, which included, among other things, closing child care centers that flourished during the war and sponsoring cultural and educational campaigns heralding intensive motherhood as key for child and family wellbeing. The post-war propaganda and the new 1950's white middle-class suburbia infused new life to the separate spheres ideology, at least as it concerns white women (Hewlett, 1986). That poor and minority women worked went without saying, albeit mostly in low pay care and service jobs.

The next bout of Federal legislation that was to significantly affect the incorporation of women in work organizations came in the 1960's with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination on the basis of sex and other categories, the 1965 Pay Equity Act, and Affirmative Action regulations for women beginning in 1967. Studies show that anti-discrimination legislation significantly expanded and improved women's labor force participation, especially during the 1970's when it was coupled with vigorous enforcement and an active women's movement. These effects declined over time, as political regimes became more conservative (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012). Employers reacted to antidiscrimination laws by radically changing their personnel structures (Dobbin, 2009). Many of employers' compliance structures can be regarded as ceremonial responses, decoupled from everyday activities, that merely legitimize and perpetuate inequality (Edelman, 2016; Acker, 1990). Other structures have been influential in engendering change, and we are at the point of learning which structures work and why, and how to make others work as well. We will return to this point later in the chapter.

2 Quantitative Manifestations of Gender Inequality

White women's labor force participation increased steadily until the mid-1990s and has been declining slightly ever since; patterns for black women are very similar (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012; Edelman, 2016). In contrast, Hispanic and Asian-American women started seeing gains in labor force participation only in the early 1990s (EEOC, 2003). These changes occurred alongside a significant decline in sex segregation in managerial, professional and nonretail jobs, at least until the 2000s, but virtually no change in the sex segregation of working class jobs. That is, blue-collar and low-skill service jobs remain as segregated as they were in the 1950s in the United States and most OECD countries (England, 2010). From an ethno-racial perspective, white women saw the largest decline in segregation from white men, while for black women this decline is minimal. In fact, black women's segregation from white women has increased since the 1990s (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012). Furthermore, even where data show occupational and industrial integration, segregation patterns within and across workplaces remain high (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012), rendering an organizational approach to gender inequality all the more important.

Women's entrance to management varies significantly by race and ethnicity. Figure 1 depicts changes in minorities' proportion in management in mid-size and large private sector organizations from 1996 to 2015. Black women progressed at a slower pace than Hispanic and Asian women, but they have closed the gap with black men and are now surpassing them. Hispanic women increased their share in management almost at the same rate as Hispanic men, while among Asian-Americans gender gaps in management have increased significantly. Despite these increases, minority women's share in management remains very low. By 2015 black women were only 3.3% of managers in these private-sector workplaces. By comparison, they

were 8.1% of their non-managerial workforce, and 5% of professional jobs.¹

Pay inequality also improved in recent decades but did not disappear. The gender gap in weekly earnings has declined: in 2014 women made 82% of men's pay, compared to 61% in 1965, with the largest improvements occurring before 1990 (Blau & Kahn, 2016, 67). As women closed the education and work experience gaps, occupational segregation has become the key source of gender pay gaps. A decomposition of the gender pay gap shows that in 1980, 51.5% of the gap was explained by factors such as education, experience, region, race, industry, occupation, and union membership (Blau & Kahn, 2016, 73). The rest of the gap (48.5%) remained unexplained. In 2010, more of the gap (62%) was explained. Yet, education and experience had little or no explanatory power, while the role of industrial and occupational segregation and race in explaining the gap increased by 2–3 fold compared to 1980. Motherhood also increases the pay gap, especially among highly skilled workers (England, Bearak, Budig, & Hodges, 2016). The next two sections review broad theoretical explanations and research on specific mechanisms contributing to the persistence of gender inequality in workplace organizations.

3 Theories for Explaining Gender Inequality at Work: From Individual to Organizational Effects

Individual level, supply side explanations of gender segregation and pay gaps point to the role of women's preferences and choices. According to the economic human capital theory, individuals seek jobs that will return their investment in education, skill and experience. The "new home economics" strand of this theory argues that as a means for maximizing household economic utility, women and men invest in different skills—suited for domestic work versus paid

¹https://www1.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/2015/index.cfm#select_label.

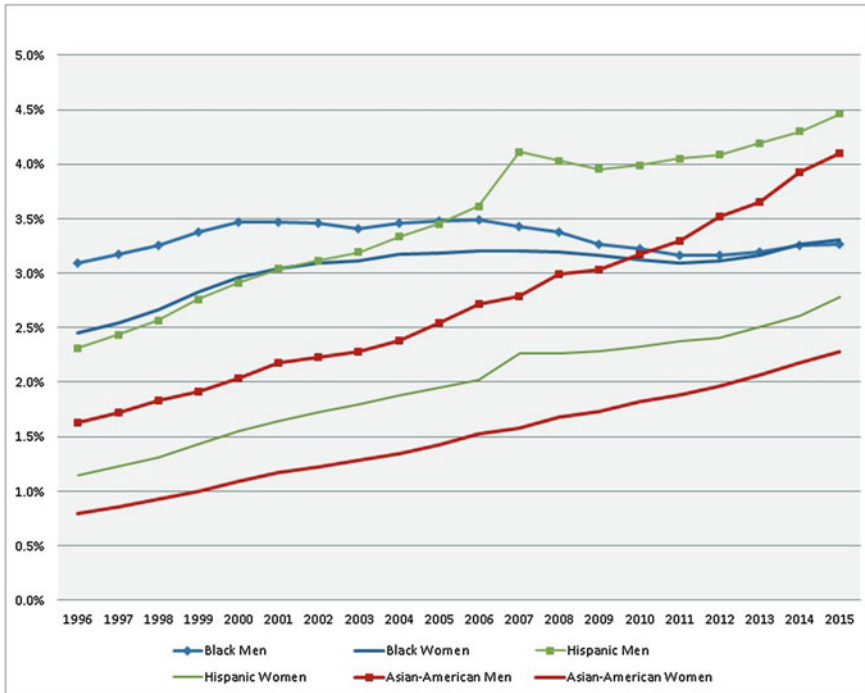


Fig. 1 The percent of minority women and men in private-sector managerial jobs. *Note* Authors calculations based on data from the EEOC available at <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/index.cfm>

work, respectively—according to their different preferences and/or respective pay expectations. Women who do participate in paid work choose jobs that pay less but in return allow them to integrate to their home work with their paid work. A related supply-side explanation emphasizes the effect of childhood gender socialization on women’s and men’s educational and career choices. The famous “Opting Out” thesis, popularized by New York Times journalist Lisa Belkin in 2003, reflects this logic. When women realize the price of success at work, they opt out to devote more time to their families.

Demand side explanations of gender inequality focus on employers’ biases and discrimination, often termed taste-based discrimination or statistical discrimination. Accordingly, employers exclude women from good jobs either because they simply do not want to work with women, or because they believe that on average women’s training costs will be higher than men’s or their productivity will be lower. While no doubt some

women prefer jobs that allow them to integrate family care (either by choice or due to lack of alternatives), and no doubt some employers act upon biased preferences or statistical discrimination, research has also pointed to the limited explanatory power of these individual-based theories (e.g. Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993).

Sociologists have argued that in addition to individual factors, structural processes are at play in shaping gender inequality at work. The idea that the organization of work and job segregation shapes men’s and women’s careers emerged during the 1970s, when feminist research on the gendered structure of organizations began to develop—with landmark studies such as Kanter (1977)—alongside organizational sociologists’ efforts to bring the organization back into stratification research in the early 1980’s. James Baron, an organizational sociologist, summarized the structural approach to inequality most clearly in stating that “the division of labor among jobs and organizations generates a distribution of

opportunities and rewards that often antedates, both logically and temporally, the hiring of people into those jobs” (Baron, 1984, 38). Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) nicely illustrates this point by showing that women-dominated jobs take on a gendered character, which is independent of their incumbents and affects these jobs’ features, such as their level of complexity, autonomy, authority and pay.

Feminist scholar Joan Acker made an important correction to this approach in a landmark 1990 paper by establishing gender as *constitutive* of organizational structures rather than as infused into them: “To say that an organization, or any other analytical unit, is gendered, means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of the distinction between male and female, masculinity and femininity” (Acker, 1990, 146). In the decades since, several analytical dimensions were added to the theory of gendered organizations, mainly related to intersectionality. A very rich body of research has flourished exploring the working of gendered organizations. We review this research below.

A third source of insight on gender inequality at work comes from developments in organizational theory that took place in the late 1970s; in particular organizational ecology, resource dependence and institutional theories. As Stainback et al. (2010) have shown many of the patterns reproducing gender inequality at work can be mapped onto three interrelated organizational mechanisms: organizational inertia; the relative power of organizational constituencies (such as employee groups, leadership and professionals); and institutional effects, such as coercive, normative or mimetic pressure (Stainback, Tomaskovic-Devey, & Skaggs, 2010). These organizational theories also provide tools for understanding reduction in gender inequalities, with recent research looking at path dependence in founders’ effects (Baron, Hannan, Hsu, & Koçak, 2007), the power of leaders (Huffman, Cohen, & Pearlman, 2010) or accountability structures that disrupt gendered processes (Kalev, 2014; Dobbin, Schrage, & Kalev, 2015).

What is largely missing from this theoretical map is a theory of the de-institutionalization of gender inequality. We have developed sophisticated tools for understanding what causes inequality. But our theories remain static in that they mostly predict the perpetuation of gendered processes, even under changing organizational structures or at different gender intersections. We have under-theorized change in gender relations. We return to this point in the conclusion.

4 Mechanisms of Gender Inequality at Work

4.1 The Ideal Worker Norm as a Cultural Mechanism of Gender Inequality

While theories offer general propositions, exploring mechanisms is key for understanding how gender inequality is (re)produced on the ground. One central mechanism through which gender inequality is implicated and reproduced in the workplace is the separate spheres ideology and the ideal worker norm that it posits. The ideal worker norm portrays a worker fully devoted to the workplace and to work, with no competing demands, year-round (Williams, 2000). The ideal worker has no explicit gender. Yet, given that women bear most of the responsibility for domestic care, the time devotion and traits expected from the ideal worker are incongruent with women’s gender role. Women are therefore less likely to be perceived as ideal worker for many jobs.

The Ideal Worker’s Time. Time spent at work (physically or online) has long been a symbol of productivity and devotion of managerial and professional workers. The centrality of “face time” increases with the expansion of knowledge work and with rising demands for longer working hours at all organizational levels. Women, and especially mothers, are more likely to be evaluated as not committed enough to the workplace, which affects their hiring, promotions and pay (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). Managers’ methods of controlling workers’ physical and

online time at work make it harder for women to pass as “ideal workers” (Perlow, 1998). Consequently women are often pushed out of jobs they are skilled to do (Stone, 2007), or choose to apply to lower paying and lower prestige jobs, as they anticipate not being able to fulfill increased time demands alongside family needs (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013). When family-friendly work choices are not an option in low paying jobs, the consequences of time demands are harsher for both parents (Williams, 2006).

The Ideal Worker's Traits. The gender of the ideal worker is implicated also in the kind of traits perceived as right for successful leadership. Workplace organizations are often regarded as an arena for “doing masculinity” (Acker, 1990). The ideal, successful worker and leader are described in stereotypically masculine traits as individualists, aggressive, authoritative, competitive, powerful, and rational. These definitions of merit affect the evaluation of women (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). Women are less likely to be hired to jobs described as requiring “assertiveness” and “independence,” and more likely to be hired to jobs described as requiring “cooperation” and “friendliness” (Gorman, 2005). Once hired to male-dominated jobs, gender stands out and women experience lower evaluations. For example, women financial analysts are often viewed by clients as junior, regardless of their rank (Roth, 2004). And women case managers in micro-finance are less likely than men to secure client compliance (Doering & Thébaud, 2017). When women adopt so-called masculine traits, they face criticism and a lower valuation for not being feminine enough (Eagly et al., 1995).

Masculinities and Sexual Harassment. If success at work is a symbol of masculinity, women's success is likely to be perceived as a threat to that masculinity (Acker, 1990). Sexual harassment at work is used for “doing masculinity” by men demonstrating their power to other men, and as a tool for policing “appropriate” gender behavior among non-conforming men and women (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). Women in supervisory positions are more likely to be harassed, as are

women working in male-dominated industries (McLaughlin et al., 2012). The experience of harassment has negative effects on women's wellbeing, performance at work and career attainment (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2017). Workplace responses to sexual harassment have not been effective. Grievance procedures are the most common organizational responses to sexual harassment (Dobbin, 2009). Although they allow women to complain, they usually lead to individualistic solutions rather than changing the organizational culture of gender power relations. Women who complain about harassment often find themselves isolated, retaliated against and removed from their position (Edelman, 2016; Roscigno 2007).

The Ideal Worker's Class and Race. The ideal worker is not only masculine but also white and middle class. Closing the gap with the ideal worker norm is often more difficult for minority women due to factors such as stronger patriarchal barriers in their communities, housing segregation forcing longer commutes, and discrimination in access to education. As they enter good jobs, minority women have fewer role models and potential sponsors in high positions in organizations compared to white women, and they often need to work harder to fight stereotypes and prove their competence (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Intersections do not always mean additive disadvantages. For example, class and gender intersect such that higher class women are evaluated as less committed to work than lower class women (Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). At the lower end of the labor market, minority, poor and immigrant women are viewed as ideal workers, more so than minority men, as employers believe the whip of poverty and their need to provide for children forces them to take any job, pay and conditions they can get (Moss & Tilly, 2001).

4.2 Sex Segregation as a Relational Engine of Inequality

Segregation is not only a product of gender bias but also a mechanism for perpetuating inequality.

The value of jobs is tightly connected to their gender composition. Jobs become institutionalized as masculine or feminine, and are accordingly viewed as valuable or marginal to the bottom line. At the labor market level, segregation and devaluation significantly hurts women's pay (England, 2010). At the workplace, segregation perpetuates inequality in several ways. First, women's jobs offer fewer formal opportunities, they often have short job ladders and no access to training. Second, sex segregation has negative effects on informal resources, such as social networks. Social networks at work are important for advancement and provide resources such as informal mentorship, visibility, and information about opportunities—exactly what women often lack. Because networks are largely formed around shared demographics and jobs, women are more likely to be networked with other women who work in similar marginalized positions (McGuire, 2000). Third, sex segregation reinforces negative stereotypes about women's capabilities and aspirations. According to expectation states theory interactions between men and women within structurally unequal contexts perpetuate status beliefs and recreate the gender system in everyday life (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). Taken together, segregated jobs can be viewed as “glass cages,” posing invisible relational barriers to advancement (Kalev, 2009).

4.3 Gendered Organizational Structures

Organizational personnel and work structures complement the cultural and relational mechanisms for perpetuating inequality.

Bureaucracy. As reviewed above, hiring, promotion and pay decisions in workplace organizations are often affected by gender bias. Bureaucracy theory argues that formalization of personnel decisions will curb favoritism. Human resources managers promoted bureaucratization as a means for compliance with antidiscrimination legislation, and many sociologists have endorsed this theory as well. Indeed there is some evidence that formalization curbs nepotism. For

example, Reskin and McBrier (2000) find that when hiring is done through formal job postings rather than word of mouth, the share of women in management increases. Others argue that formalization can fail to engender equality, as managers can resist new rules and continue to act upon their preferences, to informally discourage women from applying to promotions or to retaliate against women who use formal grievance procedures (Edelman, 2016).

Feminist theorists promote a deeper criticism of bureaucracy (Acker, 1990). They warn that formal rules do not challenge the gendered assumptions embedded in organizational cultures and processes and therefore they reproduce inequality. Thus for example, an unnecessary physical exam in screening candidates for male-dominated jobs discourages women from applying (Kmec, 2005); formal performance evaluations that allow managers to be credited for tasks done by secretaries legitimize gender differences in promotions (Acker, 2006); and formal layoff rules that cut jobs deemed expendable lead to a higher share of women losing their jobs (Kalev, 2014). These forms of “biased formalization” (Kalev, 2014) reproduce, expand and legitimize gender inequality. Indeed, workers in highly formalized workplaces are less likely to perceive inequalities as being due to discrimination (Hirsh & Lyons, 2010).

The Organization of Work. Because gender inequality is implicated in every aspect of work organizations, transformations in the labor process and the organization of work also affect women and men differently. One key change in recent decades has been the increased popularity of downsizing as a business strategy and the related decline in job security and the expansion of bad jobs. When organizations downsize, outsource and offshore their production lines, women are significantly more likely to lose their jobs, because they occupy the most devalued, least tenured, positions (Kalev, 2014). After losing their jobs, women, and especially non-white and poor women, face longer unemployment spells and are more likely to find bad jobs, with worse pay, conditions and job security (Spalter-Roth & Deitch, 1999).

Another aspect of changes at work is the growth of “new economy” knowledge organizations and virtual organizations, such as the growing sector of open source production. Knowledge organizations often herald the value of meritocracy and diversity of identities as means for ensuring creativity and quality of ideas. This rhetoric has not translated into greater gender equality thus far. The little research existing on the topic suggests that structures of segregation, devaluation and harassment are reproduced in high tech and virtual organizations as well. Women’s participation rates in virtual open source are even lower than in high tech more generally, and when they do participate they are often relegated to undervalued tasks such as documentation and translation (Nafus, 2011).

5 How Can We Reduce Gender Inequality at the Workplace?

Most research on gender in workplace organizations has focused on exploring the organizational mechanisms that reproduce and expand gender inequality. This agenda accords well with the statistical trends showing the persistence of the gender pay gaps and gender segregation. Yet, focusing solely on the mechanisms that reproduce inequality is myopic to the extent that workplaces are also key arenas for producing change in gender relations at work and in society writ large. It also fails to acknowledge the fact that effective remedies do not necessarily involve simply reversing the causes of inequality, as if they were a mirror image. Instead, we need to develop a sociology of the remediation of inequality focused on how to bring about change effectively. In line with this agenda, this section highlights research perspectives and findings on change in gender inequalities at work. The goal is to encourage researchers to develop propositions and insights into what works to increase equality and to promote evidence-based solutions to influence employers and policy makers.

5.1 Structures Promoting Equality

One set of tools for change is provided by organizational compliance structures with antidiscrimination legislation. As reviewed above, much has been written about employers’ symbolic and ineffective bureaucratic rules and diversity programs (Acker, 1990; Edelman, 2016). Yet given that most of these structures are here to stay, dismissing them as gendered and inequality-reproducing may mean throwing the baby out together with the bathwater. Instead research has explored several patterns we can use for formulating hypotheses regarding the effect of bureaucracy and compliance structures.

To start with, studies show that formal procedures can promote women’s advancement if they are coupled with accountability structures, such as heightened federal oversight, an in-house attorney or a full-time manager responsible for workforce diversity (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev, 2014). Thus for example, while formal job ladders and performance evaluations often reproduce gendered processes, in workplaces where there is a full time diversity manager, these same procedures are effective in improving white and minority women’s career outcomes (Dobbin et al., 2015).

Second, organizational initiatives that engage managers as leaders of change are effective in increasing equality while those that point fingers at managers as responsible for inequalities only serve to reproduce them. Hence, special recruitment of women and minorities to managerial jobs, as well as mentoring programs and diversity taskforces, significantly increase the proportion of white and minority women in good jobs, while mandatory diversity training and grievance procedures do the exact opposite (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006). Effective diversity programs are quite rare in organizations, but knowing what works to reduce gender gaps and under what conditions is key for promoting change.

Third, changes to the organization of work that emphasize teamwork and networking break traditional sex segregation and may weaken

related sources of gender inequality. Compared with segregated work environments and a rigid division of labor, women can benefit from teamwork, cross training and expanded networking opportunities. These programs do not eliminate gender and racial bias, and even require more self-promotion from women (Williams, Muller, & Kilanski, 2012), yet they also provide new opportunities for women to work with a wider range of people, to demonstrate their capabilities, to be treated as peers and to resist devaluation (Ollilainen & Rothschild, 2001). Smith-Doerr (2004) finds that women are significantly more likely to be supervisors in bio-tech firms that are organized around project-based teams, compared to hierarchical organizations. The women scientists attributed this difference to the flexibility to collaborate with more people and to the higher visibility of their skills and contributions in a team environment. Kaley (2009) shows that white and black women's share in management increased after the introduction of team and cross training programs. Beyond promotion, Kelly, Moen, and Tranby (2011) have shown that in results-oriented work environments, where teamwork is emphasized, parents experience an improved work-family fit and wellbeing, primarily due to schedule control.

5.2 Women as Agents of Change

Feminist organizational theory and research has mostly treated women as passive actors, under-theorizing their potential role as agents of change. Women who improve their organizational positions, be it by securing a management position or simply by getting a decent job, may promote a feminist agenda. Kanter's (1977) classic theory on power in numbers is perhaps the only attempt to theorize women's agency. Women's entrance to management beyond a token amount provides them with the power to enact change, which declines when they reach about parity. The jury is still out on whether women become "agents of change" or "cogs in the machine" (Cohen & Huffman, 2007), but studies have shown that when women enter

management positions, they expand gender integration, especially in large and growing organizations (Huffman et al., 2010), reduce pay gaps (Cohen & Huffman, 2007), push for diversity programs (Dobbin et al., 2011) and promote cultural changes in organizations (Ely, 1995).

It is time to develop a systematic understanding of the means and conditions for such changes. Studies show that discretion may be a key factor by increasing actors' power to promote change (Scarborough, 2017). Abraham (2017) for example, finds that women managers reduce gender pay gaps in workplaces where formalization is low, and they can exercise discretion. The feminization of human resources management since the 1970's is another example. Research suggests that women use their discretion in these positions to advance women in management (Scarborough, 2017) and to change the agenda of HR management toward programs addressing workers' work-family needs, such as introducing dependent care assistance and programs for schedule control and parental leaves (Dobbin, 2009; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012). The effects of these programs on gender inequality are still unclear, but their popularization is a step toward mainstreaming gender and dismantling the ideal worker norm. We need to know more about the mechanisms and conditions for this change, led by women in human resources.

Finally, industrial shifts and the expansion of service, care work and consumption-related jobs have opened new employment opportunities for women, especially minority and non-college-educated women. While it is true that these are mostly bad jobs with low pay and no options for advancement (Dwyer, 2013), for many of these women these opportunities provide a significant improvement in their social and economic status. To provide one example, the expansion of pharma retail in Israel increased employer demand for pharmacists who would settle for low pay. While Jewish pharmacists were not interested in these jobs, this opened new employment opportunities for Arab women who have been traditionally pressured by their families not to study medicine but could now present

pharmaceutical studies as a gender appropriate compromise (Lewin-Epstein, Kalev, Marantz, & Slonim, 2015). More research is needed to explore the ways women use the workplace to bargain with patriarchy at home and at work.

6 Conclusion

We spend most of our waking lives in organizations, which are key to the distribution of material, social and emotional resources in society. The more the power of states declines in the face of neo-liberal ideologies, the more central work and workplace organizations become in determining and shaping the distribution of societal resources. This makes workplace organizations the principal arena for both the (re) production of inequality and promoting change.

Feminist scholarship views gender as an inherent and constitutive element of all organizational processes, and decades of research have provided empirical evidence for this theory. Be it in narratives of organizational success, definitions of merit, or the technical details of jobs, gender is implicated and inequalities are reproduced in all aspects of work. This conclusion offers ways for expanding the boundaries of feminist research on organizations.

6.1 Expanding Research Sites

Intersectionality. A better understanding of intersectionality, and how to study it, is one of the main challenges in our understanding the myriad ways in which gender works. This means not simply adding a category to our analyses, but also expanding the scope of our research lenses. To understand the intersection of gender and class we need to expand the focus of organizational research beyond glass ceilings and pay gaps, toward questions such as maintaining a job and keeping one's family safe in the context of poverty and welfare retrenchment, where gender stereotypes meet economic exploitation. This also requires research on the possibilities of

moving from a civil rights framework of equality to one of collective action (Williams, 2006).

To take seriously the intersection of gender with ethnicity or race also means to turn a reflexive eye toward our taken-for-granted assumptions about what equality means. We need a view of equality that departs from the Western vision of abandonment of one's community and tradition in order to work in modern workplaces. Instead we need to examine how economic participation and tradition can co-exist.

Intersectionality also means viewing gender as a non-binary category. The ideal worker is also heterosexual. Most of the work-family and work-life discourse assumes heterosexual families and life. We need to expand our definition of families and life and learn more about status of LGBTQ workers of different origins and classes at work (Ozbilgin et al., 2011).

Inequality Regimes in Public and Non-profit Organizations. Most research on gender inequality focuses on private sector organizations. Yet, research shows growing gender inequalities in collectivist, social change organizations (Acker, 2006; Deutsch, 2017) as well as the public sector (Wilson, Roscigno, & Huffman, 2015). This scholarly neglect might be because the non-profit and public sectors are perceived as not subscribing to the masculine ideal worker norms of the private sector. Yet, these sectors have always been gendered and are becoming increasingly similar to the private sector over time. We need more research to understand these changes.

6.2 Expanding Theory— De-Institutionalizing Gender Inequality

Research informed by the framework of gendered organizations has largely ignored mechanisms of change, and has not developed propositions on the de-institutionalization of inequality. We fear that feminist critique of gendered organizations as perpetuating inequality—while certainly on target—blinds scholars

from searching for sources of organizational change. While we have plenty of evidence on decision makers' gender bias, or on the gendering of occupations, we know little about effective means for reducing and resisting it.

Feminist scholarship can use tools offered by organizational theory. Research on the remediation of inequality has already produced important insights into what produces effective change. Research informed by an institutional theory of remediation of inequality has shown that accountability structures can reduce negative effects of biased formalization (Kalev, 2014). Using insights from the sociology of work and the psychology of motivation, research has shown that equality innovations that engage managers in leading change is effective in expanding opportunities for women (Dobbin et al., 2015).

Feminist scholarship on women's agency and resistance, such as bargaining with patriarchy (Kandiyoti, 1988), can provide another framework for understanding how women can transform gendered organization. Team context provides fertile grounds for exploring patterns of resistance. For example, Plankey-Videla (2005, 108) shows how women used the team's autonomy to further their interests, such as favoring mothers in granting permissions for time off, despite gender subordination in their teams (see also Ollilainen & Rothschild, 2001). Social movement scholarship can provide another source of insight regarding changing gendered organization using activism outside the organization (Den Hond & Bakker, 2007).

In short, feminist scholars are well positioned to identify barriers and sources of disadvantage. Coupling this knowledge with the sociology of organizations and work can expand our understanding of how to change the status quo. Attention to sources of change does not mean downplaying the persistence of gender inequality in workplace organization. Rather it means using an evidence-based approach to change it.

References

- Abendroth, A. K., Melzer, S., Kalev, A., & Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (2017). Women at work: Women's access to power and the gender earnings gap. *ILR Review*, 70(1), 190–222.
- Abraham, M. (2017). Pay formalization revisited: Considering the effects of manager gender and discretion on closing the gender wage gap. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(1), 29–54.
- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4, 139–158.
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20, 441–464.
- Barbulescu, R., & Bidwell, M. (2013). Do women choose different jobs from men? Mechanisms of application segregation in the market for managerial workers. *Organization Science*, 24(3), 737–756.
- Baron, J. N. (1984). Organizational perspectives on stratification. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 10(1), 37–69.
- Baron, J. N., Hannan, M. T., Hsu, G., & Koçak, Ö. (2007). In the company of women: Gender inequality and the logic of bureaucracy in start-up firms. *Work and Occupations*, 34(1), 35–66.
- Bell, E. L. E., & Nkomo, S. M. (2001). *Our separate ways: Black and white women and the struggle for professional identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2016). *The gender wage gap: Extent, trends, and explanations*. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Cohen, P. N., & Huffman, M. L. (2007). Working for the woman? Female managers and the gender wage gap. *American Sociological Review*, 72(5), 681–704.
- Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(5), 1297–1339.
- Den Hond, F., & De, Bakker F. G. A. (2007). Ideologically motivated activism: How activist groups influence corporate social change activities. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(3), 901–924.
- Deutsch, G. (2017). *Organizational structures, demography and gender inequality in non-profit organization*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the ASA. Montreal (August 12–15, 2017).
- Dobbin, F. (2009). *Inventing equal opportunity*. N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Dobbin, F., Kim, S., & Kalev, A. (2011). You can't always get what you need: Organizational determinants of diversity programs. *American Sociological Review*, 76(3), 386–411.
- Dobbin, F., Schrage, D., & Kalev, A. (2015). Rage against the iron cage: The varied effects of

- bureaucratic personnel reforms on diversity. *American Sociological Review*, 80(5), 1014–1044.
- Doering, L., & Thébaud, S. (2017). The effects of gendered occupational roles on men's and women's workplace authority: Evidence from microfinance. *American Sociological Review*, 82(3), 542–567.
- Dwyer, R. E. (2013). The care economy? Gender, economic restructuring, and job polarization in the us labor market. *American Sociological Review*, 78(3), 390–416.
- Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J., & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: a meta-analysis. *Psychological bulletin*, 117(1), 125.
- Edelman, L. B. (2016). *Working law: Courts, corporations, and symbolic civil rights*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ely, R. J. (1995). The power in demography: Women's social constructions of gender identity at work. *Academy of Management Review*, 38(3), 589–634.
- Ely, R. J., & Meyerson, D. E. (2000). Theories of gender in organizations: A new approach to organizational analysis and change. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 22, 103–151.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 149–166.
- England, P., Bearak, J., Budig, M. J., & Hodges, M. J. (2016). Do highly paid, highly skilled women experience the largest motherhood penalty? *American Sociological Review*, 81(6), 1161–1189.
- Gorman, E. H. (2005). Gender stereotypes, same-gender preferences, and organizational variation in the hiring of women: Evidence from law firms. *American Sociological Review*, 70, 702–728.
- Hewlett, S. A. (1986). *A lesser life: The myth of women's liberation in America*. NY: William Morrow.
- Hirsh, E., & Lyons, C. J. (2010). Perceiving discrimination on the job: Legal consciousness, workplace context, and the construction of race discrimination. *Law & Society Review*, 44, 269–298.
- Huffman, M. L., Cohen, P. N., & Pearlman, J. (2010). Engendering change: Organizational dynamics and workplace gender desegregation, 1975–2005. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(2), 255–277.
- Kalev, A. (2009). Cracking the glass cages? Restructuring and ascriptive inequality at work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 114(6), 1591–1643.
- Kalev, A. (2014). How you downsize is who you downsize: Biased formalization, accountability, and managerial diversity. *American Sociological Review*, 79(1), 109–135.
- Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 589–617.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender & Society*, 2(3), 274–290.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic books.
- Kelly, E. L., Moen, P., & Tranby, E. (2011). Changing workplaces to reduce work-family conflict: Schedule control in a white-collar organization. *American Sociological Review*, 76(2), 265–290.
- Kmec, J. A. (2005). Setting occupational sex segregation in motion: Demand-side explanations of sex traditional employment. *Work and Occupations*, 32(3), 322–354.
- Lewin-Epstein, N., Kalev, A., Marantz, E., & Slonim, S. (2015). *Integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists into the labor market*. Policy Research. Taub Center.
- McGuire, G. M. (2000). Gender, race, ethnicity, and networks: The factors affecting the status of employees' network members. *Work and Occupations*, 27(4), 501–524.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2012). Sexual harassment, workplace authority, and the paradox of power. *American Sociological Review*, 77(4), 625–647.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2017). The economic and career effects of sexual harassment on working women. *Gender & Society*, 31(3), 333–358.
- Moss, P., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Stories employers tell: Race, skill, and hiring in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Nafus, D. (2011). 'Patches don't have gender': What is not open in open source software. *New Media & Society*, 14(4), 669–683.
- Ollilainen, M., & Rothschild, J. (2001). Can self-managing teams be truly cross-functional? Gender barriers to a "new" division of labor. *Research in the Sociology of Work*, 10, 141–164.
- Ozbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011). Work-Life, diversity and intersectionality: A critical review and research agenda. *International Journal Management Reviews*, 13(2), 177–198.
- Padavic, I., & Reskin, B. (2002). *Women and men at work*. California: Pine Forge Press.
- Perlow, L. A. (1998). Boundary control: The social ordering of work and family time in a high-tech corporation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43(2), 328–357.
- Plankey-Videla, N. (2005). Gendered contradictions: Managers and women workers in self-managed teams. In: *Worker participation: Current research and future trends* (pp 85–116). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Reskin, B., & McBrier, D. B. (2000). Why not ascription? Organization employment of male and female managers. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 210–233.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1999). The gender system and interaction. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), 191–216.
- Rivera, L. A., & Tilcsik, A. (2016). Class advantage, commitment penalty: The gendered effect of social class signals in an elite labor market. *American Sociological Review*, 81(6), 1097–1131.
- Roscigno, V. (2007). *The face of discrimination: How race and gender impact work and home lives*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Roth, L. M. (2004). Bringing clients back in: Homophily preferences and inequality on Wall Street. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 45(4), 613–635.

- Scarborough, W. J. (2017). The [human resource management] revolution will not be televised: The rise and feminization of human resource management and labor force equity. *Social Currents*, 1–14.
- Smith-Doerr, L. (2004). *Women's work: Gender equality vs. hierarchy in the life sciences*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder.
- Spalter-Roth, R., & Deitch, C. (1999). "I don't feel right sized; I feel out-of-work sized" Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and the Unequal Costs of Displacement. *Work and Occupations*, 26(4), 446–482.
- Stainback, K., & Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (2012). *Documenting desegregation: Racial and gender segregation in private sector employment since the Civil Rights Act*. Russell Sage.
- Stainback, K., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., & Skaggs, S. (2010). Organizational approaches to inequality: Inertia, relative power, and environments. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 225–247.
- Stone, P. (2007). *Opting out?: Why women really quit careers and head home*. University of California Press
- Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (1993). *Gender & racial inequality at work: The sources and consequences of job segregation*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2003). *Women of color: Their employment in the private sector*. Washington, DC.
- Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J. (2006). One sick child away from being fired: When "opting out" is not an option. Available <http://www.worklifelaw.org/pubs/onesickchild.pdf>. Accessed July 17, 2017.
- Williams, C. L., Muller, C., & Kilanski, K. (2012). Gendered organizations in the new economy. *Gender & Society*, 26(4), 549–573.
- Wilson, G., Roscigno, V. J., & Huffman, M. (2015). Racial income inequality and public sector privatization. *Social Problems*, 62(2), 163–185.
- Alexandra Kalev** a Princeton University Ph.D., is an Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the Tel Aviv University. Kalev studies organizations, social inequality, and public policy. With Frank Dobbin, Kalev develops an evidence-based approach to diversity management in corporations and universities. Highlights from this research were featured in the July-August 2016 issue of the Harvard Business Review and received the HBR McKinsey Award for 2016. In research on Israel, Kalev studies the emergence and effects of the diversity management profession, the integration of Israeli-Palestinians in the Jewish economy, and the social construction of merit in high tech organizations.
- Gal Deutsch** is a Ph.D. student in Sociology at Tel Aviv University. Her research examines the effects of organizational structures and professionalization on gender inequality in NPOs workforce. Deutsch has written research reports on citizenship education in a nationalistic society, funded by the Rosa Luxembourg Fund and co-authored The Israeli Catalyst Report—Women Leading Business. Deutsch is the receiver of the Everett Social Justice Fellowship for 2014.

Part V
Sexualities and the Body

Surgically Shaping Sex: A Gender Structure Analysis of the Violation of Intersex People's Human Rights

20

Georgiann Davis and Maddie Jo Evans

Abstract

We begin this chapter distinguishing sex from gender, while also showing that neither phenomenon is a simple two-category characteristic. We then offer a gender structure analysis (Risman in *Gend Soc* 18(4):429–450, 2004) of intersex in contemporary U.S. society to show how these binary ideologies about sex and gender problematically shape the lives of intersex people. At the institutional level of gender structure, we focus on how doctors routinely subject intersex people to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions in an attempt to force them into the sex binary—a process that begins with doctors assessing the person's gender identity, or attempting to predict it, if the diagnosis occurs at birth. At the interactional level of gender structure, we show how doctors present intersex as a medical emergency to the parents of intersex children. We explain that this style of diagnosis delivery puts parents in a panic and leads them to hastily consent to medical recommendations in order to “normalize”

their child's body so that they fit more neatly into sex and gender expectations. At the individual level of gender structure, we describe how doctors treat intersex in ways that disregards intersex people's bodily autonomy while violating their human rights. However, as we explain in the conclusion, when intersex people age and learn the truth about how they were treated, they often fight back and crack the gender structure by joining the intersex rights movement in an attempt to challenge the institutional level of gender structure and, more specifically, how doctors harmfully approach intersex. We end with questions regarding intersex advocacy and a call for sociocultural scholars to center race in future intersex studies.

1 Introduction

When a baby is born doctors immediately categorize the infant as either male or female based on the appearance of the baby's external genitalia. This genital categorization is the child's sex, which is often viewed as synonymous with gender given those with penises are typically raised as boys, and those with vaginas are typically raised as girls. However, sex and gender are not synonymous with one another, nor is each a simple two-category phenomenon (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, 1993; Dreger, 1998; Kessler,

G. Davis (✉) · M. J. Evans
University of Nevada, 4505 S. Maryland Parkway,
455033, Las Vegas, NV 89154, USA
e-mail: georgiann.davis@unlv.edu

M. J. Evans
e-mail: evansm43@unlv.nevada.edu

1998, 1990). For example, in its most simplistic definition, gender is an identity and a fluid one at that given how it is understood differently across time and space. What was considered masculine a generation ago is not necessarily viewed the same way today. There are also many different ways to be masculine, just as there are many different ways to be feminine. You can have a penis and enact a femininity, much the same way you can have a vagina and enact a masculinity. Thus, it is problematic for doctors to predict a baby's gender by examining the baby's genitals—a faulty categorization process that, in many instances, begins even before birth with the assistance of a pregnancy ultrasound.

We can perhaps best understand the problem of assuming sex and gender are simple and neatly correlated phenomenon by looking to those born with intersex traits. Intersex traits are congenital characteristics that blur the controversial boundary between male and female bodies (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, 1993; Dreger, 1998; Kessler, 1998, 1990). An intersex trait can appear in the body as “ambiguous” genitalia, sexual organs, and/or as sex chromosomes that deviate from normative expectations. For example, those with complete androgen insensitivity syndrome (CAIS) typically have testes, albeit internal and undescended, and XY chromosomes, yet their outward female appearance which includes a vagina and breasts marks them as female. While intersex traits do not threaten a person's health (Nakhal et al., 2013), doctors routinely treat intersex traits as medical problems that they can fix with their scalpels—a horrific human rights violation that many intersex people have endured, including sociologist Georgiann Davis (see Davis, 2015a).

Doctors routinely subject those born with intersex traits to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions (Davis, 2015a, 2011). They do this to uphold our narrow understanding of sex as a binary feature of our body even though intersex is strong evidence that sex is anything but simple (Davis, 2015a, 2011). Doctors tend to believe it is in a person's best interest for their sex and gender to be aligned, so, in the case of intersex, they attempt to predict an

intersex infant's gender, and then they use that prediction to surgically shape that child's sex. Otherwise they worry parents will not be able to gender socialize their intersex child (e.g., Karkazis, 2008).

Although intersex traits are usually diagnosed at birth or adolescence depending upon the intersex trait, doctors often withhold the known diagnosis from the intersex person, and encourage parents to do the same, out of fear that disclosing it would interfere with the development of the child's gender identity (e.g., Karkazis, 2008; Preves, 2003; Kessler, 1998, 1990). Instead of providing the intersex person with open and honest information at the time of diagnosis, or as they age if they are diagnosed at birth so that they can be included in medical decision making processes about their body (see, for example, Preves, 2003), doctors construct elaborate, and seriously problematic, narratives that range from telling intersex people that they were born with underdeveloped reproductive structures, to telling them that they were born with early onset cancer of the reproductive system (e.g., Karkazis, 2008). Although this medical deception might be understood as doctors attempting to help intersex people, it has been associated with their ideological stance that sex, gender, and sexuality are neatly correlated and essentialist features of our bodies that they can surgically protect by, for instance, removing the testes of a person born with CAIS because of their belief that a person with a vagina shouldn't also have testes (Davis, 2015a, 2011; Karkazis, 2008). This medical approach to intersex traits, and the deception that goes along with it, has also been tied to medical authority over the body, which creates, rather than ameliorates, physical and emotional pain and suffering (Davis, 2015a, 2011; Karkazis, 2008).

Any attempt at understanding the experiences of intersex people must begin by accepting that sex is a naturally variable phenomenon (Kessler, 1998). We suggest that we approach gender not only as an identity characteristic, but as sociologist Barbara Risman's (2004) theorizes, a stratification system that operates at the institutional, interactional, and individuals levels of

society. The institutional level of gender is where organizational practices and policies are regulated and enforced. The interactional level of gender is where gendered expectations are navigated and negotiated, and lastly, the individual level is where people internalize and embody a gender identity.

In the sections that follow, we draw on existing sociocultural analyses, alongside critiques from intersex activists, to offer a gender structure analysis of how intersex is experienced and contested in contemporary U.S. society (Risman, 2004). Although our discussion extends beyond the U.S., we focus on the U.S. in this chapter because it is the cultural context that we are personally and professionally most familiar with. It is also the perspective that, albeit problematically, dominates contemporary intersex discourse. However, we attempt to remain conscious of the ways in which our Americentric perspective is limited in its own regard, and invite readers to do the same. We also look forward to sociocultural scholars extending our analyses beyond the U.S. context through both empirical and theoretical perspectives different from our own.

We begin with the institutional level of gender structure by offering an overview of the medical treatment of intersex traits from historical to contemporary times, including critiques from intersex activists. We focus specifically on how medical providers violate intersex people's bodily autonomy in order to problematically align sex and gender. We next turn to the interactional level of gender structure to critique parental consent for these medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions. We show how doctors influence parents' compliance with their recommendations by presenting intersex as a medical emergency that needs an immediate medical response. Framed as an emergency, parents are left without time to consult with other parents of intersex children and/or intersex adults before granting consent for doctors to surgically shape their child's body so that sex and gender can be aligned. We then move to the individual level of gender structure to discuss how intersex people feel their human rights are violated in harmful and irreversible ways that also unnecessarily

leave them forcefully sterilized. However, as we describe in the conclusion, many intersex people join the intersex rights movement when they learn the truth about how they were treated in order to seek an end to the medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions intersex people are forced to endure. They do so as activists by raising intersex awareness through the media, drawing on legal strategies to hold doctors accountable for their actions, and more all in an attempt to disrupt the institutional level of gender structure where doctors surgically shape children's bodies to problematically align sex and gender. We place these activist efforts in dialogue with a feminist sociological understanding of medical processes that recognizes how our lives are structured by gender and how institutions, such as medicine, are positioned to enforce, or challenge, ideological understandings of gender.

2 The Medical Mutilation of Intersex Bodies: The Institutional Level of Gender Structure

Intersex is perhaps one of the best examples to highlight how the medical profession has the power, and is also equipped, to reinforce and perpetuate the problematic gender ideologies at the institutional level of gender structure that maintain sex and gender are naturally correlated phenomenon (Risman, 2004; Connell, 1987; Foucault, 1963). Although there is evidence that doctors have subjected intersex people to medically unnecessary interventions to uphold the sex binary as far back as the 18th century (Warren, 2014; Mak, 2012; Reis, 2009; Dreger, 1998), today's medical approach to intersex stems mostly from the medical advances of the 20th century. These medical advances include the invention and availability of medical imaging including ultrasonography, the discovery of sex chromosomes, and the advancement of surgical techniques.

Alongside these medical advancements, it was in the mid 1950s that psychologist John Money

introduced his “optimum gender of rearing” [OGR] model (Money, Hampson, & Hampson, 1957). The OGR model “held that *all* sexually ambiguous children should—indeed *must*—be made into unambiguous-looking boys or girls to ensure unambiguous gender identities” (Dreger & Herndon, 2009, 202). Sex and gender in this context were each binary and malleable but simultaneously thought of as needing to be strictly correlated. While Money was later discredited for unethical research practices and abuse of his power over minor children (Colapinto, 2000, 1997), the surgical practices at the core of his theory remain in practice today. Only now doctors no longer see sex and gender as flexible phenomena (Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). Instead, they view gender as a hard-wired and essentialist characteristic of the body that they can scientifically uncover with medical tests and visual inspections of a person’s body (Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). Once doctors have medically determined one’s gender (wrongly assuming such is even possible), they surgically shape the person’s sex to match in normative ways, meaning externally, girls should look female and boys should look male. Or, in the case of those with CAIS who have an outward female appearance, they remove the internal and undescended testes because girls aren’t supposed to have them. This attempt to predict one’s gender identity, and then modify the intersex body in accordance with the predicted gender, illustrates just how powerful the medical profession is in upholding the gender structure.

With doctors being the arbiters of intersex status, they hold exclusive jurisdiction over intersex. They are uniquely positioned to define what constitutes an intersex trait, and they are also medically equipped with the tools to treat a person’s intersex trait however they feel it should be treated. But intersex traits rarely, if at all, pose a health threat (see, for example, Nakhal et al., 2013). What intersex traits do threaten are the sex, gender, and perhaps to a lesser extent, sexuality binary ideologies upon which the framing of intersex as an abnormality rests. Thus, doctors who perform these medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions on intersex bodies are

erasing natural evidence that sex, gender, and sexuality are each a continuum instead of a binary.

Both feminist scholars and individuals with intersex traits have criticized the medical approach toward intersex. Feminist scholars are critical of this medical approach toward intersex traits, often citing the fact that it relies on an oversimplified understanding of sex that presumes there are clear medical markers that distinguish male from female bodies (e.g., Fausto-Sterling, 2000, 1993; Dreger, 1998). Feminist scholars are also critical of medical providers for assuming a strict correlation between sex, gender, and sexuality (e.g., Kessler, 1990). While some individuals with intersex traits share the critiques about intersex medical care that feminist scholars posit, they are even more concerned about the physical and emotional harm that result from medical interventions. Intersex people are deeply hurt by the lies their doctors and parents tell them about their diagnosis, and arguably most importantly, the medically unnecessary and irreversible surgeries they endured. With these critiques in hand, individuals with intersex traits gathered, mostly in the global north, in the late 1980s and early 1990s to challenge the medical treatment of intersex (Chase, 1998, 1993; see also Holmes, 2008). Intersex social movement organizations emerged and the intersex rights movement flourished (Preves, 2005, 2003). Intersex activists organized public protests at medical association meetings, gained media attention, and collectively grew as a social movement (Preves, 2005). They wanted the world to know that they were unhappy with how they were treated as minor children. They wanted, in short, to change medical care.

The medical profession initially wrote off intersex activists as “zealots” (Gearhart qtd. in Angier, 1996), but by the year 2000, everything seemed to change. Cheryl Chase, a leader who is often considered the founder of the U.S. intersex rights movement, was invited to deliver a plenary address to the then named Lawson Wilkins Pediatric Endocrine Society, a group she had once protested against (Karkazis, 2008).

That same year, the American Academy of Pediatrics issued a statement on the medical management of intersex conditions (Committee on Genetics, 2000). Within the statement were several recommendations that could be viewed as the medical profession responding to their critics. For example, the topic of diagnosis disclosure was discussed, and the recommendation was for medical providers to be open and honest with their patients and their patients' families. It is worth noting that today it is far less common for medical professionals to withhold the diagnosis from their patients than it was prior to the 1990s activism that led to the 2000 medical statement (Davis, 2015a). However, an individual's fertility and presumed capacity for sexual function remained the critical factors for determining gender assignment. In 2006, the American Academy of Pediatrics revised its policy on the medical management of intersex, citing—among other factors—advances in diagnosis and surgical intervention in the medical sciences (Lee, Houk, Ahmed, & Hughes, 2006). The revised policy also acknowledges the importance of patient advocacy, which may explain why it advises against unnecessary surgical intervention on intersex bodies, which has for a long time been a key concern among intersex activists.

While the 2000 and 2006 statements on the medical management of intersex traits are evidence that intersex activists (supported by feminist scholars) were beginning to be heard by the medical profession as they attempted to challenge the gender structure, there is reason to question if intersex medical care has genuinely experienced substantial change since the formation of the intersex rights movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. For example, while medical protocols advise against doctors performing medically unnecessary surgeries on intersex bodies, many doctors don't follow these protocols. They continue to perform corrective surgeries on intersex babies and small children instead of waiting until the child is old enough to consent to these irreversible medical interventions (Davis 2015a). At the same time, many medical professionals refuse to refer intersex people and their families to support groups when

research has shown that connecting with similarly situated others has been important throughout the intersex community (e.g., Davis, 2015a; Preves, 2003; Karkazis, 2008). The gender structure is, in other words, upheld despite activist and scholarly critiques of the medicalization of intersex bodies.

There is at least one medical recommendation from the 2006 medical protocol that has been widely implemented across the medical profession: the recommended shift in nomenclature from intersex terminology to the language of "disorders of sex development" (DSD) (Lee et al., 2006). The fact that this recommendation has been extremely successful across medicine in such a short amount of time might be read as both evidence of a jurisdictional struggle over intersex and the power of the gender structure (Davis, 2015a). In the 1990s, feminist scholars and intersex activists challenged intersex medical care leaving doctors under the spotlight (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, 1993; Chase, 1998, 1993; Dreger, 1998; Kessler, 1998, 1990). By renaming intersex a disorder of sex development, doctors are able to escape this public criticism while reasserting their authority over the intersex body (Davis, 2015a, 2011). While it is the case that DSD terminology has created new tensions across the intersex community with some intersex people embracing it, others rejecting it, and a minority selectively employing it (Davis, 2015a, 2014), what's most alarming is that doctors continue to mutilate intersex children by violating their patient's bodily autonomy.

3 Gendered Expectations and Problematizing Parental Consent: The Interactional Level of Gender Structure

What parents tend to want most for their child is happiness and health. And, for the latter, at least in the U.S. where everything from prenatal care to childbirth is medicalized, parents look to doctors to verify that their child is in fact healthy. And, sadly, given the power of the gender structure throughout society, this logic positions

parents to believe that their intersex child will not be healthy unless their child's sex and gender are neatly aligned. We explain in this section that doctors perpetuate this logic by framing intersex as a medical emergency, even going so far as to cite faulty cancer risks (Lee et al., 2006), rather than present intersex as a naturally occurring bodily variation.

Throughout the world, doctors, and the medical institution within which they practice, have an incredible amount of power over the body (Connell, 1987; Foucault, 1963). However, in the case of children, so do parents who are legally looked upon to consent, or refuse to consent, to medical recommendations on behalf of their minor child who legally is not able to offer their consent (Committee on Bioethics, 1995). When it comes to consenting to medical procedures, the law doesn't fully recognize children's voices. Instead, the law relegates all of a child's bodily autonomy to the child's parents disregarding that the child's wishes may be different from the parents. At the same time, the law also assumes that parents always have their child's best interest in mind. It also dismisses the possibility that parents are influenced by the gender structure that is upheld by doctors who are quick to surgically enforce it by attempting to align an intersex child's body with their assigned gender—an action masked by doctors perpetuating faulty claims that intersex traits are health risks (see Lee et al., 2006 for a discussion of the risks, and Nakhal et al., 2013 for contradictory evidence).

Intersex does pose a unique challenge when it comes to parental consent for a child's medical care, for as explained above, intersex traits rarely, if at all, threaten a person's health (see Nakhal et al., 2013). Yet, doctors often frame intersex as a medical emergency to the parents of intersex children, thus establishing the need for a medical response (Davis & Murphy, 2013; see also Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). And because intersex is most commonly diagnosed when one is a minor child, the parents of intersex children are put in an uncomfortable position to act on their child's behalf, and they usually do so without hesitation because of how doctors frame intersex.

It is through this communication between doctors and parents, where gendered expectations are enacted, that the interactional level of gender structure is visible (see Risman, 2004). The framing of intersex as a medical emergency begins with doctors frantically searching for biological answers to their young patient's intersex trait (Davis, 2015a; Davis & Murphy, 2013). These answers are intended to classify the child as either female or male because doctors assume parents will not otherwise be able to properly gender socialize their child (see Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). The process usually involves telling the child's parents that there is a problem that necessitates further testing. These tests can range from extensive laboratory workups that include identifying sex chromosomes, costly medical imaging scans in search of testes, ovaries, and/or a uterus, to invasive external and/or internal examination of the child's genitalia. This framing of intersex as a medical emergency alongside the immediate search for answers puts parents in panic mode, and in turn, establishes intersex as a problem that only doctors can fix. It's no wonder then that the parents of intersex children regularly consent to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions on their children's bodies. They want their child to be healthy, and they trust that doctors can make that happen.

However, rather than present intersex as a medical emergency to the parents of intersex children, doctors could alternatively attempt to challenge the gender structure by describing the intersex trait as a natural variation of the body. By doing so they would not only problematize the sex binary and its ties to gendered expectations, but they would also reassure parents that intersex rarely, if ever, poses a health threat. If doctors framed intersex as a normal variation, parents would be less likely to consent to cosmetic interventions on their children's bodies. Or, at the very least, they would be less likely to grant their consent without much hesitation. But doctors rarely question the sex binary. Instead, as documented above, they often draw on the sex binary, and its ideologies, to problematize intersex and justify their medical interventions. In other words, they reinforce the gender structure.

Despite decades of effort by intersex activists to end the medically unnecessary interventions on intersex bodies described in more detail in the previous section (e.g., Dreger & Herndon, 2009; Holmes, 2008; Preves, 2005; Chase, 1998), parents of intersex children continue to consent to the procedures in large part due to, as explained above, the medical framing of intersex as an emergency (Davis, 2015a; Davis & Murphy, 2013). Yet they later, after connecting with other parents of intersex children and intersex adults, express decisional regret (Davis, 2015a, b). Parents hear from other parents of intersex children that intersex traits are not medical emergencies. They also learn from intersex adults that medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions are not helpful but rather harmful because they cause physical and emotional struggles (e.g., Preves, 2003). When parents connect with the intersex community prior to consenting to the recommended medical procedures, research shows that their child's body would likely be left intact, and their child's autonomy respected (e.g., Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008).

While parents aren't the ones who are forced to live within the mutilated body they consented to, they might also be understood as victims of these intersex medicalization practices that uphold the gender structure (Davis, 2015a, b), although perhaps to a lesser extent. By adhering to doctor's recommendations, they were more often than not trying to ameliorate their child's medical emergency (Davis, 2015a, b). But, after they learn the truth that the intersex trait rarely poses a health threat, they must justify to their child why they consented to these procedures and this does often involve parents perpetuating the gender structure by claiming their child would have had a more difficult life if their sex and gender were not aligned (see Davis, 2015a). Regardless, for the rest of their lives, parents must live with their decision that they consented to medically unnecessary, and irreversible, interventions on their child's body. This is hardly good medical care for intersex people or their families.

Doctors, however, evade responsibility for their actions at the institutional level of gender

structure. They are not held accountable for upholding gender ideologies by surgically aligning sex and gender, nor are they held accountable for violating their own medical protocols that prohibit medically unnecessary surgeries (see Lee et al., 2006). They also do not take responsibility for framing intersex to parents as a medical emergency (Davis, 2015a; Davis & Murphy, 2013), nor do they accept the fact that they should have connected the parents of intersex children to similarly situated parents and intersex adults before asking the parents to follow through with their recommendations (Davis, 2015a, b). Instead, of taking responsibility for their sequential actions, they treat parents as pawns in the medical treatment of intersex by shifting all of the responsibility for their actions, or lack thereof, onto them (see Davis, 2015a, b).

If a doctor discovers one of their young patients has an intersex trait, rather than police the gender structure, they should, as outlined above, explain to the parents that intersex is a natural and normal variation of the body, and that sex and gender are two distinct, and variable, phenomena. They should also connect the parents with the intersex community, and lastly they should encourage the parents to be honest with the child by openly sharing the diagnosis. If medical professionals were to approach intersex in these ways, the gender structure would be less powerful, there would be far fewer medically unnecessary interventions, parents wouldn't be in a position to later express decisional regret, and most importantly, an intersex person's bodily autonomy would be respected.

4 Disregarding Bodily Autonomy: The Individual Level of Gender Structure

The individual level of gender structure is where a person's gender identity is internalized (Risman, 2004), which can be constraining for all of us regardless of our bodies given the power of the institutional and interactional levels of the gender structure. Yet, in the case of intersex, this constraint is uniquely complex given that doctors

surgically shape an intersex person's body to match the gender identity they choose for their patient—a process that usually happens when one is a minor child and are unable to legally refuse recommended medical interventions. This action, which is enacted at the institutional level of gender structure and enforced at the interactional level through the way in which the diagnosis is presented to parents, is a remarkable disregard for an intersex person's bodily autonomy. By subjecting intersex people to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions, doctors rob intersex people of the ability to form their gender identity within the body they were born with. And they do this by enforcing the individual level of gender structure that recognizes only two sexes and two genders, or in other words, masculine males and feminine females. This enforcement of the individual level of gender structure leaves many intersex people, as they discover their diagnosis and learn the truth about the surgeries they endured when they were children, feeling violated and mutilated—emotions they channel, as described in the conclusion, as they challenge the medical mutilation of intersex bodies and the perpetuation of the institutional level of gender structure (Davis, 2015a; Holmes, 2008; Karkazis, 2008; Preves, 2003).

In 2003, sociologist Sharon Preves published the very first book length academic account of the experiences of intersex people. She documented the physical and emotional struggles intersex people faced after being subjected to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions. As Preves explains, almost all intersex people undergo surgery to “fix” their intersex body at some point in their life (see also Davis, 2015a; Holmes, 2008; Karkazis, 2008; Preves, 2003). Those who were subjected to surgery on their external genitalia were left with nerve damage and a loss of sensitivity, and for some, pain while urinating and/or genital penetration, and, among other negative consequences, leakage from the urinary tract. In many cases, intersex people are subjected to numerous surgeries in attempt to remedy the problems associated with their previous, and unnecessary, surgeries. If the

initial surgery was never conducted, there would be no need for reparative interventions.

Even those without “ambiguous” external genitalia are typically still subjected to surgery in order to be squeezed into the sex binary. For example, because those with complete androgen insensitivity syndrome (CAIS) have an outward female appearance and mostly live their lives as women, doctors remove their internal and undescended testes despite the fact that the testes are the primary producers of sex hormones in the CAIS body (see, for example, Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). It's worth noting that intersex people who undergo surgery on their external genitalia are also often subjected to having their internal anatomy surgically altered, similar to those with CAIS. While doctors express concern that internal and undescended testes might turn cancerous, there is no empirical evidence for this assumption (Nakhil et al., 2013), nor is this action logically sound, for any body part might turn cancerous. Rather than, for instance, preemptively removing women's breasts out of fear that they might someday turn cancerous, doctors recommend preventative screening that ranges from self-examining one's own breasts to medical imaging procedures. This same preventative approach could also be prescribed to intersex people, but rather than monitor an intersex person's organs and tissues for the emergency of abnormalities, doctors surgically modify the body making their claims of reducing malignancy risks all the more suspicious (see Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008).

Because this surgical enforcement of the individual level of gender structure most often happens when an intersex person is a minor child whose parents consented to the procedures on their behalf, the intersex person's bodily autonomy is jeopardized and their human rights violated (see, for example, Carpenter, 2016; Feder & Dreger, 2016). Intersex people are left without a voice for what they would have wanted for their body, and in turn, are typically left frustrated and angry with their doctors as well as their well-intended parents due to the ways in which they went along with medically unnecessary

recommendations (see Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). It is also important to keep in mind that any surgeries that are performed are irreversible. Once a person's anatomy is altered, the body is changed for life. Reconstructive surgery is not possible, nor is it effective. It also means that doctors leave intersex people in a position to be dependent upon costly hormone replacement therapy for the rest of their lives.

Although described in more detail in the conclusion of this chapter, it is necessary to note here that intersex people are not passive victims. Angry with doctors, and in some cases parents, for how they were treated as children, many intersex people fight back by joining intersex social movements organizations to publicly critique doctors in an attempt to end the medical mutilation of intersex bodies. And, intersex activists are not the only ones critiquing these medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions. A number of global entities have drawn attention to the ways in which the medicalization of intersex disregards the importance of bodily autonomy. The Swiss Ethics Council,¹ the Council of Europe Commissioner For Human Rights,² as well as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture³ have all weighed in on the matter and are critical of the medicalization of intersex bodies. In 2015, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, warned:

Far too few of us are aware of the specific human rights violations faced by millions of intersex people. Because their bodies don't comply with typical definitions of male or female, intersex children and adults are frequently subjected to forced sterilization and other unnecessary and irreversible surgery, and suffer discrimination in schools, workplaces and other settings.⁴

¹See http://www.nek-cne.ch/fileadmin/nek-cne-dateien/Themen/Stellungnahmen/en/NEK_Intersexualitaet_En.pdf. Retrieved December 9, 2016.

²See <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20142/almdel/suu/bilag/44/1543761.pdf>. Retrieved December 9, 2016.

³See http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/A.HRC.22.53_English.pdf. Retrieved December 9, 2016.

⁴See <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16414%26>. Retrieved December 7, 2016.

Most doctors are however not deterred by critiques of their practices, including statements such as that quoted above from a powerful global leader. Doctors continue to subject intersex people to surgeries and other medical procedures in order to uphold the sex binary and enforce the individual level of gender structure (see, for example, Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). Although many intersex people are born infertile, with advances in reproductive technologies, doctors enacting these irreversible procedures also eliminate any possibility of reproduction, essentially employing forced sterilization practices.

When doctors are forced to defend their approach to intersex, they often refute claims that the surgeries are medically unnecessary (Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). They typically point to cancer risks (see Looijenga et al., 2007); although, in most cases, these cancer risks are no higher than they are for those without intersex traits. At the same time, they also allege that their surgical interventions allow intersex people to comfortably fit into society, an unsupported assertion (Davis, 2015a; Karkazis, 2008). Sociocultural research (Davis, 2015a; Holmes, 2008; Karkazis, 2008; Preves, 2003), as well as anecdotal accounts from intersex people (e.g., Davis, 2015a; Holmes, 2008), has repeatedly shown that the medicalization of intersex harms, rather than helps, intersex people. As outlined above, medical interventions on intersex bodies result in physical and emotional struggles (see Preves, 2003). These struggles are even further complicated when doctors withhold the diagnosis from intersex people allegedly to protect the formation of the intersex person's gender identity (e.g., Karkazis, 2008).

By enforcing the gender structure at the institutional and interactional levels, doctors also interfere with the formation of an intersex person's gender identity resulting in the policing of the individual level of gender structure. What these consequences reveal is the interrelated workings of the institutional, interactional, and individual levels of the gender structure. When one dimension is enforced, so are the others as they are interrelated in a way that seemingly

makes systematic change to the gender structure difficult if not impossible. In the following section we describe in more detail how intersex activists are currently attempting to crack through the gender structure. We also raise new questions about the direction of advocacy and offer our suggestions for future intersex research.

5 Conclusion: Cracking the Gender Structure

The medical profession is a powerful institution capable of enforcing, or challenging, the gender structure (Connell, 1987; Foucault, 1963). Yet, as outlined in this review of activism and research on intersex, it's evident that most doctors uphold and even police the gender structure by attempting to surgically align sex and gender. While they are not naturally evil people and instead operate within, and are controlled by, the same gender structure we all face in our daily lives, it's undeniably alarming that the vast majority of providers ignore the call from intersex activists to end the medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions on intersex bodies (Davis, 2015a). We acknowledge that labeling the surgeries doctors perform on intersex bodies "medical mutilation" is harsh. However, we find it fitting given intersex medicalization sterilizes intersex people and leaves them physically and emotionally harmed.

Although Lee et al.'s (2006) consensus statement on the medical management of intersex introduced new divides in the intersex community by proposing disorder of sex development terminology in place of intersex language, intersex activists continue to collectively challenge the medicalization of intersex at the institutional level of gender structure (see Davis, 2015a). They do this by attempting to hold doctors legally accountable for disregarding their own protocols and enforcing binary ideologies about sex, gender, and sexuality.⁵ They work

with producers on television shows and documentaries to raise intersex awareness about the unfortunate medicalization practices they endure at the hands of medical professionals.⁶ They organize protests at medical association meetings.⁷ They share their experiences with various global government entities.⁸ And, among other efforts including a vibrant presence on social media, they even conduct and distribute their own scholarly research that draws attention to the medical mutilation of intersex bodies while critiquing binary ideologies about sex, gender, and sexuality.⁹

Each of the strategies for change converge to combat the medical profession's power at the institutional level of gender structure, but they also have cumulative effects that seem to be simultaneously cracking through the interactional and individual levels of gender structure. For example, as described above, the U.N.'s High Commissioner is speaking out about the medicalization of intersex,¹⁰ and although its potential for success is to be determined, the Association of American Medical Colleges now has a DSD Subcommittee made up of various stakeholders who are attempting to create a progressive medical curriculum that will hopefully begin to shift how tomorrow's doctors are taught about intersex.¹¹ While intersex activists aren't the only people challenging the constraints of the gender structure, they are often, alongside trans activists,

⁵See <http://interactadvocates.org/intersex-law-and-policy/>, http://www.lambdalegal.org/blog/20161122_zzyym, and <http://www.starobserver.com.au/news/intersex-groups-condemn-family-court-decision-grant-surgery-five-year-old/154388>. Retrieved December 14, 2016.

⁶See <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/live-feed/mtvs-faking-tell-intersex-story-732076>. Retrieved December 14, 2016.

⁷See <http://stop.genitalmutilation.org/>. Retrieved December 14, 2016.

⁸See <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Astepforwardforintersexvisibility.aspx>. Retrieved December 14, 2016.

⁹See <http://oiieurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/How-to-be-a-great-intersex-ally-A-toolkit-for-NGOs-and-decision-makers-December-2015.pdf> and <http://oii.org.au/wp-content/uploads/key/Intersex-Stories-Statistics-Australia.pdf>. Retrieved December 14, 2016.

¹⁰See <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16414&>. Retrieved December 7, 2016.

¹¹See <https://www.aamc.org/initiatives/diversity/portfolios/330894/lgbt-patientcare-project.html>. Retrieved December 13, 2016.

at the center of these challenges that are slowly cracking through the gender structure, which will benefit all of us, regardless of our genitalia.

But the work of intersex activists is far from over. Intersex activists have been fighting for human rights for over 20 years, yet as outlined in this chapter, today's intersex children continue to be subjected to medically unnecessary and irreversible interventions. This leaves us with a number of questions that invite further exploration. For instance, we ask, how has whiteness shaped the formation and current trajectory of intersex activist efforts? The intersex community is overwhelmingly white, yet there hasn't been an analysis of this pattern. What might the intersex community gain by openly joining forces with the LGBT community and its movement for equality? As it stands, this collaborative effort is contested across the intersex community.¹² How do ideologies about the ideal body—which is white, thin (but not too thin), able, and normatively gendered—shape the medicalization of intersex people? How can intersex activists join forces with other social justice movements in order to crack through gender structure and other interrelated structural oppressions? When will we finally see an end to the medical mutilation of intersex bodies?

References

- Carpenter, M. (2016). The human rights of intersex people: Addressing harmful practices and rhetoric change. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 24(47), 74–84.
- Chase, C. (1993). Letters from Readers. *The Sciences* (July/August), 3.
- Chase, C. (1998). Hermaphrodites with attitude: Mapping the emergence of intersex political activism. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 4(2), 189–211.
- Colapinto, J. (1997, December 11). The true story of John/Joan. *Rolling Stone*, 54–73, 92–97.
- Colapinto, J. (2000). *As nature made him: The boy who was raised as a girl*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Committee on Bioethics. (1995). Informed consent, parental permission, and assent in pediatric practice. *Pediatrics*, 95, 314–317.
- Committee on Genetics: Section on Endocrinology and Section on Urology. (2000). Evaluation of the newborn with developmental anomalies of the external genitalia. *Pediatrics*, 106(1), 138–142.
- Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person, and sexual politics*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Davis, G. (2011). 'DSD is a perfectly fine term': Reasserting medical authority through a shift in intersex terminology. In P. J. McGann & D. J. Hutson (Eds.), *Sociology of diagnosis* (155–182). Wagon Lane, Bingley UK: Emerald.
- Davis, G. (2014). The power in a name: Diagnostic terminology and diverse experiences. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 5(1), 15–27.
- Davis, G. (2015a). *Contesting intersex: The dubious diagnosis*. New York: New York University Press.
- Davis, G. (2015b). Parents as pawns: Intersex, medical experts, and questionable consent. In *Families as they really are* (2nd ed., pp. 441–455). W. W. Norton & Company.
- Davis, G., & Murphy, E. L. (2013). Intersex bodies as states of exception: An empirical explanation for unnecessary surgical modification. *Feminist Formations*, 25(2), 129–152.
- Dreger, A. D. (1998). *Hermaphrodites and the medical invention of sex*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Dreger, A. D. & Herndon, A. M. (2009). Progress and politics in the intersex rights movement: Feminist theory in action. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 15(2), 199–224.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (1993, March/April). The five sexes: Why male and female are not enough. *The Sciences*, 20–5.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000, July/August). The five sexes, revisited. *The Sciences*, 18–23.
- Feder, E. K. & Dreger, A. (2016, June 4). Still ignoring human rights in intersex care. *Journal of Pediatric Urology*. Available online <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpurol.2016.05.017>.
- Foucault, M. (1963). *The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gearhart, J. P. (1996, February 4). Interviewed in Natalie Angier's "Intersexual Healing: An Anomaly Finds a Group." *New York Times*.
- Holmes, M. (2008). *Intersex: A perilous difference*. Selinsgrove, PA.: Susquehanna University Press.
- Karkazis, K. (2008). *Fixing sex: Intersex, medical authority, and lived experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kessler, S. (1990). The medical construction of gender: Case management of intersexed infants. *Signs*, 16(1), 3–26.
- Kessler, S. (1998). *Lessons from the intersexed*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lee, P. A., Houk, C. P., Ahmed, S. F., & Hughes, I. A. (2006). Consensus statement on management of intersex disorders. *Pediatrics*, 118(2), 488–500.

¹²See <http://everydayfeminism.com/2016/06/intersex-lgbtq-misses-the-point/>. Retrieved December 13, 2016.

- Looijenga, L. H. J., Hersmus, R., Oosterhuis, J. W., Cools, M., Drop, S. L., & Wolffebuttel, K. P. (2007). Tumor risk in disorder of sex development (DSD). *Best Practice & Research Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism*, 21(3), 480–495.
- Mak, G. (2012). *Doubling sex: Inscriptions, bodies and selves in nineteenth-century hermaphrodite case histories*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Money, J., Hampson, J. G., & Hampson, J. L. (1957). Imprinting and the establishment of gender role. *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 77, 333–336.
- Nakhla, R. S., Hall-Craggs, M., Freeman, A., Kirkham, A., Conway, G. S., Arora, R., et al. (2013). Evaluation of retained testes in adolescent girls and women with complete androgen insensitivity syndrome. *Radiology*, 268(1), 153–160.
- Preves, S. E. (2003). *Intersex and identity: The contested self*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Preves, S. E. (2005). Out of the O.R. and into the streets: Exploring the impact of intersex media activism. *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender*, 12(1), 247–288. (Reprinted from *Research in Political Sociology*).
- Reis, E. (2009). *Bodies in doubt: An american history of intersex*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 429–450.
- Warren, C. A. B. (2014). Gender reassignment surgery in the 18th century: A case study. *Sexualities*, 17(7), 872–884.
- Georgiann Davis** is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Her research and teaching are at the intersection of sociology of diagnosis and feminist theories. Among other scholarly contributions that appeared in the *American Journal of Bioethics*, *Gender & Society*, *Psychology & Sexuality*, and *Feminist Formations*, she is the author of *Contesting Intersex: The Dubious Diagnosis* (NYU Press, 2015).
- Maddie Jo Evans** received her bachelor's and master's degrees in sociology from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Her master's thesis was a qualitative study of women's body projects and their self-perceptions of the ideal bridal body.

Virginia E. Rutter and Braxton Jones

Abstract

This chapter presents theory and research on gender and sexuality as well as on knowledge production in this area. Study in this area begins with the idea that gender and sexuality are interactional, socially constructed through micro and macro institutions ranging from family and individual couples to the nation, with effects varying by different social markers like race, class, cohort, age, and relationship status. What we know of the history of sexuality plus what we recognize as challenges for contemporary work are contingent on our epistemologies. This is because knowledge, too, about gender and sexuality is socially constructed, hampered by the legacy of constrained categories combined with limitations of imagination—our habits of mind. This chapter will help students and scholars of gender recognize transformations in the expression of gender and sexuality, even as it highlights the persistence of normative linkages between the two through heteronormativity. Do we think gender and sexuality

will ever be disconnected from one another? It matters less to us whether they are connected or disconnected than that heteronormativity ceases to be a source of social control, racism, and structured inequalities by regulating gender and sexuality.

1 Two Questions

Let us begin with two questions: First, how does gender play a role in sexuality? And, second, how does sexuality play a role in gender? Work on *what gender is* gives clear direction for answering these. Our starting place is to recognize gender as a social structure, as Risman (2004, 2018 [this volume]) has demonstrated. Gender is performed (West & Zimmerman, 1987), gender is intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989; Robinson, 2018 [this volume]) with multiple and fluid statuses, and gender is forever carrying us backwards even as we move forward in time (Ridgeway, 2011; Fisk & Ridgeway, 2018 [this volume]). All this gendering happens at the macro, organizational, and cultural level; it is not just something that happens face-to-face, but involves structures of work, economy, and politics.

Next is to recognize the extent of “gendered sexualities”—defined as how “individual and societal constructions of gender overlay and intermingle with sexual behaviors, ideations, attitudes, identities, and experiences” (Gagné &

V. E. Rutter (✉)
Framingham State University, Framingham, USA
e-mail: vrutter@gmail.com

B. Jones
Boston University, Boston, USA
e-mail: braxton@bu.edu

Tewksbury, 2005, 4). Heteronormativity—in its expression as well as resistance to it through breaking the imaginative limits of heteronormativity—looms large. Heteronormativity references the way that heterosexuality is assumed to be the “norm,” and that social systems and interactions work to promote and idealize it. Heteronormativity has gender binaries (i.e. male + female) as a cornerstone and dominates these “gendered sexualities.” But we see it tentatively giving way to transformational experiences, structures, and identities. We say “tentatively” in part because scholarship—such as that guiding this chapter and this book—fills us in, but also reproduces explicit as well as sneaky ways that gender and sexuality are repressively linked, as suggested by Weeks (2009) and Foucault (1978). Therefore, to grasp links between gender and sexuality we also address the social construction of knowledge about it. Through our lens—pulling on the current approaches in areas ranging from hooking up to coming out; from the heteronormativity of U.S. family policy to marketing of gay porn; from the racialized respectability politics of gender and sexuality to effective resistance of those very forces—the links are *persistent*, though their relations are evolving and unstable.

In our approach, we present a vast array of cases to depict approaches to gender and sexuality. Multiple identities and contexts make it difficult—antithetical to our perspective, even—to provide a quick blurb about what sex and gender are like for each (falsely assumed) monolithic group. Doing so might obfuscate the common (though differently experienced) ways that context and institutions inform and follow from gender and sexuality. Thus, our approach aspires to resist the performance of socially constructed boundaries such as analyzing straight versus gay versus married versus single versus trans versus cis versus an enormous matrix of other identities. Our approach, though, should lead you to understanding more about all of these.

Think, for example, of discourse on family policy, seemingly devoid of categorical information: yet it reveals gender and sexuality

structures by affirming some identities and neglecting others. The de facto model of family in debates about paid leave or childcare persists as a heteronormative, biologically based family: Sexuality—from norms to practices—is fundamental and yet not central in these debates. Norms and practices are, instead, submerged, often naturalized. The default model of the aspirational family is frequently inflected with whiteness when one traces the debates on family structure that are infused with racist backlash. In a 20th anniversary look back at the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, Cohen (2016) demonstrates how racist stereotypes were a key basis for making welfare more punitive, especially towards black single moms. He mapped attitudes linking poverty, race, and family structure to overwhelming belief that dependence (rather than a lack of opportunities) was a serious harm. The popular sentiment against single parents that grew in the early 1990s justified a welfare reform program that limited opportunities even more. You see the synergy between gender and sexuality, and the relevance of intersecting statuses. The unsexy case of family policy reminds us that gender functions in remote and impersonal ways (Mills, 1959) to organize personal experience. Sexuality seems personal, private, and particular, but it really isn't only that. Looking at sexuality with a gender lens (Rutter & Schwartz, 2012) allows us to start with thinking about what gender *is* to move on to look at what gender *does*. And while heteronormativity, as the family policy example suggests, is the cornerstone of gendered sexuality, resistance to these constraints is real and has implications for other forms of inequality by means of calling out the essentialism implied by rigid categories in fixed relation to one another.

2 What Gender Does to Sex

Is the persistent connection between gender and sexuality necessary? Some evolutionary psychologists argue yes: they observe behavioral *differences* between men and women and see these as an affirming product of reproductive

differences between males and females (Buss, 1995). Men inseminate, women incubate, and these biological differences, goes this essentialist view, are fundamentally fixed and as such account for differences in desire and social relations. Others critique these as “just so stories” (Gould & Lewontin, 1979). For sociologists of sexuality, the causal ordering, if anything, seems backward; social context may generate desire, rather than desire generating a social order. Looking to social context leads to recognizing when categories of “man” and “woman”—as well as “male” and “female”—are invoked as restrictive binaries rather than used as a heuristic—a short-hand to reference a broad range of social experience. Binaries assume the relation between gender and sexuality is already known, and neglect the persistence of gender and sexual fluidity, intersex, and transgender statuses. Recent work we review here invokes categories of man, woman, male, and female in a way that broadly can be understood as heuristics used for discovery and understanding how context generates a wide range of reinforcing connections between gender and sexuality. Recent attention to gender and sexual fluidity has enriched scholarship, and also serves as a robust rebuttal to the rigid relation between gender and sex category that is often reinscribed even by sociological accounts of gender difference.

3 Gender Difference Constructs and Reconstructs

Gender difference—what in the 1990s was made popular by the notion of “men are from Mars, women are from Venus”—is a powerful, and sometimes sneaky, tool for upholding binaries and keeping links between gender and sexuality alive. A recent study shows how the social world uses sex to tout, tease, and toy with ideas of gender difference: In 2013, Kornrich, Brines, and Leupp (2013) reported that heterosexual couples who shared household tasks equally had less sex than those who followed more gender-traditional scripts—think men in the yard, women in the kitchen. The study tore up the media with

coverage in *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, *CNN*, and others.

It harkened back to ideas widely popular in earlier times. For example, Kościańska (2016, 236) analyzed the work of Polish sexologists from the 1970s and 1980s and found that experts suggested that sex was vital to happy marriages, that traditional gender roles were best for a couple’s sexual relationship, and thus worried that heterosexual couples in which the wife worked would be less satisfied. For analysis in more recent times of discourses on gender, Kuperberg and Stone (2008) demonstrated how media mislead about women’s work/family decisions in preference for “opting out”; editors were seemingly influenced by gender stereotypes even as data demonstrated contravening evidence (Boushey, 2005).

The scholarly critiques of the provocative Kornrich article pertained to the recency of the data—from 20 years prior to publication. Couples from 1993 might be different from couples today, given changes in resources and cultural norms (Carlson, Miller, Sassler, & Hanson, 2016; Rutter, 2014). Multiple new studies made the correction, showing that when more recent data are used, couples with more egalitarian arrangements (income, housework, childcare) report greater sexual satisfaction (Sassler, 2016).

Yet, those corrections aren’t so different from the argument made by Kornrich et al. Their study recalls the insight of Blumstein and Schwartz, who, in their 1983 *American Couples* research, asked whether gender, sexual orientation, or type of relationship would be more or less influential over sexual behavior—as well as decision making and other power-related issues. Times—and patterns—may change, but intersecting features such as gender and relationship type keep coming up. The new work in response to Kornrich from Carlson and others in the 2010s tells us that structures of gender do *something* to sex. The updated cases argue that egalitarian relationships exceed traditional ones in terms of measures of sexual satisfaction or frequency. There is a “sexual mystique inside our heads” (Rutter, 2013) that is infused with the way that gender structures that have nothing to do with doing sex

nonetheless influence behavior, and even influence desire. Those structures are strengthened when uncomplicated versions of gender difference are presented.

You will continue to read new and updated versions of the gender-housework-sex story. The story will change but, epistemologically, the components will continue to persist: gender, sex, and larger contexts (such as domestic arrangements and the political economy¹ that dictates them) are useful for understanding sexual desire. These studies don't focus on race, ethnicity, and national status, as we do below; they begin, however, to show us the robust, embedded features of the political economy that influence personal matters.

4 Gendering Desire, Intersectionally

You can read many articles about the power of context over desire. Consider this recent study: Hypothesizing that there was more than biology at play in women's orgasms, Harris, Hornsey, and Barlow (2016, 1924) found that women's frequency of orgasm related negatively to their own endorsement of "benevolent sexism," that is, a system of "prejudicial attitudes toward women [that] are justified through the guise of care and protection" such as through chivalry. Benevolently sexist attitudes predicted women's "decreased willingness to ask a partner for sexual pleasure," which ultimately resulted in fewer orgasms for women. The connections between attitude and experience enabled by statistical techniques are missing from popular explanations: adolescent women in an online message board noted gender inequality as a reason for the gender gap in orgasms, but many attributed orgasm gaps to differences in biology (Saliars, Wilkerson, Sieving, & Brady, 2017). Sexist beliefs predicted what might be thought of as the natural proclivities of men, too: Swami and Tovée (2013) found that sexist, oppressive, and

hostile attitudes toward women predicted men's preferences for large breasts. Social psychological research abounds with examples like these.

It isn't just microinteractions and cultural attitudes that play a role in gendering sexuality. Institutions, too, inform the combined shape of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity. Institutions pick and choose who or what is a "social problem" or a "social good." Mann (2013, 681–682) studied "Latina youth sexualities in the context of sexual and reproductive health care provision" to highlight "that providers emphasize teenage pregnancy as a social problem... to the exclusion of other dimensions of youth sexualities." Hood and colleagues (2017) found that African American women, like Latinas, were similarly encouraged to use condoms as a way to prevent pregnancy. Such a limited way of envisioning sexuality—as only about reproduction—reduces the impact and focus on other kinds of sex positivity as well as sexual health, as was the focus for these scholars concerned with HIV prevention. Pathologizing extends across sexual identities: social stigma motivates socially subordinated groups such as the Latina lesbians studied by Acosta (2016) to police their sexuality, further marginalizing those outside of their "charmed circle" of respectable femininity.

Resistance, too, makes institutions and racism visible. Young Latinas, profiled in Garcia's *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself: Latina Girls and Sexual Identity* (2012), developed empowering strategies to go beyond school- and family-based raced and classed fears about their sexuality. The Black Women's Blueprint (2016) in "An Open Letter from Black Women to the Slutwalk" demonstrated how race intersects with sexuality for white women versus women of color. The background is this: In 2014, mainly white students at the University of Toronto, outraged by woman-blaming comments regarding "slutty dress" by campus police, initiated Slutwalks, which spread across North America. The Black Women's Blueprint (BWB) letter argued that marching publicly in revealing clothes as a symbol is easier for white women than for women of color: "As Black women, we do not have the privilege or the space to call

¹Political economy here simply means the conjunction of market and non-market determinants of behavior.

ourselves ‘slut’ without validating the already historically entrenched ideology and recurring messages about what and who the Black woman is,” (BWB, 2016, 10). They continue, “The personal is political. For us, the problem of trivialized rape and the absence of justice are intertwined with race, gender, sexuality, poverty, immigration, and community” (11).

Geography is a more diffuse, yet key factor in gendering sexuality. Historically, links between gender, sexuality, and geography have been recognized in examining the city as a space for non-normative sexualities, transgender people, and non-gender conforming identities (Chauncey, 1994). Such work has evolved into observing how cities generate paths and opportunities for LGBTQ identity formation (e.g., Muñoz Laboy, Parker, Perry, & Garcia, 2013; Brown-Saracino, 2015). For example, the role of place is highlighted in a study of same-sex attracted youth in urban and rural high schools (Wilkinson & Pearson, 2009). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual teens were more depressed in rural schools than urban schools—with results more pronounced for men. (Religiosity affected women more.) Regional differences highlighted in “Midwest or Lesbian?” by Emily Kazyak (2012) showed how in rural areas, “butch” gender expression is understood in ways that relate to the outdoors and rustic life: Thus, women who are butch can be interpreted as “tomboys”—that is straight women who do masculine things—or as lesbian. Thus, gender performance is coded as a way to understand sexuality (whether to signal or to interpret), but that performance varies by context, including geographical context.

Nation is another aspect of geography that can drive expression: In 1920s Hungary, anti-Semitic scientific racism motivated “race biologists” to emphasize that women’s (procreative, intra-racial) sexuality was fundamental for the survival of the Magyar [Hungarian] people (Kund, 2016). To achieve this goal, women were encouraged to pursue motherhood at the cost of employment and education (Kund, 2016, 197). In contemporary China, economic prosperity enabled by the opening of Chinese markets in 1978 spurred on a culture of

individualism—and with it a culture in which asexual dating sites and support for “notions such as platonic love, celibacy, the DINK (double income, no kids) family and the big family” have become popular (Wong, 2014, 100). At the same time, however, the Chinese government and medical establishment have pathologized asexuality. The government’s emphasis on the importance of sexual relationships is intended as a corrective to disintegrating trends such as rising divorce rates, which are perceived as resulting from a growing trend toward asexuality (Wong, 2014, 105–106).

National comparisons are also a tool for understanding gendered sexuality. Schalet’s study of U.S. and Dutch adolescents and their parents included comparisons of women’s sexual subjectivity. Sexual subjectivity involves perceiving oneself as one who can “be aware of one’s sexual feelings, ...enjoy sexual desire and pleasure, ...conceive of oneself as the subject of one’s sexual acts, and ...experience a certain amount of control in sexual relationships” (Schalet, 2010, 305). In The Netherlands, where teen sexual health and education are provided without strings or stipulations such as abstinence-only, many practices from childhood lead to the “common sense” that sex is for relationships. In the U.S., parents and institutions assume teens are in a “war between the sexes,” gripped by “raging hormones” rather than a wider range of emotions; parenting and policies reflect this. Relationships at this stage are not real to the U.S. parents, so sex is “acting out.” Indeed, reinforcing Schalet’s findings, another study, comparing popular magazines read by adolescent girls in the U.S. with those in the Netherlands, found that U.S. media featured more content on the hook-up culture and casual sex, while Dutch media “focused more on committed sex” and “sex within the emotional context of love” (Joshi, Peter, & Valkenburg, 2014, 291).

The larger contexts combined add up to influence over sexual subjectivity: In the U.S., Schalet argues, women have less access to the experience of being in control of their sexuality. The U.S. and Dutch cases have much in common: they are economically and politically

similar countries. Teens in both countries start having sex on average at age 17. U.S. teens, however, have a high rate of unintended pregnancy and STDS (though lower than two decades ago) while the Netherlands has the lowest worldwide (Schalet, 2011).

Zeroing in on family life, parents make their child's sexuality about gender even as the parents themselves are gendered. For example, heterosexual fathers, in interviews, reported that they want their children "to be as heterosexual as possible" (Solebello & Elliott, 2011, 301). The dads distinctly emphasized this with sons through myriad methods of reinforcing hetero masculinity and punishing anything outside these strict boundaries. Such identity work in families dynamically constructs heteronormative desire. LGBTQ parents are conscious of being held accountable for their children—and for themselves as queer parents, reports Averett (2016). She advises, "LGBTQ parents are involved not only in the continual bringing forth of their own self-identities but also in bringing their children's identities into social being when they, as parents, (mis)recognize gender expression and sexuality in their children" (193). Dozier (2015), writing about parenting as a trans man, highlights the significant opportunity—as well as the many challenges—of being a "guy mom." Dozier notes, "upending expected gendered behaviors and family structures forces both individuals and institutions to examine heteronormative systems that create and perpetuate gender inequality" (473). Embedded in national and cultural contexts, the work done in families around gender and sexuality is continual, even relentless. It reveals the reliance on marriage—and family—as a staging ground for heteronormative sexualities (Goffman, 1977). This means it is a space for resistance as well as control.

5 Markets Mediating Gender and Sexuality

What about "free markets?" An infinity of heteronormatively gendered and racist stereotypes are sold and displayed through mainstream media,

as well as alternative markets, such as gay adult film. Casting in the gay adult film industry relegates (presumably dominant, hypersexual, hypermasculine) black men to the "niche sites" and Asian men to submissive and less prestigious roles (Burke, 2016, 596), and privileges young (20–35), white, "jockish," "well-endowed" men with more scenes at higher pay rates (599). These casting choices reify ideals of "hegemonic masculinity" for viewers (Burke, 2016, 601), suggesting that "gay adult film studios are complicit in the domination of gay and effeminate men" (587). You can look, for example, at the most popular gay porn categories on Pornhub (2016)—to see a map of gendered desire in the marketplace: (1) Black; (2) Straight Guys; (3) Bareback; (4) Big Dick; (5) Daddy. In contrast to some of the less-popular categories like "Reality," "Solo Male," and "Japanese," the top searches draw on notions of hegemonic, racialized masculinity and femininity.

Lesbian dating sites provide similarly gendered examples. Women, using labels such as femme, butch, and queer, telegraph different expressions of gender and sexuality. Hightower (2015, 20) observed: "Femme members sought to highlight their femininity, butches' boundary work made salient their sexual interest, and queer members defended their sex category as female and sexual identity as lesbian." Marketing desire and the sexual self, even in settings that are quite remote from the "family policy" example at the beginning of this chapter, keeps landing us back in the world of gender conventions. While links between gender and sexuality persist, they persistently offer opportunities, like these, to use those links for unconventional desires and interests.

Colorism, too, contours gender and desire. Colorism is skin color stratification seen across groups but also within racial and ethnic groups; it shapes employment opportunities as it does romantic ones (Darity, 2010). Darity and others have shown, for instance, that lighter-skinned African Americans earn more and are promoted more quickly than darker-skinned peers; and so goes attention on the dating market. The racialized romantic market is evidenced in the slow (though persistent) rise of interracial marriages

(Poulin & Rutter, 2011). A 2013 study of online dating showed that white women and men received the most interest online, while blacks received the least; Asians and Latinx were in between (Lin & Lundquist, 2013). Biracial and multiracial individuals add additional dimension to this simplified hierarchy, suggesting colorism as well as race stage desire (Curington, Lin, & Lundquist, 2015). Three multiracial groups, in Curington et al.'s study, appeared to get more attention when online dating. Asian-white women were viewed more favorably than any other group of women by white and Asian men, getting more responses than women of the same race or ethnic group. Asian-white and Hispanic-white men were also of greater interest to Asian and Hispanic women. Asian and Hispanic women responded more frequently to the multiracial men than to either their co-ethnic men or whites. While it seems that barriers are declining, preferences that mirror advantages for lighter skinned mixed-race individuals shape online dating. This suggests markets—including dating markets—are not “free.”

6 What Sex Does to Gender

Is the unstable relation between gender and sexuality the very source of its persistence? To understand gender and sexuality combined, you need to recognize that sexuality and sexual practices influence gender, not just the other way around. In the 19th century, the “True Woman,” which was central to the homemaker/breadwinner model of family life, was a mother and wife, completely devoid of sexual desire and yet situated in society based on her reproductive function; this was a marker of her femininity (D’Emilio & Freedman, 1988). The same relation—where sexual desire confirms gender—operates in other contexts, such as trans sexualities. Close examination of trans men’s autobiographies, for example, points to how sexual behaviors “materialize maleness” (Latham, 2016, 362). Through examination of trans men’s narratives, Latham suggests that these men’s purported lack of sexual desire is more artifact than fact. Trans

men are aware that in order to receive gender-affirming healthcare, they must conform to a diagnosis of gender dysphoria, which is “persistent discomfort” with their body (Latham, 2016, 348). This may be the source of medical claims that low sexual desire is definitive of trans men’s sexuality. Even the small amount of legitimacy granted by medical diagnosis shapes how trans men report (in some spaces) their level of sexual desire. In this case, *how one does sex*—including refraining from it—affirms “maleness.” Latham’s point is that for medical practitioners—who can legitimate patients’ claims to identity—reports of (lower) sexual desire become a stand-in for confirming that patients are “true” trans men. Links between how one does (or says one does) sex and identity emerge elsewhere as well: Dozier’s study of trans men’s sexual encounters also highlights this. Dozier (2005, 297) explains, “When sex characteristics do not align with gender, behavior becomes more important to gender expression and interpretation.” The power of the fragile link between gender and sexuality is clear where the 19th century “True Woman” as well as 21st century trans men link low sexual desire to gender affirmation.

Prison is another space for gendering sexuality. Jenness and Fenstermaker (2014, 2016) wrote about the interactional processes between desire and gender in men’s prisons: Gender dictates sexuality/desire in prisons such that inmates identified as “real men” were drawn toward the femininity of transgender inmates. Yet, in this setting, sexual desire also had an influence on gender affirmation. For women or femme-expressing individuals in men’s prisons, “the attention and affection of ‘real men,’ in turn, is taken to be a measure of gender status” (Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2014, 14). Transgender women in prison also noted gender norms that constrained their behavior: Women in men’s prisons felt the need to “act like a lady,” which entailed “staying in line,” and enabled some women to slut-shame those who were non-monogamous. Prisoners occupy a world where sexuality and gender are intertwined, and punishment, including rape (Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2016) are among the

stakes of gender transgression. Indeed, a dilemma with the intersection between gender and sexuality is that it has a costly hierarchy of idealized forms with femininity consolidating inequality at the bottom of that hierarchy, as illustrated in the context of an “all-male” prison.

Gendering desire infiltrates many contexts and leads to a wide range of expressions that nonetheless return us to the persistent link between the two. We’ve looked at social psychology that shapes people in or out of orgasm. We’ve reviewed national contexts and cultural statuses that can generate normalcy for asexual identities, or sex-positive sexual health, or a war between the sexes mode of thinking about sexuality. Examples have shown how family and parenting can be a setting for generating fear or optimism about their children’s range of self-expression, and how the role of being a parent can also be stressed by whether one is conforming to hegemonic versions of gender and sexuality. We’ve seen how racism—as well as colorism—shapes what desires get revealed or expressed. We’ve recognized how these same social contextual factors shape gender non-conforming people’s experiences. Finally, we’ve seen how the relation between gender and sexuality can be viewed in terms of what sex does to gender, as in cases where how we do sex or claim desire itself becomes a way to be accorded a gendered status. You can read copiously about the diverse ways that social context impinges on the expression of desire. Throughout all, the prominence of gender as a mediating factor means that gender and sexuality are rarely de-linked.

7 Newer Sex Research

As gender and sexuality are socially constructed, so is knowledge in this field. Researchers of sexuality and gender occupy contexts, carry histories, and have identities that influence the knowledge produced. Sometimes researchers encounter “inconvenient facts”—facts that can conflict with taken-for-granted positions in the world (Weber, 1946, 147). Newer research

brings to light the inconvenient facts that might threaten dominant group ideologies about gender and sexuality. Prior to the 1970s, sex research was very busy telling the story of sexuality from straight white men’s point of view. For example, the assumption that women were devoid of sexual interest meant that white women’s interracial sexual relationships could be easily read by white people as evidence of rape of white women—and made it easy to overlook the possibility of white women’s desire or even sexual coercion against black men, as suggested in the case of Willie McGee (Brownmiller, 1975, 263–270). McGee was a black man in Mississippi who was convicted in 1945 and sentenced to death for raping a white woman, who made the accusation. Subsequent reporting suggested that the relationship had been consensual or possibly forced by the white woman (Heard, 2010). Similarly, in 2017, news emerged (Tyson, 2017) that a white woman had very belatedly confessed that no verbal or physical advances towards her had occurred, even though her claims that she had been targeted had been at the center of African American child Emmett Till’s 1955 murder in Mississippi by a group of white men. None of Till’s murderers or false accusers were brought to justice.

The 1970s ushered in efforts to rethink women’s orgasms with such works at Barbach’s *For Yourself* (1976), which dismissed earlier ideas of the supremacy of vaginal orgasms and celebrated sexual pleasure. In the 1990s, efforts to collect nationally representative data about sexual behavior, attitudes, and interests were quashed and ridiculed from the U.S. Senate floor. Scholars had been both spurred on and punished by the legacy of the 1970s sexual revolution. The “Sex in America” survey—modestly named The National Health and Social Life Survey (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994)—became a key resource for understanding evolving sexualities in that decade and was eventually funded by private foundations. But not without resistance: A backlash around sexuality and unsettling shifts towards gender equality and queer identities curtailed earlier, ambitious plans that were funded and then rescinded by the U.S. National Institutes of Health.

Beyond survey research, a newer, more diverse generation of sexualities scholars has made ethnography key to more intersectional understandings about gender and sexuality. Indeed, study of gender and sexuality has been improved by having more queer scholars and scholars of color asking and answering questions. *Dude, You're a Fag*, a 2007 study of how high school boys relate to each other and engage in what author C.J. Pascoe named the “fag discourse,” made heteronormativity—the joint social construction of gender and sexuality—recognizable to scholars and students well beyond those who were already studying gender and sexuality. Pascoe’s description of raced and classed differences around heteronormativity made a lasting impact on how others study gender and sexuality.

In 2011, Mignon Moore’s *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships and Motherhood among Black Women* (2011) profiled lesbian women of color and the multiple intersections of sexuality with class and national origin, and presented variations of “coming into the life”—her frame for coming out. Moore’s work decentered the story of gender and sexuality from privileged white binaries. The decentering was not just an augmentation of categorical knowledge, but shifted theories of gender and sexuality. Moore foregrounded accounts of social class, immigration status, and gender expression and how they related to a whole set of ways that lesbians come into the life. This set forth the view that intersectional looks at gender and sexuality provide more reliable knowledge of experience. For *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself: Latina Girls and Sexual Identity* (2012), Lorena Garcia spent time with Mexican American and Puerto Rican high school women, and offered their accounts of managing home, school, and societal sources that stigmatized their sexuality. Garcia wrote of these women’s resourcefulness when countering racist, sexist, cultural, and institutional forms of social control. These works highlight how ethnography has filled in the ample, white-washed blind spots on heteronormativity, coming out, and coming of age sexually as women of color. This kind of

work—and much other—has been valuable empirically but also theoretically, as it demands more of scholars as they apply an intersectional analysis.

Research methods influence the complexity of analysis, but also directly affect data. For example, women report their sexual behavior differently depending on race: One experiment found that, among college women, “non-White participants were more sensitive to changes in ... experimental variables and more likely than White participants to report fewer behaviors and more conservative attitudes when completing computer-based surveys, when in laboratory experiments, or while in the presence of experimenters” (McCallum & Peterson, 2015, 2296). As emphasized by the Black Women’s Blueprint (2016), women of color are more likely to live under regimes of respectability politics as well as to live in a world where state surveillance of them is familiar and common.

8 The Production of Knowledge

Social trends affect what we know about gender and sexual behavior. For example, using data from the General Social Survey (GSS), Twenge, Sherman, and Wells (2016) found that in 2010, twice as many American adults had at least one same-sex sexual encounter than in the 1990s. Twenge et al. (2016, 1713) reported numerous group differences: “Increases in same-sex sexual behavior were largest in the South and Midwest and among Whites, were mostly absent among Blacks, and were smaller among the religious.” Attitudes liberalized in this time, more of the increase was among women than men, and nearly all of the increase was among people who have sex with *both* men and women. The increases in behavior could only be partially explained by the historic liberalization of attitudes towards homosexuality that occurred in that time period. Twenge and colleagues (2016, 1724) speculate that more accepting media depictions of homosexuality may lead people to overestimate what is admissible, and to act on those estimates. Alternatively, one’s overestimate

of social acceptability may also make people more comfortable reporting their behavior in a person-to-person survey like the GSS. Work by Paula England and colleagues demonstrates that women's behaviors and attitudes—engaging and supporting same-sex sexuality—have a stronger influence than men's, giving hints that the “fluidity” is less of an option for men (England, Mishel, & Caudillo, 2016). Our point is that data can facilitate a recognition of greater diversity of gender and sexual experiences—but that social context—or in this case social trends—make our ability to *see* what is in our data possible.

9 Fluidity

Recent focus on gender and sexual fluidity suggests that researchers might not have a clear consensus on what to study. Surveys are only as good as the (socially constructed) measures they use (Westbrook & Saperstein, 2015). Albury (2015, 649), in research on “alternative” sex subcultures, suggested that attention to survey respondents’ “simultaneous affiliation with heterosexual, homosexual *and* bisexual identities might (productively) trouble academic research and sexual health policy frameworks” that assume a single and fixed sexual identity. For example, Pfeffer's (2014, 15) study of women dating trans men documents how they surpass binary definitions of their sexuality: 50% of the sample (partners of trans men) identified as queer, 22% “lesbian” or “dyke,” and 14% bisexual. Vrangalova and Savin-Williams (2012, 96–99) recommend that researchers add survey categories to reflect “mostly heterosexual” and “mostly gay/lesbian,” because of significant differences in same-sex attraction and behavior along a five-stage sexual orientation scale. As England et al. (2016) echoed (discussed above), they find that fewer men than women use the “non-exclusive” categories.

Recent collegiate “hooking up” studies (Wade, 2017) have been a source of information about sexual behavior and fluidity, and have made distinctions about different contexts. Women on middle class campuses who identified with professional goals were more likely to see

hooking up as the dominant sexual script (Armstrong, England, & Fogarty, 2012). Those mainly middle-class campus studies highlight, too, the way that “straight girls kissing” is an extension of the sexual script in those mainly heteronormative spaces (Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Rupp et al., 2014)—yet also, for some, a pathway to exploring and moving toward lesbian and queer identities. This potential for movement to queer from (defaulted and assumed) straight identities has looked more limited for working class women. Nevertheless, as Budnick (2016) points out, working class women have the highest prevalence of same-sex behavior. This qualitative study shows that working class women were influenced by other life scripts—such as earlier parenthood and greater preference for “bisexual” over “queer” identifiers. Taken together, these studies highlight *sexual fluidity*. They also point to how much context—social class in this case—shapes expression and meanings of sexual desire. Ultimately, these cases show that we are still limited in understanding fluidity even when we include lots of questions about people's sexuality and present them as a spectrum, because different groups define the same concepts differently.

Researchers at the Williams Institute (2009, 6) recommend that surveys assessing sexuality use three measures: identity, behavior, and attraction. This might better enable subjects, like the straight men studied by Jane Ward in *Not gay: Sex between straight white men* (2015), to fully describe their sexuality. Ward's study examines settings where straight men have sex with each other, such as in fraternity and military hazing routines, and yet do not see this as gay or queer sex.

Not everyone comes to a survey with the same experiences. Adolescents, for example, may not have had sex, and may not be ready to commit to a particular sexual orientation, but may be able to tell a researcher the gender of the type of people they are attracted to. In one representative sample of Swedish high school students, “Prevalence rates of sexual minority orientation varied between 4.3% for sexual behavior (males 2.9%, females 5.6%) and 29.4% for emotional or sexual attraction (males 17.7%, females 39.5%)” (Priebe & Sveden, 2013, 727). Researchers have found that

“milestones” of understanding of one’s sexuality occurred at different ages based on gender and sexual orientation identification (Katz-Wise, Reisner, Hughto, & Keo-Meier, 2016, 10). On the whole, men achieved these milestones earlier (Katz-Wise et al. 2016:10) and adolescent women and bisexuals less stably reported their sexual attraction (Savin-Williams, Joyner, & Rieger, 2012), but all adolescents tended to decrease their reports of same-sex attraction over time (Savin-Williams & Joyner, 2014).

The use of multiple measures allows for further recognition and discovery of emerging newer arrangements between gender and sexuality. James Joseph Dean’s *Straights: Heterosexuality in a Post-Closeted Culture* (2014) examines manifestations of sexuality (and gender) in an age when heterosexuality, he argues, is not taken for granted. Metrosexuals, for example, may display non-traditional masculinities (Bridges, 2014), and it is increasingly unacceptable to be overtly homophobic. But straight men still have methods to convey their heterosexual identity, including through frequent reference to their girlfriends or through hypervigilance about not crossing their legs (Dean, 2013, 547–554). Similarly, Ward’s *Not Gay* tells the story of how straight men, occupying a world where sexual fluidity is more evident and acknowledged, go to great efforts to deny sexual fluidity, harkening back to the idea of Weber’s “inconvenient facts.” These studies challenge the ultimate “naturalized” and taken-for-granted comparison group (straight white men) as well as the “biological essentialism now at the heart of gay rights claims” (Ward, 2016, 75) by merely studying them from a social constructionist perspective. Ward refers to this as part of “dyke methods” (2016). These efforts are core to disentangling that long history of uncertainly intertwined relations between sexuality and gender.

10 Sex/Gender/Politics

Want to witness the synergy between gender and sexuality? Watch politics and read political history. In the 19th century, U.S. Postmaster General

Anthony Comstock used the anti-pornography regulations of the postal service to prevent mailing contraceptive information: This garnered him political power via the gambit to control women’s bodies. Sexual scandals bring to mind the 1990s President Bill Clinton’s encounters with a White House intern or the case of Donald Trump’s “Grab’em by the pussy. You can do anything,” (New York Times, 2016) televised remarks. Such cases use women’s bodies and sexual stories about them to generate a hostile climate, anxiety, and fear, all in the service of raising or lowering the power of the figures involved.

We see links between those tabloid scandals to legislative fronts that are really “exclusion from society” bills (GLAAD, 2016). As we write, many states are following North Carolina with bills that limit access to bathrooms. A spate of bills across the U.S. seeks to prevent people from using a men’s or women’s restroom that aligns with their gender identification. The HB2 bill—which was passed by the N.C. legislature in 2016 and was nominally repealed in 2017 only to have other discriminatory policies put into place—denies human rights to transgender people by using the troll that girls and women are made vulnerable by imagined predatory opportunities (Schilt & Westbrook, 2015). Whether 1890s, 1990s, or more recently, the sexual scandals and sex/gender legislation stories are about power. Finally, the wind in the sails of these stories is heteronormative structures of gender.

Any who doubt the frame of sex as a political football can consider the issue of wartime rape, where rape is literally a weapon of war, such as in the 1990s war in Bosnia. As Henry (2015) argues, crimes against humanity, including sexual violence in conflicts, are done by individuals, but they are not *individual* crimes “because victims are targeted predominantly on the basis of their membership of a targeted group,” (Henry, 2015, 45). Given documentation of a widespread campaign using rape to terrorize Serbians, the International War Crimes Tribunal prosecuted those involved. News reports (Goodman, 1997) illustrated the denials in one case:

In a reply to his accusers, Mr. Mejajic, who along with others under indictment remains safely in Serb territory, described Ms. Cigelj as being old and unattractive; he added that he wouldn't have leaned his bicycle against her, much less raped her.

Such remarks were paralleled in the 2016 statements of (then) presidential candidate Donald Trump:

Donald Trump on Friday intimated a woman who accused him of sexually assaulting her was not attractive enough to have drawn his interest, part of a broader attack on the integrity and physical appearance of multiple women who've come forward this week to accuse the GOP presidential nominee of sexual assault (Lim, 2016).

These men, in and out of military settings, first deny their actions and harms, and then repeat them through degrading women to elevate themselves specifically and symbolically. These cases are part of what Pascoe and Hollander (2016) call "mobilizing rape," which they argue is the case of men making claims of masculinity for their performing opposition to rape. They note "that *not* sexually assaulting may also do dominance work. Men can assert dominance both over women and over other men, who are constructed as ruled by emotions, unable to exercise masculine self-control, or not masculine enough to have young women simply fall over themselves with sexual desire" (76). In the case of Mekajic in the 1990s or Trump in the 2010s, the "denial" talk that purports not to threaten physical acts of harm and abuse reinforces the right to harm and abuse and normalizes the use of rape language to support desperate ties to masculinity. In the case of Trump, the denial talk is countered by the proud expression of "grab'em by the pussy," made in the same campaign.

11 Conclusions

Dean's *Straights: Heterosexuality in a Post-Closeted Culture* (2014) offers the premise that heterosexuality is less naturalized, less often the default assumption, and examines how (straight) people signal straightness in such a world. The more things change the more they remain the

same—people do what they have always done around gendered sexuality—the Trump and Mekajic cases show this. Except that more and more people do not do the same thing, and that is new. On the one hand, our conclusions revolve around this gender conundrum (Jones, Rutter, & Boateng, 2015), that gender—including gendered sexuality—persists in different forms to do similar work of supporting inequality. On the other hand, the way forward is through detecting change and transformation wherever we find it. For example: Sennott and Angotti (2016) observed in their rural South African fieldwork that the majority of conversations about HIV/AIDS and gendered sexuality included questioning notions of hegemonic gender norms, because they put families and communities at risk for the disease. These reconsiderations were enabled by a raging epidemic, and even still members of the community appealed to the notions of the naturalness of gendered sexuality that are not unique to South Africa: Men should not have to "eat chicken (or fish) every day of the week," (947) and women should not be sexually agentic or challenge the behavior of their partners. Scholars and activists ideally will make use of both the change and stasis parts of this story.

Our reading of the literature on sexuality is that the synergy between gender and sexuality is alive and strong. In previous decades, sociology has seen the gendering of sexuality as a powerful tool for policing it, employing race, ethnicity, and social class along the way to strengthen that power. Heteronormativity and homophobia have fueled the mutually reinforcing connection between gender and sexuality such that the logic of heteronormativity—i.e. "to be a good woman is to be a good heterosexual woman"—idealizes hetero but also makes gendered identity a virtue, a kind of sexiness.

This has not gone away—but new connections are being forged. With the emerging recognition of gender and sexual fluidity, a wide range of gender expression (that has always existed) is gaining more legitimacy. With a growing understanding of the lives of transgender people, the connections of gender to sexuality keep getting decentered. Do we think gender

and sexuality will ever be disconnected from one another? It matters less to us whether they are connected or disconnected than that heteronormativity ceases to be a source of social control, racism, and structured inequalities by regulating gender and sexuality.

References

- Acosta, K. L. (2016). Cultivating a Lesbiana Seria identity. *Sexualities, 19*, 517–534.
- Albury, K. (2015). Identity plus? Bi-curiosity, sexual adventurism and the boundaries of ‘straight’ sexual practices and identities. *Sexualities, 18*, 649–664.
- Armstrong, E. A., England, P., & Fogarty, A. C. K. (2012). Accounting for women’s orgasm and sexual enjoyment in college hookups and relationships. *American Sociological Review, 77*, 435–462.
- Averett, K. (2016). The gender buffet: LGBTQ parents resisting heteronormativity. *Gender & Society, 30*, 189–212.
- Barbach, L. (1976). *For yourself: The fulfillment of female sexuality*. Garden City: Anchor Press.
- Black Women’s Blueprint. (2016). An open letter from black women to the SlutWalk. *Gender & Society, 30*, 9–13.
- Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American couples: money, sex, work*. New York: William Morrow.
- Boushey, H. (2005, November). *Are women opting out? Debunking the myth*. Center for Economic and Policy Research Briefing Paper. Washington DC: CEPR.
- Bridges, T. (2014). A very “Gay” straight?: Hybrid masculinities, sexual aesthetics, and the changing relationship between masculinity and homophobia. *Gender & Society, 28*, 58–82.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men women and rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Brown-Saracino, J. (2015). How places shape identity: The origins of distinctive LBQ identities in four small US cities. *American Journal of Sociology, 121*, 1–63.
- Budnick, J. (2016). “Straight girls kissing?”: Understanding same-gender sexuality beyond the elite college campus. *Gender & Society, 30*, 745–768.
- Burke, N. B. (2016). Hegemonic masculinity at work in the gay adult film industry. *Sexualities, 19*, 587–607.
- Buss, D. (1995). Psychological sex differences: Origins through sexual selection. *American Psychologist, 50*, 164–168.
- Carlson, D. L., Miller, A. J., Sassler, S., & Hanson, S. (2016). The gendered division of housework and couples’ sexual relationships: A reexamination. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 78*, 975–995.
- Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, urban culture, and the making of the gay male world, 1890–1940*. New York: Basic Books.
- Cohen, P. (2016, August 22). *Council on contemporary families brief: Welfare reform attitudes and single mothers’ employment after 20 years*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/tanf-attitudes-at-20/>. Accessed January 15, 2017.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of anti-discrimination doctrine, feminist politics and anti-racist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989*, 139–167.
- Curington, C. V., Lin, K.-H., & Lundquist, J. H. (2015). Positioning multiraciality in cyberspace: Treatment of multiracial daters in an online dating website. *American Sociological Review, 80*, 764–788.
- Darity, W. A., Jr. (2010). Racism and colorism in post-racial societies. In L. Bond, F. McGinnity, & H. Russell (Eds.), *Making equality count: Irish and international research measuring equality and discrimination* (pp. 113–129). Dublin: The Liffey Press.
- Dean, J. J. (2013). Heterosexual masculinities, anti-homophobic, and shifts in hegemonic masculinity: The identity practices of black and white heterosexual men. *The Sociological Quarterly, 54*, 535–560.
- Dean, J. J. (2014). *Straights: Heterosexuality in post-closeted culture*. New York: NYU Press.
- D’Emilio, J., & Freedman, E. B. (1988). *Intimate matters: a history of sexuality in America*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Dozier, R. (2005). Beards, breasts, and bodies: Doing sex in a gendered world. *Gender & Society, 19*, 297–316.
- Dozier, R. (2015). The power of queer: How “guy moms” challenge heteronormative assumptions about mothering and family. In B. J. Risman & V. Rutter (Eds.), *Families as they really are*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- England, P., Mishel, E., & Caudillo, M. (2016, November 7). Increases in sex with same-sex partners and bisexual identity across cohorts of women (but not men). *Sociological Science*.
- Fisk, S., & Ridgeway, C. (2018). Framing gender. In *Springer Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality: Volume I: An introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gagné, P., & Tewksbury, R. (2005). Introduction: Advancing gender research at the intersection of gender and sexuality. In P. Gagné & R. Tewksbury (Eds.), *Gendered sexualities* (pp. 1–12). West Yorkshire: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Garcia, L. (2012). *Respect yourself, protect yourself: Latina girls and sexual identity*. New York: NYU Press.
- GLAAD. (2016). *Debunking the “bathroom bill” myth*. http://www.glaad.org/sites/default/files/Debunking_theBathroom_Bill_Myth_2016.pdf. Accessed December 20, 2016.
- Goffman, E. (1977). The arrangement between the sexes. *Theory and Society, 4*, 301–331.
- Goodman, W. (1997, March 3). Women as victims of the Bosnian War. *New York Times*.

- Gould, S. J., & Lewontin, R. C. (1979). The spandrels of San Marco and the panglossian paradigm: A critique of the adaptationist programme. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*, 205, 581–598.
- Harris, E. A., Hornsey, M. J., & Barlow, F. K. (2016). On the link between benevolent sexism and orgasm frequency in heterosexual women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 45, 1923–1931.
- Heard, Alex. (2010). *The eyes of Willie McGee: A tragedy of race, sex, and secrets in the Jim Crow*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Henry, N. (2016). Theorizing wartime rape: Deconstructing gender, sexuality, and violence. *Gender & Society*, 30, 44–56.
- Hightower, J. L. (2015). Producing desirable bodies: Boundary work in a lesbian niche dating site. *Sexualities*, 18, 20–36.
- Hood, K. B., Shook, N. J. & Belgrave, F. Z. (2017). “Jimmy cap before you tap”: Developing condom use messages for african american women. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 54, 1–14.
- Jenness, V., & Fenstermaker, S. (2014). Agnes goes to prison: gender authenticity, transgender inmates in prisons for men, and pursuit of “the real deal”. *Gender & Society*, 28, 5–31.
- Jenness, V., & Fenstermaker, S. (2016). Forty years after Brownmiller: Prison for men, transgender inmates, and the rape of the feminine. *Gender & Society*, 30, 14–29.
- Jones, B., Rutter, V., & Boateng, J. (2015, May). *The gender conundrum*. Center for excellence in learning, teaching, scholarship, and service: A day in may conference. Framingham, MA.
- Joshi, S. P., Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2014). A cross-cultural content-analytic comparison of the hookup culture in US and Dutch teen girl magazines. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 51, 291–302.
- Katz-Wise, S. L., Reisner, S. L., Hughto, J. W., & Keo-Meier, C. L. (2016). Differences in sexual orientation diversity and sexual fluidity in attractions among gender minority adults in Massachusetts. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 53, 74–84.
- Kazyak, E. (2012). Midwest or lesbian? Gender, rurality, and sexuality. *Gender & Society*, 26, 825–848.
- Kornrich, S., Brines, J., & Leupp, K. (2013). Egalitarianism, housework, and sexual frequency in marriage. *American Sociological Review*, 78, 26–50.
- Kościańska, A. (2016). Sex on equal terms? Polish sexology on women’s emancipation and ‘good sex’ from the 1970s to the present. *Sexualities*, 19, 236–256.
- Kund, A. (2016). Duties for her race and nation’: Scientific racist views on sexuality and reproduction in 1920s Hungary. *Sexualities*, 19, 190–210.
- Kuperberg, A., & Stone, P. (2008). The media depiction of women who opt out. *Gender & Society*, 22, 497–517.
- Latham, J. R. (2016). Trans men’s sexual narrative-practices: Introducing STS to trans and sexuality studies. *Sexualities*, 19, 347–368.
- Laumann, E. O., Gagnon, J. H., Michael, R. T., & Michaels, S. (1994). *The social organization of sexuality: Sexual practices in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lim, N. (2016, October 13). *CNN breaking news: Donald Trump on accuser: “Take a look at her...I don’t think so.”* <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/politics/natasha-stoynoff-donald-trump-women/>. Accessed January 23, 2017.
- Lin, K-H., & Lundquist, J. (2013). Mate selection in cyberspace: The intersection of race, gender, and education. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119, 183–215.
- Mann, E. (2013). Regulating Latina youth sexualities through community health centers: Discourse and practice of sexual citizenship. *Gender & Society*, 27, 681–703.
- McCallum, E. B., & Peterson, Z. D. (2015). Effects of experimenter contact, setting, inquiry mode, and race on women’s self-report of sexual attitudes and behaviors: An experimental study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 44, 2287–2297.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, M. (2011). *Invisible families*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Muñoz-Laboy, M., Parker, R., Perry, A., & Garcia, J. (2013). Alternative frameworks for examining Latino male bisexuality in the urban space: A theoretical commentary based on ethnographic research in Rio de Janeiro and New York. *Sexualities*, 16, 501–522.
- New York Times. (2016). *Transcript: Donald Trump’s taped comments about women*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/us/donald-trump-tape-transcript.html>. Accessed January 15, 2017.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you’re a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pascoe, C. J., & Hollander, J. (2016). Good guys don’t rape: Gender, domination, and mobilizing rape. *Gender & Society*, 30, 67–79.
- Pfeffer, C. A. (2014). I don’t like passing as a straight woman: Queer negotiations of identity and social group membership. *American Journal of Sociology*, 120, 1–44.
- Pornhub Insights. (2016). *Gay searches in the United States*. <http://www.pornhub.com/insights/gay-searches-united-states>. Accessed December 20, 2016.
- Poulin, C., & Rutter, V. (2011, March 29). *Council on contemporary families brief: How colorblind is love? Interracial dating facts and puzzles*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/how-colorblind-is-love/>. Accessed January 15, 2017.
- Priebe, G., & Svedin, C. G. (2013). Operationalization of three dimensions of sexual orientation in a national survey of late adolescents. *Journal of sex research*, 50, 727–738.
- Ridgeway, C. (2011). *Framed by gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social construct: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society, 18*, 429–450.
- Risman, B. J. (2018). Gender structure theory. In *Springer Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*.
- Robinson, Z. (2018). Intersectionality. In *Springer Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*.
- Rupp, L., & Taylor, V. (2010). Straight girls kissing. *Contexts, 9*, 28–32.
- Rupp, L., Taylor, V., Regev-Messalem, S., Fogarty, A. C. K., & England, P. (2014). Queer women in the hookup scene: Beyond the closet? *Gender & Society, 28*, 212–235.
- Rutter, V. (2013, February 20). The sexual mystique stuck inside our heads. *The Society Pages*. <https://thesocietypages.org/girlwpn/2013/02/20/nice-work-the-sexual-mystique-stuck-inside-our-heads/>. Accessed February 18, 2017.
- Rutter, V. (2014, June 9). Love and lust. *Psychology Today*.
- Rutter, V., & Schwartz, P. (2012). *The gender of sexuality*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Salières, E., Wilkerson, J. M., Sieving, R. E., & Brady, S. S. (2017). Sexually experienced adolescents' thoughts about sexual pleasure. *The Journal of Sex Research, 54*, 1–15.
- Sassler, S. (2016, June 20). *Council on contemporary families brief: A reversal in predictors of sexual satisfaction in marriage*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/sex-equalmarriages/>. Accessed January 23, 2017.
- Savin-Williams, R. C., & Joyner, K. (2014). The dubious assessment of gay, lesbian, and bisexual adolescents of add health. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 43*, 413–422.
- Savin-Williams, R. C., Joyner, K., & Rieger, G. (2012). Prevalence and stability of self-reported sexual orientation identity during young adulthood. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*, 103–110.
- Schalet, A. (2010). Sexual subjectivity revisited: The significance of relationships in Dutch and American girls' experiences of sexuality. *Gender & Society, 24*, 304–329.
- Schalet, A. (2011). *Not under my roof: Parents, teens, and the culture of sex*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2015). Bathroom battlegrounds and penis panics. *Contexts, 14*(3), 26–31.
- Sennott, C., & Angotti, N. (2016). Reconsidering gendered sexualities in a generalized AIDS epidemic. *Gender & Society, 30*, 935–957.
- Sexual Minority Assessment Research Team (Williams Institute). (2009). *Best practices for asking questions about sexual orientation on surveys*. <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/SMART-FINAL-Nov-2009.pdf>. Accessed January 15, 2017.
- Solebello, N., & Elliott, S. (2011). “We want them to be as heterosexual as possible”: Fathers talk about their teen children's sexuality. *Gender & Society, 25*, 293–315.
- Swami, V., & Tovée, M. J. (2013). Men's oppressive beliefs predict their breast size preferences in women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 42*, 1199–1207.
- Twenge, J. M., Sherman, R. A., & Wells, B. E. (2016). Changes in American adults' reported same-sex sexual experiences and attitudes, 1973–2014. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 45*, 1–18.
- Tyson, T. (2017). *The blood of Emmitt Till*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Vrangalova, Z., & Savin-Williams, R. C. (2012). Mostly heterosexual and mostly gay/lesbian: Evidence for new sexual orientation identities. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*, 85–101.
- Wade, L. (2017). *American hookup: The new culture of sex on campus*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc.
- Ward, J. (2015). *Not gay: Sex between straight white men*. New York: NYU Press.
- Ward, J. (2016). Dyke methods: A meditation on queer studies and the gay men who hate it. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly, 44*, 68–85.
- Weber, M. (1946). Science as a vocation. In H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (Eds.), *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology* (pp. 129–156). New York: Oxford Press.
- Weeks, J. (2009). *Sexuality* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*, 125–151.
- Westbrook, L., & Saperstein, A. (2015). New categories are not enough: rethinking the measurement of sex and gender in social surveys. *Gender & Society, 29*, 534–560.
- Wilkinson, L., & Pearson, J. (2009). School culture and the well-being of same-sex attracted youth. *Gender & Society, 23*, 542–568.
- Wong, D. (2014). Asexuality in China's sexual revolution: Asexual marriage as coping strategy. *Sexualities, 18*, 100–116.

Virginia E. Rutter is Professor of Sociology at Framingham State University (MA) and on the Board of the Council on Contemporary Families. She is co-author or co-editor of *Families as They Really Are 2nd edition*, *The Gender of Sexuality*, and *The Love Test*, and writes and researches topics related to sexuality in more- and less-committed relationships; divorce; family policy; infidelity; and inequalities. She is Vice-President and Director of her local union chapter of the Mass State College Association (MTA/NEA).

Braxton Jones is a doctoral student in Sociology at Boston University, who researches gender, sexuality, and criminal justice systems. He earned his M.A. in Sociology at the University of New Hampshire; his thesis examined policies that are restrictive and supportive of queerness in prison and their implications for violence against LGBTQ prisoners. He has served as a Graduate Research & Public Affairs Scholar for the Council on Contemporary Families since 2015.



C. J. Pascoe and Andrea P. Herrera

Abstract

Schools are organizers of gender and sexual practices, identities and meanings. Boys and girls learn from school rituals, pedagogical practices, and disciplinary procedures that heterosexuality is normal and natural. In tandem with school-sanctioned forms of masculinity and femininity, young people themselves construct adolescent cultures that normalize heterosexuality and normative forms of gender, which in turn intersect with other axes of identity like race and class to produce varied and disparate experiences for students of different backgrounds. Though education is often cited as an equalizing force, schools promote gender differences between boys and girls that can result in gender inequality. This happens through both formal and informal schooling processes. More research is needed on sexual and gender minorities in school, as most of it has focused on heterosexual and cisgender students and gender inequality.

1 Introduction

Schools play a pivotal role in the development of young people's gender and sexual identities. Beginning in elementary school, students participate in a "heterosexualizing process" (Renold, 2000) as schools convey and regulate sexual meanings organized in heteronormative and homophobic ways (Walters & Hayes, 1998; Wood, 1984). The ordering of sexuality from elementary school through high school is inseparable from the institutional structuring of gendered identities. Through school rituals, pedagogical practices and disciplinary procedures, high schools set up routines, expectations and rituals which reflect definitions of masculinity and femininity as opposite, complementary, unequal and heterosexual (Butler, 1993).

In addition to the ways schools organize gender and sexuality, young people themselves also invest in cultural routines and practices that emphasize heterosexuality as well as normative masculinity and femininity. In high school, masculinities and femininities are iterated both through mundane, daily practices like clothing, style, lingo, hobbies, and sports (Bettie, 2002), and through highly ritualized and gendered events like quinceañeras and proms. The flourishing of various social media platforms has simultaneously amplified, muted, and otherwise transformed various ways that high school students construct and perform masculine and

C. J. Pascoe (✉) · A. P. Herrera
University of Oregon, Eugene, USA
e-mail: cpascoe@uoregon.edu

feminine identities (Ito et al., 2010). Crucially, high school femininities and masculinities intersect with and are produced through other axes of identity and difference, such that race, class, and sexuality (among other considerations) are highly salient in the construction and interpretation of any given expression of femininity and masculinity.

2 Schooling

2.1 History

Gender difference and heterosexuality are built into the history of public education in the United States as well as the very concept of adolescence itself (Lesko, 2001). Prior to the 19th century the main job of upbringing youth was carried out by the family (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The responsibility to instruct children fell to mothers—boys to read and write and girls to read and sew (Tyack & Hansot, 1992). As schooling during the Progressive era became formalized—universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratically arranged—gender-segregation increased and difference was emphasized (Tyack & Hansot, 1992).

Formal education for girls continued to be a controversial topic through the early 20th century. Pro-education forces argued that educating girls would make women more effective in their own private domain, raising future citizens, rendering them better wives or mothers, helping to form the political convictions of the young, teaching them about civic virtue. Chief among the foes of girls' education were Dr. Edward Clark, a specialist in nervous disorders at Harvard Medical School who wrote a book called *Sex in Education* in 1873 and G. Stanley Hall, president of Clark University and a psychologist who invented the concept of "adolescence" to describe the phase of life between childhood and adulthood. Dr. Clark argued that education damaged girls biologically—diverting the limited "forces" of the human body from their reproductive organs to their brains in a masculinization process that threatened the future of the white

race (Tyack & Hansot, 1992). G. Stanley Hall suggested that co-education masculinized girls and, more importantly, feminized boys. He advocated more masculine high schools, ridding the curriculum of sissiness, hiring more men teachers and segregating high schools by gender, thus allowing boys to pass through the necessary "raw period of revolt" in order to move into a "virile manhood" (Tyack & Hansot, 1992). While the intensity of these arguments subsided in the mid-1920s, similar ideologies continue to shape the gender of schooling.

2.2 Contemporary Schooling

Contemporary schooling processes reproduce a gender binary and schools themselves are dependent on and structured around this binary. Though education is often cited as an equalizing force, schools promote gender differences between boys and girls that can result in gender inequality. This happens through both formal and informal schooling processes. Formal curricular processes include explicit educational goals, topics covered in textbooks, learning objectives, and test material for example. Informal curricula, also known as hidden curricula, refers to norms, values, attitudes, and ideologies that children learn at school but that are not an official part of schools' lesson plans (Martin, 1976). Schools reinforce gender difference, heteronormativity and heterosexism through both informal and formal curricula.

Teachers regularly prefer to divide students into the categories of boys and girls (Thorne, 1993). Teachers expect different things from boys and girls, with boys taking up most of teachers' attention in the forms of discipline and rewards. Teachers give boys more attention, call on them more often, wait longer for their answers, and correct, criticize, help, and praise them more frequently than they do girls (Bailey et al., 1992). Rather than giving girls the same types of step-by-step instructions they give boys, teachers tend to do things themselves for girls, robbing girls of everyday opportunities to learn (DeZolt & Hull, 2001). This practice encourages

helplessness, incompetence and dependency among girls, which are hallmarks of a particular form of “emphasized femininity” that reproduces gender inequality (Connell, 1987). Teachers are more likely to comment on girls’ appearance and clothing, and to socialize girls to become “perfect students” (Bailey et al., 1992). Boys are allowed more freedom with their bodies than girls are and have to be more disruptive to earn a reprimand from a teacher as well (Martin, 1998). Girls are told to be quieter and to request things in a “nicer” voice (Martin, 1998). Linguists highlight the way in which these gendered disciplinary practices play out in adult conversations: women hedge, are super polite, tag questions, hypercorrect grammar, lack a sense of humor, ask questions when they are making declarations—what linguists call “powerless language” (O’Barr & Atkins, 2014).

In addition to emphasizing gender difference, informal curricula emphasize heterosexuality. The vast majority of parental images in school-based literature, for example, show a mother and a father, rather than two mothers or two fathers, reinforcing ideologies about heterosexuality, monogamy and families. The way science, in particular, is framed and communicated to students underscores heteronormativity and androcentrism (Letts, 2001) explaining animal sexuality with assumptions about heterosexuality and normative masculinity or femininity, ignoring extensive diversity of sex, gender, and sexuality in the animal kingdom (Roughgarden, 2013). Similarly, human biology textbooks explain reproduction using gendered metaphors that frame sperm as physically aggressive, dominant and male and eggs as passive, waiting females (Martin, 1991).

2.3 Formal Curricula

Formal curricula about sexuality and gender is best exemplified by sex education. Contemporary sex education curricula—or the lack thereof—often reinforce inequalities on the axes of sexuality, gender, race, and class (Fields, 2008) and are among the most controversial and politicized aspects of the school curriculum

(Trudell, 1993). Three approaches currently govern sex education curricula: Abstinence Only, Abstinence Plus and Comprehensive Sex Education. Abstinence Only approaches position abstinence as the only morally correct option for teenagers and censor information about contraception. Abstinence Plus approaches include information about condoms and contraception in the context of strong abstinence messages. Comprehensive sex education approaches teach about abstinence as the best method for avoiding STDs and unintended pregnancy, but also teach about condoms and contraception to reduce the risk of unintended pregnancy and of infection with STDs, including HIV. They also teach interpersonal and communication skills and help young people explore their own values, goals, and options.

Absent federal regulation on sex education nationally, it is highly varied and inconsistent across American states: only 24 states and Washington, DC require sex education in public schools; 33 states and Washington, DC require education about HIV/AIDS; and only 20 states require that sex education should be medically accurate (NCSL, 2016). As a result of these irregular standards, young people are not always familiar with safer sex practices. Among those ages 18–19, 41% say they know little to nothing about condoms, and 75% say they know little to nothing about the contraceptive pill.

The scattered state of contemporary sex education is largely shaped by the response of conservative political forces to attempts to introduce comprehensive sex education in schools in the 1970s and 1980s by a group called the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS). The powerful movements of the “New Right” quickly mobilized against the SIECUS curriculum by arguing that children were too young for sex, there should be a spiritual component to this sort of education, and that talking about sex leads to sex (Irvine, 2005; Luker 2007). Conservative activism led to the passing of legislation in the 1980s and 1990s like the Adolescent Family Life Act and the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Act (TANF). Both of these limited the amount of

federal funding available to sex education programs that did not focus on abstinence or attempted “denigrate, diminish or deny role differences between the sexes as they have been historically understood in the United States” (Trudell, 1993).

The religious right designed and marketed curricular materials that promote chastity and avoidance of all sexual activity moral absolutes, premarital abstinence, heterosexual family forms, heterosexual intercourse, traditional gender expectations, and emphasized procreation (Trudell, 1993). As a result, a 2004 federal report shows that the most widely-used federally-funded abstinence education curricula contain pervasive errors and misinformation—underestimating the effectiveness of condoms and other contraceptives, false claims about the physical and psychological risks of abortion, misinformation on incidence and transmission of STDs and the replacement of scientific facts with religious views and moral judgments. This education has negative consequences for young people in the United States as in countries with comprehensive sex education, youth have far lower rates of teen pregnancy and STI transmission, as well as more accurate and egalitarian views of sexuality (e.g., Schalet, 2011).

2.4 Boys and Girls in School

Informal and formal curricula results in a gender differentiated educational experience for both boys and girls. Although boys stand out at the top of the class, get more attention from teachers, have higher standardized test scores, get more scholarships, and later receive higher salaries, boys also populate the bottom of the class (Sadker & Sadker, 2010). Boys are more likely to be in special education and to drop out (Grant, 2014). They tend to be louder than girls, talking and joking while girls do schoolwork (Sadker & Sadker, 2010). That said, girls tend to be awarded higher grades than boys, a trend that has remained unchanged for nearly a century (Voyer & Voyer, 2014).

Some research suggests that classrooms are biased against boys’ natural behaviors, resulting in unfair treatment (Kindlon & Thompson, 2009). According to this perspective, the classroom is a feminine environment (Kindlon & Thompson, 2009) where girls’ behavior is rewarded and where teachers pay too much attention to girls at the expense of boys. In contrast with girls’ ostensibly natural good behavior, boys have more trouble controlling themselves and are developmentally disadvantaged in school, especially in the lower grades. Some argue that boys are socialized to be aggressive, active, independent and then schools want a different skill set from them (Sadker & Sadker, 2010). Teachers should view boys’ bad behavior as “life-affirming” and therefore allow “moments of anarchy” (Kindlon & Thompson, 2009:50). Other scholars argue that schools do not feminize boys, but definitions of masculinity keep boys from succeeding academically. Even at the turn of the twentieth century girls were doing better than boys in school, but this didn’t lead to more structural power among girls and women in society (Sadker & Sadker, 2010). Indeed, even as girls outperform boys academically, boys become more confident and girls less so during middle school.

The “bias against boys” perspective does not incorporate an intersectional analysis of race and gender. Nonetheless, research on race and gender indicates that male students of color are disproportionately targeted for punishment in schools. Low-income Latino males and black males are regarded with suspicion both in and out of schools (A.A.U.W., 2001). African American boys are likely to be punished for the same behavior white boys exhibit that goes unpunished, for example, a process that Ann Ferguson calls “adultification” (Ferguson, 2001). Teachers’ assumptions Latino boys will be low achievers and that they pose a threat to the school order can lead the boys to disengage from schools (A.A.U.W., 2001). Various institutions in the lives of young men of color collude to frame their behavior as criminal rather than childlike (Rios, 2011). This process is part of what scholars call

the school to prison pipeline, the systematic way in which young men of color are funneled out of education and into the criminal justice system. In the year 2000, more black men were in jail or prison than in college. By contrast, in 1980, before the modern prison boom, black men in college outnumbered black men behind bars by a ratio of 3–1. Thus, the way scholars need to reframe the debate around boys and girls in school is to move away from a zero-sum estimation where girls' gains are purported to signify boys' losses, and toward an investigation of *which* boys and girls are succeeding or not (Justice Policy Institute, 2002).

For female students, teachers have expectations of cooperation, compliance, polite silence, and invisibility (Brown, 1999). To succeed socially and academically girls navigate a "school-sanctioned femininity" (Bettie, 2002), a de-sexualized self which allows them to be academically successful as well as normatively feminine enough to not have their gender performances called into question.

These school-sanctioned femininities reward particular racialized and classed enactments of femininity. Brown (1999) finds that middle-class girls tend to hide their frustration about sexism they experience in school while working-class girls express their anger in visible and physical ways, such as refusing to "sit up straight" when teachers ask them to do so. Girls who speak out about sexism in high school are perceived as loud and obnoxious, and teachers often tell them that anger is not an appropriate emotion for school (Brown, 1999). African American girls, for instance, resist gendered racism through "loudness" or "contrariness," which empowers them to defy discourses of white, middle-class femininity based on passive compliance with (white) authority (Fordham, 1993). These "loud black girls" (Fordham, 1993) refuse to participate in an academic system bent on excluding them, but teachers disapprove of their loudness and do not take them seriously as learners. African American girls who are more quiet, who more closely approximate school-sanctioned versions of femininity often feel disconnected from other

African American students and their families, even as their participation in this type of femininity facilitates their academic success. Over time, these dynamics of gender and race result in lower self-esteem among girls than boys, with African American girls reporting the lowest levels of self-esteem. Latinas are less likely to be policed and criminalized, though they are often perceived as unserious about schoolwork (A.A. U.W., 2001; Bettie, 2002).

High school girls experience and produce femininities in different ways according to their race and class positions (Bettie, 2002). What might be viewed as "gender victories" for high school girls are often also "class injuries". For instance, some girls take leadership courses, plan for successful careers, and are not intimidated by boys. While these girls may seem like the product of years of feminist struggles, they also tend to be middle-class and to display school-sanctioned versions of femininity. Thus, their success as girls cannot be decoupled from their success as middle-class girls whose particular gender performances are rewarded by teachers and administrators. High school teachers expect a white, middle-class, school-sanctioned version of femininity. This gender regime ends up disadvantaging girls of color and working-class girls who refuse to suppress their feelings about injustice at school, making it harder for them to succeed academically and ultimately helping to reproduce race- and class-based systems of inequality in society more broadly.

3 Social Life in High School

Gender and sexuality in high school are produced not only through institutional policies and practices, but also through mundane, everyday interactions and behaviors among students themselves. High school is a staging ground for identity formation and the primary hub of social life in adolescence. The social organization of school, social rituals and social aggression reinforce and sometimes transgress social norms of gender and sexuality.

3.1 Social Organization

The social organization of high schools often reflect gendered, classed and raced inequalities. At midcentury as the amount of time spent in school and the number of students enrolled increased, adolescents began spending increasing time with others their own age, and notions of popularity began to rule adolescence (Modell, 1991). According to John Modell, “Popularity was the universally understood term for what the great majority of high schoolers sought to a greater or lesser degree” (1991:84). Students organize themselves and are organized by the school into loose hierarchies (Milner, 2013).

Gender and sexuality are central to the character of these hierarchies. The sociology literature is divided regarding the degree to which popularity among high school girls is linked to the performances of conventional femininity. While Payne (2007) and Thorne (1993) suggest that normative femininity and masculinity correlate with popularity other scholars find that certain forms of gender transgression for girls, when they align with normative masculinity, can result in popularity for girls (Pascoe, 2007).

The production of femininities is evident in the way high school students speak to and about one another. In accordance with their particular understanding of feminism, some high school girls disparage their feminine peers, declaring themselves to be “one of the guys,” or more like boys than the “other girls” (Fine and Macpherson, 1992:176). In their effort to achieve gender parity with high school boys, these girls abandon femininity, which they view as silly and trivial. Pascoe (2007) finds that girls who perform athletic versions of masculinity—even when they are lesbians—gain social status relative to their more feminine peers. Conversely, some high school girls use their voices to cultivate particular types of femininities to resist forms of inequality based on gender, race, and sexuality. Fordham (1993) argues that high schools, as institutions within a patriarchal society, define appropriate femininity in terms of “white middle-class womanhood” (3). White girls and girls of color have to navigate raced and classed expectations

of gender and sexuality in high school (Bettie, 2002; Garcia, 2012). Cheerleading squads, often the home of the most popular girls, can privilege whiteness in primarily white schools (Adams & Bettis, 2003).

Whom is considered desirable or who is romantically linked to whom is also important in the social world of high school. While the majority of adolescents experience their first sex within a committed relationship (Williams & Adams, 2013), “hookup culture” (Bogle, 2008) has emerged alongside the dating order that originated in the 1950s as the dominant form of sexuality and romance among adolescents. Hookups are broadly defined as sexual interactions between people who are not in a committed relationship (Bogle, 2008), and often occur alongside parties and alcohol and drug use (Williams & Adams, 2013). Many teens view committed dating relationships as not “cool” and describe hookups as having less “baggage” (Paul, Wenzel, & Harvey, 2008). The emergence of high school hookup culture is important to pay attention to, since girls experience less power relative to boys in one-time hookups than they do in more committed dating relationships (Risman & Schwartz, 2002). Hookups are a highly gendered form of sexuality among adolescents, with girls reporting higher rates than boys of stigma and shame after hooking up (Williams & Adams, 2013). Furthermore, high school girls come of age in a culture that values women according to their attractiveness, so many girls hope to use sexuality and hookups to segue into more committed forms of relationships with boys (Williams & Adams, 2013). While the literature on hookups in high school is much sparser than the literature on college hookup culture, Williams and Adams (2013) find that among white and Latina high schoolers, hookups rarely evolve into committed dating relationships, resulting in considerable emotional pain and embarrassment for girls, particularly when they feel alcohol is a contributing factor in their sexual behavior. In addition to gender inequalities manifested through hookup culture, hookups are not equally accessible to all types of students: working-class students and students of color are less likely to

engage in or speak positively about hookups, and queer students may feel excluded from hookup scenes that revolve around heterosexual pairings (Williams & Adams, 2013; Bogle, 2008).

The story of dating is not one that is just about romance, but also about inequality. Boys and girls enter into dating on unequal footing due to cultural scripts around puberty, the embodied experience of adolescence. Cisgender¹ boys and girls have very different experiences of these bodily changes. Shame and embarrassment happen for all genders: bras, jockstraps, voice changes, erections, and periods are accompanied by feelings of humiliation for many teens. But while bodily changes for boys tend to be eventually empowering, girls often feel betrayed by their bodies, particularly as boys demean their bodies and make fun of their periods as “dirty”. Girls often experience puberty as a transition to a disempowered adult femininity, in which girls’ changing bodies are associated with sexuality and thus potential danger (Tolman, 1994). Boys’ bodily changes lead to a rise in the agency they feel as soon-to-be men (Tolman, 1994). Boys are characterized by being driven by hormones and sexual desire (Schalet, 2011).

While cisgender teens certainly “do” gender in a variety of ways more or less consistent with the expectations of normative masculinity and femininity, cisgender boys and girls tend to experience their changing bodies as embarrassing, yet natural progressions on their way toward becoming cisgender men and women. Transgender teens, on the other hand, may feel as though they are trapped in the “wrong body” (an experience psychologists call “dysphoria”) or may experience their bodies in more fluid, genderqueer² ways (Barker-Plummer, 2012; Olson,

Schrager, Belzer, Simons, & Clark, 2015), either of which may be difficult for trans teens to locate in dominant discourses about puberty, romance, and sexuality in high school. Furthermore, trans teens are more likely to experience not only hostile school environments, bullying, and harassment (Kosciw, Greytak, & Diaz, 2009) but also are at higher risk of dating violence than their cisgender counterparts (Dank, Lachman, Zweig, & Yahner, 2014). This is especially true for trans girls of color (Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006). More research is needed on the ways trans teens negotiate and navigate the complex world of sexuality, hookups, and dating in high school.

In addition to body changes, high schoolers experience many changes in their social worlds during adolescence, which are frequently encourage the development of heterosexual, highly gendered identities. Heterosexual high school dating relationships and sexuality are thus characterized by gendered modes of sexuality where boys are expected to be active and girls are passive. This dynamic encodes and builds on meanings of masculinity and femininity that will undergird high schoolers’ adult gender identities (Hird & Jackson, 2001). Sexual coercion is not outside of the normal (Hird & Jackson, 2001); rather, it is an integral part of heteronormative romantic relationships. This coercion is often non-violent, taking the form of boys pressuring girls, appealing to girls’ longing for romance, and “working a yes out” (Sanday, 2007). High school discourses of boys’ and girls’ sexual desire frame boys as either “wusses” or “studs” and girls as either “sluts” or “angels,” depending on their frequency of sexual activity (Hird & Jackson, 2001).

To be appropriately feminine, girls must put boys’ desires before their own, something Tolman calls the “missing discourse of desire” (2003). There is no way for girls to talk about desiring sex; if they do, they are stigmatized as sluts, so girls view sex as something that happens to them, as something they have to rationalize (Martin, 1998). Boys, for the most part, experience sexuality and adolescence in general as empowering, as they begin to inhabit an adult

¹“Cisgender” is the opposite of “transgender,” and means that the sex one is assigned at birth (male or female) corresponds to the way one experiences one’s gender (boy or girl, man or woman).

²A “genderqueer” understanding of transgender experiences seeks to question and dismantle the categories of “boy” and “girl,” “man” and “woman,” rather than conceptualizing transgender people as being “actually” one gender, born unluckily into the body of the other gender.

masculinity, ushering them into a powerful adult identity. Sexuality and sex in high school encodes cultural requirements of heteronormative gender difference.

3.2 Social Events

Stylized social events such as rituals are an important part of the informal curricula of schooling. Social rituals are symbolic, bodily performances that affirm in and out-groups, the normal and the abnormal, (Quantz, 1999) reproducing dominant understandings of race, gender and class (Foley, 1990). In adolescence, these rituals reflect and affirm heteronormative gender difference.

Prom is an iconic high school event in American culture, a “cultural object” (Griswold, 1987) that tells a story about the culture in which it is found. It is a rite of passage for adolescents, signifying impending adulthood, and even functioning as a sort of pre-wedding in the ways it bolsters heteronormativity (Best, 2000). “Prom is a space in which teens makes sense of what it means to be young in culture today, negotiate the process of schooling, solidify their social identities, and struggle against the structural limits in which they find themselves” (Best, 2000:2). Discourses of romance and sexuality at prom naturalize inequality between boys and girls (Best, 2000:67). Prom restricts girls’ demands for equality because gender equality would destroy the romance and mystique of prom night. While high school girls hope for romance and magic on prom night, boys’ discussions of prom are centered around achieving masculinity through drinking, partying, and male friendship/camaraderie. Boys decide the course of the night, so many girls feel sad at prom because their dream of romance does not materialize. Proms also reflect race, class and sexual inequalities through an emphasis on clothing, expectations of dancing and explicit or implicit framing around opposite sex dates.

While school rituals like proms and pep rallies are designed with both the schools’ and the students’ interests and values in mind, gendered

rituals like quinceañeras and purity balls occur outside of school and thus represent a cultural arena over which students (and their families) have a little more control. Historically, middle- and upper-class girls would “come out” to society at debutante balls and cotillions, often wearing white dresses to present themselves as future brides (Pompper & Crandall, 2014). A similar pre-marriage ritual is the purity ball. Linked to the increase in funding for abstinence-only programs for high schoolers since the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, purity clubs are often ostensibly gender-neutral, yet the majority of recruits are women (Fahs, 2010). At purity balls, girls “essentially ‘marry’ their fathers” in white dresses, sign virginity pledges and put on rings that symbolize their commitment to wait until their “real” wedding day to have sex (Fahs, 2010). While debutante balls and purity balls tend to occur mostly in white communities, though some upper-class black high schoolers also put on debutante cotillions (Graham, 1999), many Latina high school girls also participate in a heterosexualized, highly gendered ritual—the quinceañera. Quinceañeras are fifteenth-birthday parties for Catholic Latina girls; they are a culturally-specific ritual that encourages high school girls to perform a particular version of heterosexual femininity. They are often lavish, expensive events even among working-class families. For many working-class Latinx immigrants, the quinceañera provides an opportunity to give their daughters the type of special party they could not afford in their home country (Alvarez, 2007), a symbol of their achievement of the “American dream” (Colloff, 2009).

What proms, but more specifically, the debutante ball, the purity ball, and the quinceañera have in common are their foundations of heterosexuality, femininity, and impending adulthood for high-school girls. Even if girls do not adopt a normatively feminine, heterosexual adult identity, they are always in conversation with it. Thus, for girls, the construction of an adult identity is inextricable from discourses of appropriate femininity and heterosexuality. These rituals reflect a high school culture where

girls' and women's bodies are the property of men, and where sexuality is constructed as something boys should desire and girls should avoid.

3.3 Social Aggression

Social aggression in adolescents often takes the form of bullying. While much research frames bullying as a result of individual psychological variables, in many cases bullying reinforces social inequalities—particularly of gender, sexuality, race and class (Pascoe, 2013).

Boys bully more than girls (Frisén, Jonsson & Persson, 2007; Levy et al., 2012; Seals & Young, 2003; Stein, 2002) in both on and offline environments (Li, 2006). They are also more often the victims of bullying than are girls (Erdur-Baker, 2010). Boys are more likely to engage in some physical and verbal types of bullying (Peskin, Tortolero, & Markham, 2006). Yet, perhaps contrary to some of the claims made about the gendering of “relational aggression” (see for instance Rys & Bear, 1997), it is also true that girls do physically intimidate others and that boys also spread rumors (Levy et al., 2012).

Boys bullying of other boys' tends to take a sexualized form. Homophobic language and attitudes are disproportionately deployed by boys (Poteat & Rivers, 2010). Boys use homophobic epithets more than girls do and rate them much more seriously (Thurlow, 2001). Straight boys are often the recipients of these slurs (Pascoe, 2007). 90% of random school shootings have involved straight-identified boys who have been relentlessly humiliated with homophobic remarks (Kimmel and Mahler 2003). Homophobic bullying is central to shaping contemporary heterosexual masculine identities (Kehler, 2007; Levy et al., 2012; Pascoe, 2007; Poteat, Kimmel & Wilchins, 2011). Through homophobic harassment boys learn what it is to “be a boy”.

Young men's homophobic practices often take the form of a “fag discourse” (Pascoe, 2007) consisting of jokes, taunts, imitations and threats through which boys publicly signal their rejection of that which is considered unmasculine. In

other words, homophobic harassment has as much to do with definitions of masculinity as it does with actual fear of other gay men (Corbett, 2001; Kimmel, 2001). These insults are levied against boys who are not masculine, if only momentarily, *and* boys who identify (or are identified by others) as gay. Interactions like this set up a very complicated daily ordeal in which boys continually strive to avoid being subject to the epithet, but are simultaneously constantly vulnerable to it.

Boy's aggressive behavior towards girls primarily takes the form of sexual harassment.

Though presumably students (male and female) have been protected from sexual harassment since the passage of Title IX in 1972, 44% of girls are afraid of being sexually harassed as compared to 20% of boys (Orenstein, 1994; A. A.U.W., 2001). Indeed, girls report being sexually harassed as a “normal” part of their high school experience (Hlavka, 2014). Boys' sex talk and predatory behavior have become so normalized that teachers don't even recognize them as harassment, but rather as harmless flirting (Orenstein, 1994). Even when asked about their behavior boys don't seem to understand that what they did was wrong, rather that pointing out such behavior infringes on their sense of entitlement to girls and their bodies (Orenstein, 1994).

4 Conclusion

The effects of heteronormative and gender normative schooling and social practices in adolescence on sexual and gender minority young people are profound, both on students who construct appropriately masculine and feminine heterosexual identities and on those who are LGBTQ or gender nonconforming. Nationally representative studies show that adolescents with same-sex sexuality experience a greater risk for depression, low self esteem, and substance abuse; often feel less connected to their schools; and have lower rates of advanced course completion (Wilkinson & Pearson, 2009; Pearson, Miller, & Wilkinson, 2007). Boys with same-sex

sexuality also experience lower GPAs and higher course failure rates (Pearson et al., 2007). The most recent available data show that LGB youth are vastly more likely than heterosexual youth to experience physical violence, substance abuse, and risky sexual practices (Kann et al., 2016; Russell, Franz, & Driscoll, 2001). Thus, there are considerable social, emotional, physical, and academic consequences for youths with same-sex sexuality in heterosexist environments, with particular outcomes shaped by youth gender—indicating the different ways in which heteronormativity affects boys and girls. Importantly, these emotional and psychological effects do not emanate solely from LGBTQ students' psyches; rather, school culture and context play large roles in the social, emotional, and academic wellbeing of youth with same-sex sexuality. Attending a school with a greater proportion of boys playing football—a sport tied tightly to hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity—negatively affects the wellbeing of boys and girls; girls who attend schools with a greater proportion of highly religious students experience negative effects; and schools located in rural or suburban areas, as compared to urban, negatively affect the wellbeing of boys (Wilkinson & Pearson, 2009). Indeed, while many LGBTQ youth form positive views of themselves despite structural heterosexism—a testament to their resilience (Savin-Williams, 2005)—youth who are outspoken about gender and sexual inequality or who do not embody white, middle class, gender-normative gay identities face marginalization even in schools with purportedly progressive policies (Elliott, 2012). This even shapes teaching, as teachers are expected to be “professional” when they are gay, which means they are expected to enact particularly middle-class forms of masculinity and femininity.

Research indicates that schools, rather than being places that challenge gender and sexual inequalities, often reproduce them. Targeted measures to improve the wellbeing of LGBTQ

youth in schools are imperative. However, studies show that heterosexuality is so institutionalized as an invisible part of schools' organization and culture that efforts aimed at specific populations, in the absence of widespread institutional changes, are likely inadequate. Furthermore, most schools are in states that do not have laws around bullying and harassment, such that many students who would seek to challenge heterosexist practices at their schools have no legal mechanism through which to do so. More research is needed on how schools can be places for “anti-discriminatory responses to marginalization” (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1999). It is likely that no single solution exists, but rather schools must seek to eradicate practices that reproduce inequalities at an institutional level while parents, community members, and teens themselves strive to support teens in their social lives outside of school.

References

- Adams, N., & Bettis, P. (2003). Commanding the room in short skirts: Cheering as the embodiment of ideal girlhood. *Gender & Society*, 17(1), 73–91.
- Alvarez, J. (2007). *Once upon a Quinceañera: Coming of age in the USA*. New York: Viking.
- American Association of University Women. (2001). *Beyond the gender wars: A conversation about girls*. Washington, D.C.: Boys and Education.
- Bailey, S., Burbidge, L., Campbell, P. B., Jackson, B., Marx, F., & McIntosh, P. (1992). *The AAUW report: How schools shortchange girls*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.
- Barker-Plummer, B. (2012). Fixing Gwen. *Feminist Media Studies*, 13(4), 710–724.
- Best, A. (2000). *Prom night: Youth, schools, and popular culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bettie, J. (2002). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bogle, K. (2008). *Hook-up culture: Sex, dating, and relationships on campus*. New York: New York University Press.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America* (Vol. 57). New York: Basic Books.
- Brown, L. M. (1999). *Raising their Voices: The politics of girls anger*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of 'sex'*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Colloff, P. (2009). Sweet 15: The rise of the all-out, over-the-top, super-spectacular, bank-breaking Quinceañera. In *Texas Monthly*. Austin, Texas.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Corbett, K. (2001). Faggot = Loser. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 2(1), 3–28.
- Dank, M., Lachman, P., Zweig, J. M., & Yahner, J. (2014). Dating violence experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43, 8460857.
- DeZolt, D., & Hull, S. (2001). Classroom and school climate. In J. Worrel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and gender* (pp. 257–264). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Elliott, K. O. (2012). The right way to be gay: How school structures sexual inequality. In E. Miners & T. Quinn (Eds.), *Education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Erdur-Baker, Ö. (2010). Cyberbullying and its correlation to traditional bullying, gender and frequent and risky usage of internet-mediated communication tools. *New Media & Society*, 12(1), 109–125.
- Fahs, B. (2010). Daddy's little girls on the perils of chastity clubs, purity balls, and ritualized abstinence. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, 30(3), 116–142.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. University of Michigan Press.
- Fields, J. (2008). *Risky lessons: Sex education and social inequality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Fine, M., & Macpherson, P. (1992). Over dinner: Feminism and adolescent female bodies. In M. Fine (Ed.), *Disruptive voices: The possibilities of feminist research*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Foley, D. E. (1990). The great American football ritual: Reproducing race, class, and gender inequality. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7(2), 111–135.
- Fordham, S. (1993). Those loud black girls: Black women, silence, and gender 'passing' in the academy. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 24(1), 3–32.
- Frisén, A., Jonsson, A-k, & Persson, C. (2007). Adolescents' perception of bullying: Who is the victim? Who is the bully? What can be done to stop bullying? *Adolescence*, 42(168), 749–761.
- Garcia, L. (2012). *Respect yourself, protect yourself: Latina girls and sexual identity*. New York: New York University Press.
- Garofalo, R., Deleon, J., Osmer, E., Doll, M., & Harper, G. W. (2006). Overlooked, misunderstood and at-risk: Exploring the lives and HIV risk of ethnic minority male-to-female transgender youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 38, 230–236.
- Graham, L. O. (1999). *Our kind of people: Inside America's black upper class*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Grant, J. (2014). *The boy problem: Educating boys in Urban America 1870–1970*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Griswold, W. (1987). A methodological framework for the sociology of culture. *Sociological Methodology*, 17, 1–35.
- Hird, M. J., & Jackson, S. (2001). Where 'angels' and 'wusses' fear to tread: Sexual coercion in adolescent dating relationships. *Journal of Sociology*, 37(1), 27–43.
- Hlavka, H. R. (2014). Normalizing sexual violence: Young women account for harassment and abuse. *Gender & Society*, 28(3), 337–358.
- Irvine, J. M. (2005). *Disorders of desire: Sexuality and gender in modern American sexuality*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Ito, M., Baumer, S., Bittanti, M., Cody, R., Stephenson, B. H., Horst, H. A., et al. (2010). *Hanging out, messing around, and geeking out: Kids living and learning with new media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Justice Policy Institute. (2002). Cellblocks or classrooms? The funding of higher education and corrections and its impact on African American men. Washington, D. C.
- Kann, L., Olsen, E. O., McManus, T., Harris, W. A., Shankin, S. L., Flint, K. H., Queen, B., ..., Zaza, S. (2016). Sexual identity, sex of sexual contacts, and health-related behaviors among students in grades 9–12—United States and selected sites, 2015. *MMWR. Surveillance Summaries*, 65.
- Kimmel, M. S., & Mahler, M. (2003). Adolescent masculinity, homophobia, and violence: Random school shootings, 1982–2001. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(10), 1439–1458.
- Kimmel, M. S. (2001). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In S. Whitehead & F. Barrett (Eds.), *The masculinities reader*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Kindlon, D., & Thompson, M. (2009). *Raising cain: Protecting the emotional life of boys*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., & Diaz, E. M. (2009). Who, what, where, when, and why: Demographic and ecological factors contributing to hostile school climate for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38, 976–988.
- Lesko, N. (2001). *Act your age! A cultural construction of adolescence*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Letts, W. (2001). When science is strangely alluring. *Gender and Education*, 13, 261–274.
- Levy, N., Cortesi, S., Gasser, U., Crowley, E., Beaton, M., Casey, J., et al. (2012). *Bullying in a networked era: A literature review* (pp. 2012–2017). Cambridge, MA: Berkman Center for Internet & Society Research Publication Series.
- Li, Q. (2006). Cyberbullying in schools a research of gender differences. *School Psychology International*, 27(2), 157–170.

- Luker, K. (2007). *When sex goes to school: Warring views on sex—And sex education—since the sixties*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Martin, E. (1991). The egg and the sperm: How science has constructed a romance based on stereotypical male-female roles. *Signs*, 16(3), 485–501.
- Martin, J. R. (1976). What should we do with a hidden curriculum when we find one? *Curriculum Inquiry*, 6(2), 135–151.
- Martin, K. A. (1998). Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. *American Sociological Review*, 63(4), 494–511.
- Milner, M. (2013). *Freaks, geeks, and cool kids*. New York: Routledge.
- Modell, J. (1991). *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States, 1920–1975*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- National Conference of State Legislatures. (2016). *State policies on sex education in schools*. Washington, D. C.
- O'Barr, W. M., & Atkins, B. K. (2014). 'Women's Language' or 'powerless language'? In Gita DasBender (Ed.), *Language: A reader for writers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Olson, J., Schrager, S. M., Belzer, M., Simons, L. K., & Clark, L. F. (2015). Baseline physiologic and psychosocial characteristics of transgender youth seeking care for gender dysphoria. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 57, 374–380.
- Orenstein, P. (1994). *Schoolgirls: Young women, self-esteem, and the confidence gap*. New York: Anchor.
- Pallotta-Chiarolli, M. (1999). Diary entries from the 'teachers' professional development playground': Multiculturalism meets multisexualities in Australian Education. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 36(3–4), 183–205.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *"Dude, you're a fag": Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2013). Notes on a sociology of bullying: Young men's homophobia as gender socialization. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, 1, 87–103.
- Paul, E. L., Wenzel, A., & Harvey, J. (2008). Hookups: A facilitator or barrier to relationship initiation and intimacy development? In S. Sprecher, A. Wenzel, & J. Harvey (Eds.), *Handbook of relationship initiation* (pp. 375–390). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Payne, E. C. (2007). Heterosexism, perfection, and popularity: Young lesbians' experiences of the high school social scene. *Educational Studies: A Journal of the American Educational Studies Association*, 41, 60–79.
- Pearson, J., Muller, C., & Wilkinson, L. (2007). Adolescent same-sex attraction and academic outcomes: The role of school attachment and engagement. *Social Problems*, 54(4), 523–542.
- Peskin, M. F., Tortolero, S. R., & Markham, C. M. (2006). Bullying and victimization among black and hispanic adolescents. *Adolescence*, 41(163), 467–484.
- Pompper, D., & Crandall, K. (2014). The erotic-chaste dialectic and the New Southern Belle code at the high school prom: Feminine gender role stress across ethnic and socio-economic factors. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 47(5), 937–951.
- Poteat, V. P., & Rivers, I. (2010). The use of homophobic language across bullying roles during adolescence. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 31(2), 166–172.
- Poteat, V. P., Kimmel, M. S., & Wilchins, R. (2011). The moderating effect of support for violent beliefs on masculine norms, aggression, and homophobic behavior during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(2), 434–447.
- Quantz, R. A. (1999). School ritual as performance: A reconstruction of Durkheim's and Turner's uses of Ritual. *Educational Theory*, 49(4), 493–513.
- Renold, E. (2000). Coming out: Gender, (hetero)sexuality and the primary school. *Gender and Education*, 12(3), 309–326.
- Rios, V. M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of black and latino boys*. New York: New York University Press.
- Risman, B., & Schwartz, P. (2002). After the sexual revolution: Gender politics in teen dating. *Contexts*, 1(1), 16–22.
- Roughgarden, J. (2013). *Evolution's rainbow: Diversity, gender, and sexuality in nature and people*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Russell, S. T., Franz, B. T., & Driscoll, A. K. (2001). Same-sex romantic attraction and experiences of violence in adolescence. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(6), 903–906.
- Rys, G. S., & Bear, G. G. (1997). Relational aggression and peer relations: Gender and developmental issues. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 43(1), 87–106.
- Sadker, M., & Sadker, D. (2010). *Failing at fairness: How America's schools cheat girls*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Sanday, P. R. (2007). *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*. New York: NYU Press.
- Savin-Williams, R. (2005). The new gay teen: Shunning labels. *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, 12(6), 16.
- Schalet, A. T. (2011). *Not under my roof*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Seals, D., & Young, J. (2003). Bullying and victimization: Prevalence and relationship to gender, grade level, ethnicity, self-esteem, and depression. *Adolescence*, 38(152), 735–747.
- Stein, N. (2002). Bullying as sexual harassment. In S. M. Bailey (Ed.), *The jossey-bass reader on gender in education* (pp. 409–428). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Thurlow, C. (2001). Naming the "outsider within": Homophobic pejoratives and the verbal abuse of Lesbian, gay and bisexual high school pupils. *Journal of Adolescence*, 24, 25–38.

- Tolman, D. L. (1994). Doing desire: Adolescent girls' struggles for/with sexuality. *Gender & Society*, 8(3), 324–342.
- Tolman, D. L. (2003). Daring to desire: Culture and the bodies of adolescent girls. In R. Weitz (Ed.), *The politics of women's bodies*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.
- Trudell, B. N. (1993). *Doing sex education*. Routledge.
- Tyack, D., & Hansot, E. (1992). *Learning together: A history of coeducation in American public schools*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Voyer, D., & Voyer, S. (2014). Gender differences in scholastic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2014/04/girls-grades.aspx>.
- Walters, A. S., & Hayes, D. M. (1998). Homophobia within schools: Challenging the culturally sanctioned dismissal of gay students and colleagues. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 35(2), 1–23.
- Wilkinson, L., & Pearson, J. (2009). School culture and the well-being of same-sex-attracted youth. *Gender & Society*, 23(4), 542–568.
- Williams, L. R., & Adams, H. L. (2013). Parties, drugs, and high school hookups. *Affilia*, 28(3), 240–255.
- Wood, J. (1984). Groping towards sexism: Boys' sex talk (pp. 54–84). In A. McRobbie & M. Nava (Ed.), *Gender and generation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

C. J. Pascoe is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Oregon. She is the author of *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* and the co-editor of *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity and Change*. Her current research focuses on online homophobia, queer coming of age experiences and young people's social and emotional relationships.

Andrea P. Herrera MA is a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Oregon. Her work focuses on femininities, sexualities, race, embodiment, and new media. In her most current research, she analyzes performances of femininity among queer femmes, burlesque performers, drag queens, and pinup girls.



Arielle Kuperberg and Rachel Allison

Abstract

Hookups, or encounters that include varied sexual behaviors without expectation of a committed relationship, have received substantial academic and popular interest over the past two decades. We review research on college hookup culture, focusing on gender and patterns of hookup participation, experiences, and outcomes. We critically examine theoretical perspectives that have been offered to explain gender differences in hooking up, explore problematic dynamics in hookups including gendered sexual double standards and sexual assault, and describe recent advances in hookup research related to campus sex ratios, same-sex hookups, and race and class intersections. We offer a critique of existing research and provide suggestions for future studies of gender and sexual encounters. Specifically, research on the intersections of gender with race/ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation are lacking, as are studies of transgender hookups, hookups among same

aged non-college attending young adults, and hookups that occur later in the life course.

1 Introduction

At the turn of the 21st century, scholars began to document an emergent form of sexual interaction among youth and young adults: hooking up. ‘Hookups’ refer to sexual encounters that take place outside of committed relationships, and may be limited to only kissing and touching, or may include vaginal, anal and/or oral sex (Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000). The majority of college students do not have vaginal intercourse during a typical hookup, with estimates of one-quarter to two-fifths of heterosexual hookups involving vaginal sex, and approximately a third of hookups involving only kissing or non-genital touching (England & Thomas, 2006; Fielder & Carey, 2010b; Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015). Hookups typically involve no a priori expectation of a future sexual or romantic relationship, although “repeat” hookups happen with some regularity and hookups often lead to committed relationships; recent studies found that around half of students hooked up with the hope of forming a longer-term relationship, and around one-third of recent marriages among young adults began with a hookup (Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Rhoades & Stanley, 2014). Hooking up is a common experience, particularly among

A. Kuperberg (✉)
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro,
Greensboro, USA
e-mail: atkuperb@uncg.edu

R. Allison
Mississippi State University, Starkville, USA
e-mail: rallison@soc.msstate.edu

college students; 50–60% of undergraduate students reported at least one hookup in the past year (Fielder & Carey, 2010b; LaBrie, Hummer, Ghaidarov, Lac, & Kenney, 2014; Owen, Fincham, & Moore, 2010; Owen, Rhoades, Stanley, & Fincham, 2011). At least three fourths of students have ever hooked up while in college; England and Thomas (2006) found that 80% of undergraduates had ever hooked up in college, while Allison and Risman (2014) put this figure at 82%.

While today's college students do not have more sexual partners than past generations (Monto & Carey, 2014), a variety of demographic, economic, and cultural changes have altered experiences of sex and romance for college-attending young adults over the past half-century. Hooking up as a sexual practice emerged with many of these changes. The term "hooking up" began to be used sometime during or after the 1960s, a result of the growing liberalization of sexual attitudes, an increasing age at first marriage, the availability of the birth control pill, the influence of the feminist movement, increased enrollment of women in higher education, and decline of *in loco parentis* college policies that separated men and women, among other changes (Bogle, 2008; Garcia, Reiber, Massey, & Merriwether, 2012; Heldman & Wade, 2010). Later, rates of hooking up increased, and a hookup "culture" arguably emerged on college campuses in the 1990s (Heldman & Wade, 2010).

The rise of hookup culture on U.S. college and university campuses reflected the changing social status of women and increased opportunities for women in education and work, particularly for racially- and class-privileged women who attain postsecondary degrees (England & Thomas, 2006). New forms of sexual and romantic engagement reveal the relative relations of power between men and women in society. As a result, scholars have debated what hookup culture means for gender relations and gender (in)equality. This chapter reviews existing research on gender and hookup culture, exploring theories of gendered sexuality and empirical patterns of hookup motivations, experiences, and

outcomes. Ultimately, we offer a critique of this body of literature and provide suggestions for future research on gender and hooking up.

2 Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Hooking up

Sexual Strategies Theory developed by evolutionary theorists, argues that women have a preference for long-term relationships over short-term sexual encounters because they have more of a personal stake in pregnancy and childbearing, can have fewer children, and want to maximize the quality of each child by securing a partner who will invest in them and their children long-term, while men are more interested than women in shorter-term sexual relationships with many different partners, which will maximize their number of potential children (Bailey, Gaulin, Agyei, & Gladue, 1994; Buss & Schmitt, 1993). Often this theory is interpreted to mean that men want casual sex *more* than long-term relationships, but others have argued that men and women actually have few differences in their desire for long- or short-term relationships, with both preferring long-term relationships, and gender differences perhaps driven by a small number of men with extremely high desire for short-term relationships who distort averages (Schmitt, Shackelford, & Buss, 2001).

The degree to which empirical research on hookups supports this theory is mixed. While one study found no difference in hookup participation by gender (Owen et al., 2010), most research found that men had a slightly higher rate of ever participating in hookups and a higher number of reported hookups than women (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016; LaBrie, Hummer, Ghaidarov, Lac, & Kenney, 2014; Paul et al., 2000). Research also confirmed that men were more likely than women to prefer hookups over dates, but that most members of both groups, 77% of men and 95% of women, preferred dates over hookups (Bradshaw et al. 2010). A recent study similarly found 48% of men and only 17% of college women wanted more hookup

opportunities, but an even greater number of both women (66%) and men (71%) wished they had more opportunities to form long-term relationships (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). Not only did both men and women prefer long-term relationships, college men wanted opportunities for those relationships *more* than women! But they were also less likely to form them compared to women, or to their likelihood of hooking up; only 44% of college men formed long-term relationships in college versus 55% of women, while 65% of men and 61% of women had hooked up (Ibid).

Evolutionary theory alone cannot explain these findings. Instead, sociologists turn to theories related to *social norms* and *sexual scripting* to explain gender differences in hooking up and forming longer-term relationships. Social norms are collective values or unofficial ‘rules’ of ideal conduct that guide behavior, and which are determined by local culture (Gibbs, 1965). These norms, which often differ for men and women, help shape *social scripts* which are a kind of cognitive ‘map’ of expectations that guides behavior in a given social interaction or social setting; in the context of sexual encounters these are called *sexual scripts* (Alksnis, Desmaris, & Wood, 1996; Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015; Plante, 2006; Simon & Gagnon, 1986).

Hooking up as a sexual script has become *normative* among college students. While the more traditional “date” is still common on college campuses, students are now as likely to participate in hookups as they are to go on a date, and are more likely to hookup than to form long-term relationships (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). Partly, this is due to the compatibility of the hookup *script* with the development trajectory of young adults, who in recent decades have experienced an elongated transition from adolescence to adulthood (Furstenberg, 2010). Many students want sex and romance, but are not yet ready for time- and emotion-greedy committed relationships, especially those that detract from success in school (Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009). In this context, hookups become attractive as a way to balance desires for intimacy, educational attainment, and individual freedom to

focus on self- and career development. Additionally, cultural and media images of college focus nearly exclusively on parties, alcohol consumption, and frequent casual sexual experimentation. As a result, college students who rarely hooked up due to time, money, and residential limitations often felt they were “missing out” on the true “college experience” (Allison & Risman, 2014).

Due to the normative status of hookups, many students believe that approval and endorsement of hooking up is more widespread than it is. Multiple studies found that students overestimated their peers’ comfort with hooking up and the frequency of specific hookup behaviors (Barriger & Valez-Blasini, 2013; Lambert, Kahn, & Apple, 2003; Reiber and Garcia 2010). This phenomenon has been referred to as *pluralistic ignorance*, which is “when, within a group of individuals, each person believes his or her private attitudes, beliefs, or judgments are discrepant from the norm displayed by the public behavior of others” (Lambert et al., 2003, 129). Pluralistic ignorance may lead students to feel they should approve of and engage in hookups in order to be a ‘normal’ college student.

While all students may feel pressure to hook up while in college given the cultural dominance of this sexual script, these pressures take unique forms for men and women who also must navigate gender-specific social norms for sexuality and relationships, including norms related to partner preferences and personal behavior. College men may be more likely than women to want long-term relationships because of norms related to partner preferences among women, which are related to broader norms related to relationships, gender and work that situate men as ‘breadwinners’; women tend to prefer older men and were less likely than men to be accepting of a partner who earned less, had less education, or who did not have a steady job (Raley & Bratter, 2004). Since men in college are not yet financially established and traditional-aged college men are restricted in their ability to date younger women (who are often underage), these norms restrict the opportunities for college men to form long-term

relationships. Instead they may turn to casual sexual encounters.

Gendered double standards for norms related to sexual conduct that value hookups for men but critique women who hook up also contribute to gendered patterns of hookup preference and participation. While sexual activity inside relationships, even of relatively short duration or limited commitment, is now subject to little social stigma, evaluations of sex outside of relationships remain more negative and more deeply gendered. The *sexual double standard* refers to judgements of lower status or value to the same sexual behavior when engaged in by women, compared to men. In its most acute form, women may experience censure for a sexual behavior that men are rewarded for.

Every qualitative study of hookup culture to date has found that students believed in the operation of sexual double standards whereby women's reputations are at risk for engaging in hookups, while men gain social status for the same behaviors (Bogle, 2008; Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009; Reid, Elliott, & Webber, 2011). Quantitative research tells a similar, if slightly more complex, tale. Allison and Risman (2013) found that students' modal response to "a lot" of hooking up was to lose respect for both men and women. However, a higher percent of men (24) than women (4) endorsed a traditional double standard whereby they lost respect for women who hooked up "a lot," but not men. And Kettrey (2016) found that a higher percent of women, compared to men, felt they had been judged for hooking up. Some found college men and women strategically used the vague nature of the term "hookup" to comply with gendered norms of behavior; men sometimes used the term to imply they engaged in frequent or 'heavy' sexual activity, while women used the term to suggest 'light' sexual behaviors such as kissing and making out (Bogle, 2008; Currier, 2013). Real or perceived censure for hookups creates a power disadvantage for women in heterosexual pairings, while expectations of and reward for frequent hookups for men may explain why men may forgo long-term relationships to increase

their number of hookups despite a greater desire for long-term relationships.

3 Problematic Gender Dynamics: Double Standards, Regret, and Sexual Assault

Gendered social norms and resulting power imbalances in heterosexual hookups generate several troubling patterns of hookup experiences and outcomes. The sexual double standard presents women who hook up as unworthy of respect and value. Perhaps as a result, sexual reciprocity is not an expectation in hookups, and women experience less sexual pleasure and sexual satisfaction in hookups than men do. Women report more orgasms and higher levels of satisfaction in relationships, compared to hookups, due to the greater frequency of sexual behaviors such as cunnilingus (Armstrong, Hamilton, & England, 2010). Expectations of sexual pleasure in hookups for men but not necessarily women also means that women sometimes engage in certain sexual behaviors just to please their partners. For instance, Kettrey (2016) found that women who reported they had been judged negatively for hookups had a greater likelihood of engaging in sexual behaviors only to please their partner, including agreeing to intercourse following verbal pressure. Sexual double standards and the lower sexual satisfaction of women in hookups combine to impact gender differences in how much hookups are enjoyed; while most students of both genders reported hooking up to be a positive experience (Snapp, Ryu, & Kerr, 2015), women enjoyed hookups less than men and were more likely to report their hookup experiences to be disappointing and disempowering. Women also regret hookups more often than men do, and report higher levels of emotional distress following hookups (Fielder & Carey, 2010a; Townsend & Wasserman, 2011).

Sexual assault is also a danger when students hook up. The popular media often make the connection between hookup 'culture' that encourages drinking during hookups and casual

sexual contact, and sexual assault on campus (Charen, 2016; Turner, 2016). High levels of intoxication have been reported during hookups, with one study finding that around half of all hookups involve binge drinking (defined as 4 or more drinks for women and 5 or more for men) during or right before the hookup, indicating drinking is an important part of the hookup 'script' (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015). Studies have found that students often attributed sexual assault during hookups to alcohol, stating that it impaired their judgement and put them at a higher risk of assault, and that students who had experienced sexual assault were more likely to drink weekly, or to have been drinking during a hookup that ended in assault (Flack et al., 2007, Kuperberg, Choi, & Padgett, 2016). Heterosexual, gay and bisexual male and female students were all found to be more likely to have experienced sexual assault while in college if they had participated in more hookups while in college (Ford & Soto-Marquez, 2016). One study found that 79% of campus sexual assaults occurred in the context of a hookup (Flack et al., 2007).

Studies of sexual assault among college students tend to focus on student's *total* risk of sexual assault throughout college, rather than sexual assault within encounters they describe as a 'hookup'. Most of these studies focus on women as victims, with few examining men victims. These studies generally find that women are at a higher risk of sexual assault than men, with studies variously finding 7–10% of women experiencing forcible rape while in college and 14–26% of college women experiencing either forcible rape, attempted rape, or rape while drunk, passed out, asleep or otherwise incapacitated (Armstrong & Budnick, 2015). Men have much lower rates of sexual assault while in college compared to women, but still reported substantially high rates; one study found 19.3% of college women and 11.5% of college men reported they had ever experienced either forcible rape, incapacitated rape, or attempted rape while in college (Kuperberg et al., 2016).

When examining sexual assault only during encounters that students call *hookups*, surprising findings emerged. While women reported a

higher rate of attempted rape during their last hookup (2.5% of women versus 1.4% of men) the rates of forced or incapacitated rape were statistically equal; 0.99% of women and 1.2% of men reported forced rape, and 2.0% of women and 1.7% of men reported rape while incapacitated (Kuperberg et al., 2016). While a little over 15% of men who were assaulted during hookups were assaulted by other men (compared to less than 2% of women being assaulted by other women), a full 84% of hookup rapes reported by men involved a woman as perpetrator (Kuperberg et al., 2016). Perhaps reflective of average physical upper body strength differences which can enable men to overpower women who are less inebriated and average gender differences in alcohol tolerance, men who were victims of assault generally drank more (7.2 drinks compared to 5.5 among female assault victims) and were about twice as likely as female assault victims to have used marijuana and five times more likely to have used other drugs during or before the assault (Ibid).

Men were also less likely to report in surveys that they had *ever* experienced sexual assault while in college if they had reported experiencing rape during their last hookup while in college, *even in the same survey*. 80% of women who reported sexual assault during their last hookup that took place while in college also reported they had *ever* been sexually assaulted while in college in a later question in the same survey, while the rate for men who were sexually assaulted during their last hookup was only 65% (Kuperberg et al., 2016). Discrepancies suggest estimates of total sexual assaults during college may undercount both women and men's rate of assault victimization, but that men's rates are especially underreported.

The lack of public and academic attention to men's experiences with rape within hookups or in general, along with the greater reporting discrepancy of men, reflect gendered expectations of assault and sexual consent. Gendered sexual scripts and norms suggest that men always want to have sex and would not say no to an opportunity for sex; acknowledging men as sexual assault victims violates strongly held beliefs about the nature of sexual relationships, which

position men as pursuer/initiator/assaulter in sexual encounters and women as the pursued/restrictor/assaulted (Bevan, 2003; Byers, 1996; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1996; O'Dougherty Wright, Norton & Matussek, 2010). These beliefs may increase the chances that men experience sexual assault in hookup encounters. One study found that women were more likely than men to attempt to verbally coerce their partner to have sex with them after feeling rejected sexually, but noted that women may not feel they are pressuring their partners to have sex because they assume that men are always eager and ready for sex (O'Dougherty Wright et al., 2010).

4 The Structure of Gender: Campus Sex Ratios and Partnering

A recent line of research on hookups has explored campus sex ratios (the ratio of men to women) and how they impact partnering. Women comprise a slight majority of undergraduate students on college and university campuses nationwide. The relative scarcity of men, and thus competition among heterosexual women for partners, may exacerbate power imbalances between men and women and foster relationships that mean that women may be less able to exercise their preferences compared to men. Empirical findings related to sex ratios have been mixed. Uecker and Regnerus (2010) find that on campuses with more women than men, women are more sexually active, go on fewer dates, and have more negative evaluations of college men and college relationships. Similarly, Adkins, England, Risman, and Ford (2015) find that the higher the ratio of women to men, the higher the number of hookups and the greater the total number of sexual partners among both men and women. As the sex ratio increased, the proportion of students agreeing that they would not have sex without love decreased. However, sex ratio was unrelated to the likelihood of vaginal intercourse on hookups. These findings, they argue, are largely compatible with a *dyadic power theory* holding that an imbalanced sex ratio shifts power to men and allows men's

preferences for sexual and romantic relationships to predominate. On the other hand, Kuperberg and Padgett (2015, 2016) found that campus sex ratios were not significantly related to men or women's overall probability of hooking up, dating, or forming long-term relationships, but on campuses that had a larger share of women, women were more likely to start dating other women.

5 Same-Sex and Transgender Hookups

While same-sex 'casual sex' among men is well-researched, research on same-sex 'hookups,' which more broadly includes sexual encounters that may only include kissing or other lower-order sexual activity, is very limited. The more-general literature on casual sex with same-sex partners usually is written from a public health or psychological perspective, focuses on encounters in which anal or oral sex occurs, and almost exclusively focuses on men, often those at high risk of transmitting HIV. Much less is known about same-sex hookups that don't include casual sex or hookups among women, and little research on college hookups includes or focuses on same-sex hookups.

Some limited recent research on hookups has focused on sexual orientation and participation in and desire for opportunities for hooking up, sexual and risk-taking activity during same-sex college hookups, and same-sex hookup partner meeting contexts (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015, 2016, 2017). This research found homosexual men were more likely to have hooked up in college compared to heterosexual or bisexual men, and same-sex hookups between men were more likely to include sex (broadly defined to include vaginal, anal, oral sex or any hand-genital stimulation) compared to their hookups with women; by contrast identifying as homosexual or bisexual did not impact the chance of a woman hooking up in college, and women's hookups with men or women were equally likely to include sex during the hookup (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015, 2016). Focusing on

unsafe sex practices most likely to lead to disease transmission, unsafe sex, defined as ‘anal or (for heterosexuals) vaginal sex with no condom,’ was more common in male-female hookups compared to male-male hookups; less than 6% of men’s hookups with men involved unsafe sex, versus 13% of men’s and 14% of women’s hookups with other-sex partners (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2017). Men hooking up with men were also considerably less likely to binge drink during hookups compared to men hooking up with women, or women hooking up with men or women (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2017). These differences may perhaps be attributed to safe sex public health campaigns aimed at men who have sex with men.

While homosexual men had higher rates of hooking up, they were not more likely than heterosexual men to wish they had opportunities for hooking up (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). A greater desire for casual sex among men in general may explain these findings; men who hook up with women are limited by the extent to which women will participate in hooking up, and since women are less likely to desire these encounters compared to men, whether for biological or norm-related reasons or both, heterosexual men will have fewer opportunities to hook up compared to homosexual men (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). While these arrangements are further complicated by the limited number of men willing to hook up with men in general, internet websites and apps may enable same-sex encounters despite this scarcity, explaining why almost 19% of college men hooking up with men and 6.4% of women hooking up with women used the internet to find their last hookup partner, compared to 1.2% of men and 2.2% of women hooking up with other-sex partners (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015).

Research on sexual orientation and hookups is complicated by discrepancies between student’s reported sexual orientation and the reported gender of their last hookup partner. Research on a large dataset of college students found around one out of every eight men whose last hookup was with a man and one out of four women whose last hookup was with a woman reported their sexual

orientation as “heterosexual” (Kuperberg and Walker, forthcoming). Some research has examined college women who self-identify as heterosexual but hook up with other women, usually in public settings such as fraternity parties; often these women described these activities as being intended to attract an audience of heterosexual men, but some women participated in these activities when no one else was present, indicating some women used these occasions to experiment with same-sex attractions (Hamilton, 2007). Researchers argue that the hookup scene is used by some women who are not heterosexual to experiment with and affirm non-heterosexual identities (Rupp et al., 2013). Other more limited research has examined instances in which men who identify as heterosexual engage in sexual activity with other men, such as fraternity hazing rituals, arguing that in some cases these activities serve a similar experimental purpose for men (Ward, 2015). Ongoing research examining students who identified as heterosexual but hooked up with same-sex students found they were more religious, more opposed to same-sex relationships, and more inebriated during the encounter than those who identified their sexual orientation as homosexual, with around one-third of such encounters among women occurring in public, often among freshman (Kuperberg and Walker, forthcoming).

Almost nothing is known about transgender hookups, in part because of their rarity. Like research on LGB individuals, research on transgender sexual practices tend to focus on casual sex rather than the more inclusive ‘hookup’ that can include encounters without sex, and often focuses on public health concerns related to potential HIV transmission, risk taking, and the use of Internet sources to meet anonymous partners (c.f. Benotsch et al., 2016; Clements-Nolle et al., 2001; Nemoto, Operario, Keatley, Han, & Soma, 2004). Even in the OCSLS, a survey of over 24,000 college students, only 25 self identified Male-to-Female Transgender students and only 11 Female-to-Male Transgender students appear (0.15% of the total dataset); with numbers so small, it is hard to conduct any systematic comparisons. One complication is that trans people

often don't want to self-identify as such, even in an anonymous survey (someone who is "female-to-male" may identify as "male"). In general, this population is hard to identify, but is of increasing visibility in contemporary society, and has much to contribute to understandings of gender, sexual practices, sexual orientation, and gender and sexual fluidity.

6 Race and Class Intersections

Also understudied is how social class and race/ethnicity, in interaction with gender, shape students' hookup attitudes and experiences. Working class college students hook up less frequently than their middle- and upper-middle class peers (Allison & Risman, 2014; Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Brimeyer & Smith, 2012; Owen et al., 2010). Armstrong and Hamilton's study of white college women living together in one dormitory found that hookups were considered more culturally foreign to working class women, who preferred committed relationships (2013). Perceiving college as an "experience" of self-development is a class-specific perspective that reflects both the opportunities and norms of those with greater resources. Further, Allison and Risman's (2014) interviews with students at a diverse urban commuter university found that the hooking up script assumes the class privilege to spend time and money socializing. Students who live with parents or who work while taking classes are less able to take part. Working class women who lived with or near family members were particularly discouraged from hookups due to gendered protectionist rationales (Allison, 2016).

Although little research has been done on racial/ethnic differences in hooking up, studies have suggested that students of color hook up less than white students (Allison & Risman, 2014; Bogle, 2008; Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016; McClintock, 2010; Spell, 2016). Patterns of hookup participation are both raced and gendered. Spell (2016) found that among women, White women reported double the number of hookup partners of women of color, while Asian

men reported less than half the number of hookups of other men. Another study examining participation rates by race similarly found that White women were more likely than women of any other race to have hooked up while in college, and that among men fewer racial differences occurred, except that Asian men had a much lower hooking up rate than other men (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). This was not due to differences in interest in hooking up; in fact, Asian men and both Black and Asian women were more likely to report they wished they had more opportunities to hookup on campus compared to their White counterparts.

Scholars have developed several explanations for why some groups, particularly Asian men and Black women, face barriers to hooking up. First, small group size and high visibility make hookups less anonymous for students of color than for white students. Women of color may be particularly affected by sexual double standards; as visible members of relatively rare groups on campus they may feel they are undergoing extra scrutiny, and therefore restrict their sexual activity more than White women (Kanter, 1977; Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016). Second, campus sex ratios are highly racialized. Given racially homophilous preferences, partners are less available to women of color than to White women (Allison & Risman, 2014; Spell 2016). Third, sexual stereotypes attributed to race and gender groups shape partner preferences (McClintock, 2010). Racial preferences among men may affect the lower hookup rate of women of color; White and Hispanic men tend to favor whiteness in sexual partners (Laumann, Ellingson, Mahay, Paik, & Youm, 2004). Differences among men may result from cultural stereotyping of Asian men as "desexualized" or cultural differences related to the acceptability of hooking up versus participating in other activities on campus (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016).

Critiques of Hookup Research and Future Directions. In the field of sociology, the topic of hookups has received a recent surge of research attention, in part because researchers have been analyzing the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS), a large dataset of over 24,000 college

students that was collected between 2005 and 2011 by Paula England, recent president of the *American Sociological Association*. Almost all recent quantitative research particularly examining encounters that college students call ‘hookups’ have relied on this dataset, and its large size and rich set of questions have allowed for many analyses that otherwise would be impossible to conduct. The dataset was collected in a somewhat unconventional manner; Dr. England contacted other professors that were within her personal network to ask them to distribute this survey in courses such as Introduction to Sociology, and other courses related to gender, sexuality, and public health. While this enabled the collection of a very large dataset with a high participation rate on a limited budget, as a result of selection into Dr. England’s professional networks, the dataset is heavily biased towards Very High Research Activity Universities (Sometimes also referred to as “R1s”), undersamples regions such as the South, and as a result of the course content, oversamples students who take sociology courses and courses with content related to gender, family and sexuality. Since women are disproportionately likely to take these courses, the percentage of research respondents who are women is much higher than the percentage of women attending these universities. Some of those courses may also have been taken by students more interested in sex and sexuality than typical students. The dataset also only includes one community college, which researchers often exclude from their analyses. While this dataset provides a large sample of students, it therefore can hardly be called representative of college students, and reports in research and in the popular media based on this survey often overlook this fact.

The OCSLS only asks about hookups in college and only surveys college students; it cannot speak to hookups among non-college students or among college students after they graduate. Some qualitative research suggests hookups occur after college in specific contexts related to partying (Bogle, 2008), but the nature of hookups outside of college is understudied. Research on sexual practices outside of college often

focuses on ‘casual sex’; as in, vaginal or sometimes also anal sexual intercourse. However, we know from the OCSLS that less than half of the encounters that students consider “hookups” actually involve vaginal or anal sex (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2015). Almost nothing is known about hookups outside of college in which sexual intercourse does not occur, and the extent and nature of these encounters. What about high school hookups, or hookups among those who do not attend college? How do sexual practices change when students graduate? Do they hook up less (probably) but still hookup as they move through young adulthood, and in what settings? Do they meet hookup partners in different places—perhaps utilizing the Internet to a greater degree after graduation? What about hookups among the middle-aged and the elderly, perhaps after divorce or widowhood?

Hookup research is often envisioned as an early stage in a linear process that occurs between people with little prior contact. Hookups may precede relationships, but no research has examined hookups that may occur with ‘exes’ or those who are in long term ‘friends with benefits’ arrangements. The OCSLS certainly hints at these possibilities. When asked about number of prior hookups with their last hookup partner prior to their last hookup, the average respondent answered 2.8, indicating they were almost on their 4th hookup with the same person. When asked how well students knew their partner only 13% indicated “not at all” and almost half described knowing their partner “moderately well” (24%) or “very well” (23%) indicating most had some pre-existing relationship with their partner. But while the survey asks if students hooked up with their last long-term relationship partner before that relationship, the section on hookups does not ask much about the nature of the prior relationship of hookup partners; were they friends beforehand or in a prior romantic relationship? Examining these issues may be a fruitful area of future research, especially when attempting to promote safer sex on campus; research indicates that students who report being more familiar with their partner are more likely to engage in unprotected sex during

encounters, leading those with pre-existing relationships with their partner an especially vulnerable group when it comes to sexual risk-taking (Kuperberg & Padgett, 2016).

The OCSLS also only asks students about total number of hookups that occurred while in college, and then a series of questions about what happened during the last hookup with a certain partner. The survey does not give any insight into the number of partners a student may be juggling concurrently, an area of inquiry with important public health implications. It also assumes that students' last hookup involved only one partner; hookups with multiple partners and the extent to which they occur are not measured. Speaking of public health implications, the survey asked about condom use during last hookup but did not ask about any other forms of birth control; while condom use is certainly crucial when it comes to sexually-transmitted infections, we do not know the extent to which individuals are using alternative forms of birth control when not using (or concurrent with) condoms; for instance, prior findings that those who know their partner more are less likely to use condoms may be a result of students moving to an alternative form of birth control after multiple hookups with the same partner.

Generally, research on hookups treats students of the same gender as a homogenous group. As noted above, limited research on racial differences in hookups suggests that examining the practices of race/ethnic minorities such as Asian Americans are deserving of closer attention. Hooking up research has also focused on the United States and the hookup 'culture' that exists on US campuses; research comparing the U.S. to sexual practices on campus in other countries may also prove to be a fruitful area of research. Additional research on hookups among students of different class backgrounds, and among homosexual and transgender students and other adults is certainly warranted.

Finally, the OCSLS has the advantage of being recently collected, but collection ended in 2011, and society is in a stage of rapid flux regarding gender, sexuality, and technology. Same-sex marriage was legalized nationally in the United States in 2015, after the OCSLS dataset was collected, and sexual identities continue to shift; a recent study found only 48% of 13–20 year olds identify as “completely heterosexual,” down from 65% among those aged 21–34 (Laughlin, 2016). Smart phones were just starting to become popular as data collection ended; Tinder, a popular hookup ‘app’ was not launched until a year later in 2012. The role of social media has also grown and shifted since data collection completed. How have these shifts impacted hooking up? To what extent will the legalization of same-sex marriage and growing acceptance of same-sex relationships change the types of hookups in which students engage? As transgender celebrities such as Caitlyn Jenner bring attention to gender transition as a viable option, will more students transition to another gender, and how will new understandings of gender impact hookups? Future research on hookups and gender has much to explore.

References

- Adkins, T., England, P., Risman, B. J., & Ford, J. (2015). Student bodies: Does the sex ratio matter for hooking up and having sex at college? *Social Currents*, 2, 144–162.
- Alksnis, C., Desmaris, S., & Wood, E. (1996). Gender differences in scripts for different types of dates. *Sex Roles*, 34, 321–336.
- Allison, Rachel. (2016). Family influences on hooking up and dating among emerging adults. *Sexuality and Culture*, 20, 446–463.
- Allison, R., & Risman, B. J. (2014). “It goes hand in hand with the parties”: Race, class, and residence in college student negotiations of hooking up. *Sociological Perspectives*, 57, 102–123.
- Allison, R., & Risman, B. J. (2013). A double standard for “hooking up”: How far have we come toward

- gender equality? *Social Science Research*, 42, 1191–1206.
- Armstrong, E. A., & Hamilton, L. T. (2013). Paying for the party. *How college maintains inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Armstrong, E., & Budnick, J. (2015). Sexual assault on campus. *Council on Contemporary Families Online Symposium on Intimate Partner Violence*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/assault-on-campus-brief-report/>. Accessed September, 2016.
- Armstrong, E. E., Hamilton, L., & England, P. (2010). Is hooking up bad for young women? *Contexts*, 9, 23–27.
- Bailey, J. M., Gaulin, S., Agyei, Y., & Gladue, B. A. (1994). Effects of gender and sexual orientation on evolutionarily relevant aspects of human mating psychology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 1081–1093.
- Barriger, M., & Velez-Blasini, C. (2013). Descriptive and injunctive social norm overestimation in hooking up and their role as predictors of hook-up activity in a college student sample. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 50, 84–94.
- Benotsch, E. G., Zimmerman, R. S., Cathers, L., Heck, T., McNulty, S., Pierce, J., Perrin, P. B., ... (2016). Use of the internet to meet sexual partners, sexual risk behavior, and mental health in transgender adults. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 45, 597–605.
- Bevan, J. L. (2003). Expectancy violation theory and sexual resistance in close, cross-sex relationships. *Communication Monographs*, 70, 68–82.
- Bradshaw, C., Kahn, A. S., & Saville, B. K. (2010). To hook up or date: Which gender benefits? *Sex Roles*, 62, 661–669.
- Brimeyer, T. M., & Smith, W. L. (2012). Religion, race, social class, and gender differences in dating and hooking up among college students. *Sociological Spectrum*, 32(5), 462–473.
- Bogle, K. (2008). *Hooking up: Sex, dating, and relationships on campus*. New York: New York University Press.
- Buss, D. M., & Schmitt, D. P. (1993). Sexual strategies theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating. *Psychological Review*, 100, 204–232.
- Byers, E. S. (1996). How well does the traditional sexual script explain sexual coercion? Review of a program of research. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, 8, 7–25.
- Charen, M. (2016). What the Stanford rape case reveals: Hook-up culture is the foundation of our sexual-assault problem. *National Review*, June 9.
- Clements-Nolle, K., Marx, R., Guzman, R., & Katz, M. (2001). HIV prevalence, risk behaviors, health care use, and mental health status of transgender persons: Implications for public health intervention. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91, 915–921.
- Currier, D. (2013). Strategic ambiguity: Protecting emphasized femininity and hegemonic masculinity in the hookup culture. *Gender & Society*, 27, 704–727.
- England, P., & Thomas, R. J. (2006). The decline of the date and the rise of the college hookup. In A. Skolnick & J. Skolnick (Eds.), *The family in transition* (14th ed., pp. 151–162). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Fielder, R. L., & Carey, M. P. (2010a). Predictors and consequences of sexual “hookups” among college students: A short-term prospective study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39, 1105–1119.
- Fielder, R. L., & Carey, M. P. (2010b). Prevalence and characteristics of sexual hookups among first-semester female college students. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 36, 346–359.
- Flack, W. F., Daubman, K. A., Caron, M. L., Asadorian, J. A., D’Aureli, N. R., Gigliotti, S. N., et al. (2007). Risk factors and consequences of unwanted sex among university students Hooking up, alcohol, and stress response. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22, 139–157.
- Ford, J., & Soto-Marquez, J. G. (2016). Sexual assault victimization among straight, gay/lesbian, and bisexual college students. *Violence and gender*, 3(2), 107–115.
- Furstenberg, F. F. (2010). On a new schedule: Transitions to adulthood and family change. *The future of children*, 20(1), 67–87.
- Garcia, J. R., & Reiber, C. (2008). Hook-up behavior: A biopsychosocial perspective. *Journal of Social, Evolutionary, and Cultural Psychology*, 2(4), 192–208.
- Garcia, J. R., Reiber, C., Massey, S. G., & Merriwether, A. M. (2012). Sexual hookup culture: A review. *Review of General Psychology*, 16, 161–176.
- Gibbs, J. P. (1965). Norms: The problem of definition and classification. *American Journal of Sociology*, 70, 586–594.
- Hamilton, L. (2007). Trading on heterosexuality: College women’s gender strategies and homophobia. *Gender & Society*, 21, 145–172.
- Hamilton, L., & Armstrong, E. A. (2009). Gendered sexuality in young adulthood: Double binds and flawed options. *Gender & Society*, 23, 589–616.
- Heldman, C., & Wade, L. (2010). Hook-up culture: Setting a new research agenda. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 7, 323–333.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kettrey, H. H. (2016). What’s gender got to do with it? Sexual double standards and power in heterosexual

- college hookups. *Journal of Sex Research*, 57, 754–765.
- Kuperberg, A., & Padgett, J. E. (2015). Dating and hooking up in college: Meeting contexts, sex, and variation by gender, partner's gender and class standing. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 52, 517–531.
- Kuperberg, A., & Padgett, J. E. (2016). The role of culture in explaining college student's selection into hooking up, dating and forming long-term romantic relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 33, 1070–1098.
- Kuperberg, A., & Padgett, J. E. (2017). Partner meeting contexts and risky behavior in college students' other-sex and same-sex hookups. *Journal of Sex Research*, 54(1), 55–72.
- Kuperberg, A. & Walker, A. M. (forthcoming). Heterosexual college students who hookup with same-sex partners. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*.
- Kuperberg, A., Choi, C. C., & Padgett, J. E. (2016). Male rape in college. In *Presented at the Southern Sociological Society Annual Conference*, Atlanta GA.
- LaBrie, J. W., Hummer, J. F., Ghaidarov, T. M., Lac, A., & Kenney, S. R. (2014). Hooking up in the college context: The event-level effects of alcohol use and partner familiarity on hookup behaviors and contentment. *Journal of Sex Research*, 51, 62–73.
- Lambert, T. A., Kahn, A. S., & Apple, K. J. (2003). Pluralistic ignorance and hooking up. *Journal of Sex Research*, 40, 129–133.
- Laughlin, S. (2016). Gen z goes beyond gender binaries in new innovation group data. *Journal of Walter Thompson Intelligence*. <https://www.jwtintelligence.com/2016/03/gen-z-goes-beyond-gender-binaries-in-new-innovation-group-data/>. Retrieved October, 2016.
- Laumann, E. O., Ellingson, S., Mahay, J., Paik, A., & Youm, Y. (2004). *The sexual organization of the city*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McClintock, E. A. (2010). When does race matter? Race, sex, and dating at an elite university. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 72, 45–72.
- Monto, M. A., & Carey, A. G. (2014). A new standard of sexual behavior? Are claims associated with the "hookup culture" supported by general social survey data? *The Journal of Sex Research*, 51, 605–615.
- Nemoto, T., Operario, D., Keatley, J., Han, L., & Soma, T. (2004). HIV risk behaviors among male-to-female transgender persons of color in san francisco. *American Journal of Public Health*, 94, 1193–1199.
- O'Dougherty Wright, M., Norton, D. L., & Mausek, J. A. (2010). Predicting verbal coercion following sexual refusal during a hookup: Diverging gender patterns. *Sex Roles*, 62, 647–660.
- Owen, J. J., Fincham, F. D., & Moore, J. (2011). Short-term prospective study of hooking up among college students. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 40, 331–341.
- Owen, J. J., Rhoades, G. K., Stanley, S. M., & Fincham, F. D. (2010). 'Hooking up' among college students: Demographic and psychosocial correlates. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39, 653–663.
- O'Sullivan, L. F., & Byers, E. S. (1996). Gender differences in responses to discrepancies in desired level of sexual intimacy. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, 8, 49–67.
- Paul, E. L., Brian, M., & Hayes, A. (2000). "Hookups": Characteristics and correlates of college students' spontaneous and anonymous sexual experiences. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 37, 76–88.
- Plante, R. F. (2006). *Sexualities in context*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Reiber, C., & Garcia, J. R. (2010). Hooking up: Gender differences, evolution, and pluralistic ignorance. *Evolutionary Psychology*, 8, 390–404.
- Reid, J. A., Elliott, S., & Webber, G. R. (2011). Casual hookups to formal dates: Refining the boundaries of the sexual double standard. *Gender & Society*, 25, 545–568.
- Rhoades, G. K., & Stanley, S. M. (2014). Before 'I Do': What do premarital experiences have to do with marital quality among today's young adults? *The National Marriage Project Working Paper*.
- Rupp, L. J., Taylor, V., Regev-Messalem, S., Fogarty, A. C. K., & England, P. (2013). Queer women in the hookup scene: Beyond the closet? *Gender & Society*, 28, 212–235.
- Schmitt, D. P., Shackelford, T. K., & Buss, D. M. (2001). Are men really more 'oriented' toward short-term mating than women? A critical review of theory and research. *Psychology, Evolution & Gender*, 3, 211–239.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. (1986). Sexual scripts: Permanence and change. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 15, 97–120.

- Snapp, S., Ryu, E., & Kerr, J. (2015). The upside to hooking up: College students' positive hookup experiences. *International Journal of Sexual Health, 27*, 43–56.
- Spell, S. A. (2016). Not just black and white: How race/ethnicity and gender intersect in hookup culture. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*.
- Raley, R. K., & Bratter, J. (2004). Not even if you were the last person on earth! How marital search constraints affect the likelihood of marriage. *Journal of Family Issues, 25*(2), 167–181.
- Townsend, J. M., & Wasserman, T. H. (2011). Sexual hookups among college students: Sex differences in emotional reactions. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 40*, 1173–1181.
- Turner, J. (2016). Rape culture and hookup Culture are two sides of the same coin. *The Federalist*, June 28.
- Uecker, J. E., & Regnerus, M. D. (2010). Bare markets: Campus sex ratios, romantic relationships, and sexual behavior. *The Sociological Quarterly, 51*, 408–435.
- Ward, J. (2015). *Not gay: Sex between straight white men*. New York: New York University Press.

Arielle Kuperberg Ph.D., is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her research examines the sociology and demography of romantic and sexual relationships, including college hookups, dates, romantic relationships, cohabitation, marriage and divorce. She also researches intersections of gender, work, education, and family; and the impact of student loans on the transition to adulthood. Her research has been published in leading journals including *Social Forces*, *Journal of Sex Research*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, and *Gender & Society*. She has a Ph.D. in sociology and demography from the University of Pennsylvania.

Rachel Allison is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and affiliate of Gender Studies at Mississippi State University. She has studied college hookup culture and the gender politics of U.S. women's professional soccer. Her book, *Kicking Center: Gender and the Selling of Women's Professional Soccer*, is forthcoming in 2018 with Rutgers University Press.



Pepper Schwartz and Nicholas Velotta

Abstract

Sexuality continues to have gendered scripts and cultural directives even towards the middle and last quartile of men and women's lives. This article looks at how these scripts create different meanings and consequences for men and women's sexual self-definition, behaviors, and opportunities. We also help direct future research on men and women post-50 as this population has been under-researched and often overlooked by studies seeking to better understand human sexuality. Studies that do exist generally emphasize the importance of biology and age on sexual activity, too readily neglecting social factors such as gender and presence of an intimate partner. We provide a review of the current knowledge regarding (1) how women and men's sexuality functions in later life (e.g. frequency of sexual encounters, sexual satisfaction, and the impact of different kinds of pairings), (2) major sex-specific physical transitions that impact sexuality in older populations, and (3) psychosocial factors that influence sexual behavior and

attitudes in both heterosexual and LGB individuals. We further analyze gender as a social construct and discuss cultural beliefs about aging as they impact sexuality. We note the paucity of data on older LGB and minority groups and discuss issues that affect these groups' sexual realities.

1 Introduction

It is important to understand the cultural context of gendered sexuality among older men and women in order to interpret their sexual beliefs and practices in the third and perhaps fourth quartile of their lives. In order to understand the gendered context of sexuality and aging, we review what scholars know about important aspects of sexual functioning. That said, however, we are missing key information in the research literature. We do not have adequate data on how transsexual men and women experience their sexual lives at older ages, nor do we have that kind of information on bisexual men and women, for example. Given these and other limitations, we will include a reasonably thorough review of the literature in order to shed light on how gender, aging, and sexuality intersect. We need to admit, however, that much of what we do have is thin, allowing some glimpses, but most in soft focus rather than empirical depth. The preponderance of research on sexuality describes heterosexual men

P. Schwartz (✉) · N. Velotta
University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA
e-mail: pepperschwartz@hotmail.com

N. Velotta
e-mail: ndvelotta@icloud.com

and women of reproductive age, as well as gay men and sexually active singles—the latter mostly because of public health research on sexually transmitted diseases (Das, Waite, & Laumann, 2012). Besides a general prissiness about sex among men and women 50 and older (think grandmother and her lover), there seems to be less interest in older men's and women's sexual lives in general, even though people are living longer, healthier lives, and are committed to maintaining all the things about their youth that they prized, including sex (Fisher, Anderson, Chapagain, Montenegro, Smoot, & Takalkar, 2010). The fervent desire of Boomers to stay youthful and sexually active (Schwartz, Diefendorf, & McGlynn-Wright, 2014) has been observed but not well studied, and this is especially true for those in the oldest boomer population who are now into their 70s (Hensel & Fortenberry, 2014). Even research that does include older people in their sample rarely pays more than passing attention to people over 70 and rarely focuses on how social factors affect men and women in different ways. In fact more often than not, all people over 70 are lumped into one category of behavior (see Fisher et al., 2010) and rarely through a gendered lens. Logically we know that 80 year olds are likely to have more problems with physical impairment and will be more likely to be single, and that older women's lives will change because of gender ratios affected by differential rates of male and female mortality, but there is little attention to these major differences.

On the bright side, there is quite a bit of scholarship on gendered patterns of heterosexual sexual behavior of men and women in their 50s, as well as qualitative data on the intra-psychic impact of various kinds of sexual patterns. Quite a few studies observe correlations between sexual states, traits, and overall sexual satisfaction. Many studies have compared the emotional outcomes for men and women under different kinds of committed and uncommitted relationships.

The research is still uneven, however, for men and for women. And much of it is weighted heavily on frequencies and acts and not much at all about the felt experience of men and women

dealing with cultural perspectives affecting their own sexual satisfactions or dissatisfactions, desire, or quality of relationships. Some attention is paid to certain lifecycle transitions, such as menopause, but not much recognition, that this stage in women's lives is culturally as well as physiologically defined.

As social science researchers we resist a medicalized interpretation of older men's and women's sexuality but we do not ignore the biological changes that affect older populations. We understand that these changes have an impact on men's and women's psychological and physical happiness and health. Nonetheless, in most cases, we choose cultural explanations for behavior over biological ones since, as social constructionists, we believe evidence points to the evolution of sexual attitudes and behaviors within the context of cultural, class, and gender socialization. Men and women adopt their sense of the possible from their bodies, but also what society tells them about their bodies, and what life experience teaches them about permissible or tabooed acts and thoughts. In this way gender as a social construct has crafted binary visions of what men and women should and do experience later in life. Gender values are developed within hegemonic beliefs about men versus women (e.g. men are more socially permitted to initiate sexual contact) while our individual material conditions, our bodies and physiology, display these cultural ideologies (see Risman, 2016 for more discussion on gender as a social structure). Thus, while we describe current population-based data, we believe we only describe what men and women are doing now as opposed to what the same given ages might mean for the future with the possible spread of new social ideologies.

While age is not only a state of mind, it is at least partially just that. As attitudes about aging change and as more medical innovation increases, not only will the ability to be sexually active longer be influenced, but the expectation that sex can be fulfilling late in life will also be influenced. We describe the present situation in this paper but we caution the reader to remember that

these behaviors and values are fluid in a rapidly changing culture.

2 Sexuality and Aging: The Numbers

The elderly are commonly categorized as either asexual due to a waning libido, or, if not asexual by psychological disposition, older men and women are assumed to be physically incapable of intense desire or of frequently engaging in sexual behaviors. We think it is fair to say that a common perception is that it is “normal” for older men and women to have a sex-free existence. The fact of the matter is that these stigmatic tropes are, to say the least, misleading. In this section we will show evidence to the contrary and examine what intimate relationships look like later in the life cycle.

2.1 Partnerships Later in Life

As we age, our pool of available partners becomes smaller. We are more likely to have had partners and potential mates become impaired or die. Partnering has also been influenced by the fact that women live longer and healthier lifespans than most men, leading to more widows than widowers among heterosexual couples. Not only are women the majority of the aging demographic, more men mate with younger females far later in life (England & McClintock, 2009), and heterosexual men are more likely than women to have a sexual partner at most ages (Fisher et al., 2010; Lindau & Gavrilova, 2010). This lopsided sex ratio is one factor leading to an increasingly single, older female population which can influence the formation of atypical statuses later in life (for example, staying “unattached” or choosing atypical characteristics in a partner, or choosing cohabitation over marriage). Demographic realities affect female sexuality in old age in a myriad of ways, including the fact that older men are more likely than older women to report continued sexual activity

as a very important aspect of life satisfaction (Fisher et al., 2010).

Research has pointed out that women generally show greater desire for sexual contact while partnered (Lindau & Gavrilova, 2010). The presence of a partner is not the only important influence on female sexuality later in life but it seems to be a strong predictor of whether a female remains sexually active. When we look at women’s sexual interest only among women who have partners, it is more similar to men’s values about the importance of staying sexually active (Delamater & Koepsel, 2015; Delamater & Sill, 2005; Fisher et al., 2010; Lindau & Gavrilova, 2010). In fact, being paired enhances sexual desire for both genders. The majority of sexual activity for older men and women takes place in coupled relationships and so is predictive about how much sex either men or women have as they age (Gagnon, Giami, Michaels, & De Colomby, 2001). The *type* of relationship, however, influences sexual behavior. We will focus our discussion on the most common of pairings: marriage and cohabitation in same sex and opposite sex relationships.

Marriage. Married men and women often comment enviously about the sexual lives of singles, which they assume are much more frequent than their own sex lives. Envy is clearly not necessary seeing as most data consistently contradict such claims. The facts are incontrovertible: while sex among singles has its advantages, the stable presence of a sexually accessible mate who is dedicated to the relationship has an undeniably positive affect on sexual frequency and satisfaction. Lindau and Gavrilova (2010) found that both married men and women report higher frequencies of sexual activity than do their single peers. Though sexual activity in marriage generally declines with age, 52% of couples in the AARP *Survey of Midlife and Older Adults* reported that they are still satisfied with their sex life even though almost three quarters of couples had been together 10 years or more (Fisher et al., 2010). Marriage may be especially vital for women’s sexual frequencies in their very late years. In one study ($n = 1216$) focusing on the very old, married women were 24 times more likely to be sexually

active than their unmarried equivalents (Matthias, Lubben, Atchison, & Schweitzer, 1997).

This is not to say that marriage equates to a better sex life. Marital (and human) happiness is cyclical and sex suffers under stress conditions. But overall, marriage and sexual satisfaction are correlated. Data from the National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project (NSHAP), shows that spousal support as well as reported relationship happiness is positively associated with greater sexual frequency and sexual satisfaction (McFarland, Uecker, & Regnerus, 2011). In essence, if a marriage is emotionally supportive for both partners, sex is likely to be perceived positively by both men and women.

Many older couples, however, may have a demanding amount of time to consider and re-consider their relationship satisfaction. The increase in both men's and women's projected life span seems to have the effect of revising an individual's estimation of when midlife occurs and whether or not they might want to stay in their marriage for the next "half" or quartile of their life. Increasing relationship duration can elevate the risk of potential problems arising between partners. Corrosive emotions that have built up over the years can fray intimate bonds (Gottman, Coan, Carrere, & Swanson, 1998; Gottman & Levenson, 2000). Relationship issues in older couples will affect their sexual activity; unsatisfying marital relationships have been associated with significant increases in psychological distress and a serious decrease in sexual functioning (Trudel, Villeneuve, Prévile, Boyer, & Fréchette, 2010). Additionally, a significant number of married couples who have been together for extended periods of their life begin to experience boredom in the bedroom and decreased desire for sexual activity (Call, Sprecher, & Schwartz, 1995). A number of studies find that duration of marriage negatively relates to sexual frequency (Marsiglio & Donnelly, 1991). Overall studies emphasize the negative relationship between age and sexual activity (rather than marital duration) as the driving factor for decreases in marital sexual frequencies, but duration is, nonetheless, important.

The impact, however, is gendered. Northrup, Schwartz, and Witte (2012) found that men reported sex as a main cause for relationship stress almost two times as much as women. The authors also observed that 60% of men versus 30% of women indicated that they were not having frequent enough sex (Northrup, Schwartz, & Witte, 2012). Discrepancies in sexual desire between spouses at any age has been correlated with lower sexual satisfaction and relationship satisfaction. It is also the most common complaint that brings couples to sex therapists (Willoughby, Farero, & Busby, 2014).

Another issue, this one more specific to older partners, comes in the form of stigma. Sexuality later in life can be seen as unnatural or abnormal and this belief can help lead to infrequent or absent sexual activity in older couples. Some older men and women internalize ageist attitudes that our youth-centric culture exaggerates. Women in particular, subjected to both ageist and sexist beliefs, may feel that sex after 60 or 70 is "unseemly" or "irrelevant" and a drop in sexual interest may be seen as a natural consequence of getting older. Indeed, some feminist approaches to sexual disinterest in women oppose the idea of any medical remediation for this condition (Tiefer, 2004). Many older men, while still being positive about life long sexuality, see declining erectile functioning as a loss in masculinity and shy away from sex out of embarrassment and humiliation. Women, experiencing side effects of menopause, can be convinced that this also means the end of their interest in sex. (We discuss this later in more depth.) These factors and cultural directives about sexuality in later life can lead partners to more readily accept sexual decline as a natural part of life (Weeks, 2002).

Many factors, including sexual issues, are involved with the increase in divorce in older couples. Utilizing multiple data sets (The American Community Survey, 2010, and the U. S. Vital Statistics Report, 1990), Brown and Lin (2012) found the rate of divorce between 1990 and 2010 had *doubled* for middle-aged and older adults—one in four divorces in 2010

occurred within people above 50 years old. Assuming their observed trends hold steady, the number of expected divorces by 2030 is anticipated to rise by yet another third in this population (Brown & Lin, 2012). At first, divorce seems to lower sexual activity and satisfaction (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983). Fisher et al. (2010) found that only 4% of divorced respondents stated they were currently dating and it can be assumed that even fewer heterosexual women than men are able to reenter the dating pool due to lack of available partners. But those that do reenter the dating and mating marketplace and find sexual partners can increase their sexual satisfaction. When examining divorcees' and separated partners' current sexual satisfactions, Fisher et al. (2010) also found 16% of them reported that present sexual satisfaction was better than it was 10 years ago—compared to 13% that reported the opposite. Even more consequential, Wade and DeLamater (2002) found that the dissolution of a relationship within the past year correlated with an increase in sexual frequency. Perhaps viral stories of such changes in mid and late life sexuality encourage people in a conflicted or sexually dead relationship to leave their partner.

LGB marriages. Though research on LGB marriages is relatively new given the recent legalization of gay marriage, some early research findings are worth mentioning. In his review of data collected by the *Caring and Aging with Pride Project* which surveyed LGB adults 50 years of age and older between 2010 and 2011, Williams (2012) recorded some significant patterns. First, greater health and life satisfaction was seen in married populations when compared against unmarried LGB members. Secondly, the emotional, social, and financial benefits of having a spouse may also help to safeguard against detrimental health effects caused by stress in the aging LGB community. Legal commitment seems to help buffer couples from outside pressures and stress, which is presumed to increase the likelihood of a satisfying sex life in most couples.

Cohabitation. The rise of divorce, and the re-coupling of people post midlife, has made

alternatives to marriage more popular late in life. Cohabitation no longer has the stigma it had in the past and thus older couples who may have financial and other considerations that make marriage less attractive, now have an alternative way to live together. Older couples make up a significant sector of growth in cohabitating individuals—the number of partners over the age of 50 cohabiting has more than tripled since 2000 (Brown, Bulanda, & Lee, 2012). In the past it has been reported that cohabiters do not have as much sex or as much relationship satisfaction as married couples (Waite & Gallagher, 2000), however this may not be the case anymore and in any case, may not apply to seniors. Current research on cohabitation across age groups indicates that emotional satisfaction, relationship satisfaction, psychological well-being, pleasure, time spent with one's partner, and the number of disagreements seem to be about equivalent to or better than those levels found in married samples (Brown & Kawamura, 2010; King & Scott, 2005; Musick & Bumpass, 2012). Recent data suggest that the dynamics experienced within cohabitating partnerships can be just as positive as those experienced within a marriage. Fisher et al. (2010) found that older men and women who are partnered and unmarried experience higher sexual frequencies and greater sexual satisfaction ratings.

Younger couples now use cohabitation as a step-up in dating or as a "trial marriage," however older adults who cohabit are much less likely to have their coupling culminate in marriage (Brown, Bulanda, & Lee, 2012). Older cohabiters use this form of relationship as an alternative to marriage, many have been married previously and gone through divorce (Manning & Brown, 2011), and given the demographic shifts later in life, it may not come as a surprise that a woman's probability of post-marital cohabitation increases the more time that she has spent divorced (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2002). This pattern was not as strong in divorced African American women as it was in Hispanic and Caucasian women, perhaps more so due to the lack of eligible Black males in the dating pool. With high incarceration rates, increased

socioeconomic disadvantages, and more serious health risks, older African American males are a much smaller demographic (Schwartz, Dieffendorf, & McGlynn-Wright, 2014).

Alongside the rise of cohabitation, older generations show an increase in committed partners who retain their own separate living spaces, a relationship dynamic known as *living apart together* (LAT). Estimating the prevalence of LATs in the United States is difficult due to the lack of reliable data and trouble operationalizing such arrangements in surveys, however it seems clear that these partnerships are on the incline (Benson & Coleman, 2016). Reasons that older couples may opt for this nontraditional dynamic include financial autonomy, family living arrangements, relocation costs, and satisfaction with having alone time. LATs may be associated with a decline in sexual activity (Manning & Brown, 2011), possibly due to the lowered opportunity to initiate sex with your partner, but we hesitate to draw conclusions.

LG cohabitation. For decades, cohabitation was the highest form of commitment legally allowed to gay couples. With the legalization of same-sex marriage, the meaning of cohabitation is likely to see some change, so we emphasize the temporal context of current data on lesbian and gay cohabitation. Recent estimates calculate that one in eight older cohabiters are in same-sex relationships, they are evenly split between lesbian and gay couples, and are much more likely to be Caucasian than are heterosexual cohabiters (Manning & Brown, 2015). Another difference between same-sex and opposite-sex cohabiters is that the former tend to have greater financial and educational status than their heterosexual comparison (Manning & Brown, 2015). The fact that cohabitation has been a prevalent relationship form in the LG community much longer than the general population most likely explains the advantages they have accumulated over heterosexual cohabiters. Disadvantages, however, include the fact that same-sex couples still face institutional discrimination and stigma around the world as well as in the United States. Their sexual lives and intimate relationships are threatened by a multitude of psychosocial factors we will discuss later in this chapter.

Averett, Yoon, and Jenkins (2012) found that older lesbians focus on the stability and companionate qualities of a partnership, deemphasizing the role of sexuality within the relationship. Interestingly, in a previous analysis, the same researchers found that half of the lesbians in their sample ($n = 456$) reported being married to a man at some point in their life (Averett, Yoon, & Jenkins, 2011). This past experience has been noted by other researchers but it is unclear how past heterosexual experience might affect current same-sex sexual behavior. It may be the case that past heterosexual frequencies were based on male sexual preferences and male sexual initiation and not on what any particular woman might have seen as ideal. It may also be the case that many women who have not had lesbian desires earlier in life, but who are able to sexualize who they love, feel more free at older ages to allow themselves to love and sexualize other women. How this all affects sexual frequency is not clear. But there may also be some demographic encouragement for women becoming interested in other women at older ages since the sex ratio of men to women changes rather drastically in the 70s and later. Older women are more likely to be in a world where the majority of their contacts will be with other women and therefore the opportunity of falling in love with another woman increases. Averett and colleagues found that three in five respondents were currently in some form of relationship with another woman (emotionally, physically, and/or sexually) with an average duration of 15.4 years. Over 90% of these women labeled the relationship as a “life-time partnership” (Averett et al., 2011).

Seeing that lesbians, like all women in the studies we’ve read, value the companionate aspects of their living situations, it is unsurprising that their sexual satisfaction increases while partnered. Relationship satisfaction is positively associated with greater arousability, sexual pleasure, sexual satisfaction, and sexual functioning in lesbian pairings (Tracy & Junginger, 2007). One relationship factor that is negatively associated with sexual desire, arousability, and overall sexual satisfaction was relationship duration (Tracy & Junginger, 2007). Habituation affects all kinds of couples, but it is possible that

there might be somewhat less of a duration effect in older lesbian relationships that do not prioritize sexual activity.

While it seems that being partnered is more important culturally and perhaps historically for women, it is true that gay males also receive substantial benefits from being partnered. Studying older gay men in Australia ($n = 1179$), Lyons, Pitts, and Grierson (2013) found that about half of all men aged 40 and up were in an ongoing relationship, and differentiating by age brackets showed little variance. Of those in a relationship, about half of them defined their relationship as non-monogamous. This percent of non-monogamous gay couples has been replicated in other research (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Northrup, Schwartz, & Witte, 2012) and is not present in heterosexual or lesbian relationships. It does not seem to have much to do with age or with sexual frequency in the relationship. In fact, in their 60-year-old-and-up bracket, Lyons et al. (2013) found only 35% of men reported no sex in the past four weeks while 32% reported sex one to two times in the past month, 21% reported six to ten times, and 12% reported more than ten times. Even with such high ratios, the majority of men still wanted more frequent sex and, it seems, sex outside the relationship.

Gay male participants' relationship to their most recent sexual partner was studied by Rosenberger et al. (2011). 34.5% of gay men's most recent partner (across age groups) was a new acquaintance. About 30% of 60-plus year olds had their most recent encounter with a boyfriend, significant other, or someone they were dating (casually or formally)—the percentage was slightly higher for 50–59-year-olds. The percentage of those who had sex with a spouse or domestic partner was 7.7% for 50–59 year olds and 6.3% for the oldest bracket. We assume the lower number of men having their last experience with a spouse or domestic partner reflects the non-monogamous contract of many gay couples and that only about half of gay men report being partnered who are over 40 years of age (Lyons et al., 2013).

2.1.1 All Older Intimate Relationships

So what makes sex in a long lasting partnership thrive? Gillespie's (2016) survey of older coupled respondents ($n = 9164$) showed most men's and women's sexual patterns and satisfaction ratings fit into two categories of relationships: 43.5% fell within the low frequency with low satisfaction category (abbreviated LL), while 34.5% were categorized as having high frequency with high satisfaction (abbreviated HH). In terms of communication styles, HH pairings were much more open about sexual desires and needs from their partner (e.g. asking for something specific in bed, inquiring for feedback on sexual performance, and texting their mate sexual content to tease them). Other areas HH partners outshined their LL counterparts were in mood setting and romantic gestures before and during sex. Some actions included lighting candles, playing music, saying "I love you," passionate kissing during sex, giving oral sex, and incorporating anal play. HH couples incorporated significantly more variety into their sexual acts, which is associated with higher sexual satisfaction (Kleinplatz et al., 2009). Northrup, Schwartz, and Witte (2012) found that 30% of men wanted more diversity in the bedroom while 19% of women also wished for less predictability. Of those most sexually satisfied, researchers found 24% incorporate role playing into their sex lives (Northrup, Schwartz, & Witte, 2012).

Heterosexual Singles. Being single does not mean that individuals are necessarily sexually unsatisfied, far from it; but it does seem they need to be dating in order to have a fulfilling sex life. Of those 45 and older, only 10% who report not dating say they are sexually satisfied—88% haven't had sex in the past 6 months (Fisher et al., 2010). As mentioned earlier, dating individuals generally have more sex than married couples—48% of singles who continue dating have sex at least once a week compared to 36% of married individuals (Fisher et al., 2010). 60% of dating older singles report satisfaction with their sex life, compared to 52% of married respondents (Fisher et al., 2010). We speculate that this difference is probably a result of the sexual novelty and higher frequencies present in

newer sexual relationships. It may also be that if high sexual satisfaction is not present, dating relationships among older men and women are terminated more quickly than if the same circumstances were present in a marriage.

This picture of sexual satisfaction outside of a committed relationship is likely to decrease with age—especially for women who cannot find a partner. Surprisingly, however, some research indicates that having an orgasm is more likely for women who are having sexual intercourse with a partner they do not consider a long-term mate (e.g. a man they are dating or casually seeing) (Schick et al., 2010). Schwartz, Diefendorf, and McGlynn-Wright (2014) suggest that this increased likelihood of orgasm with a casual partner could indicate that women who are dating may be the recipient of more romantic gestures and benefit from the freshness of new relationships or it could mean that they are more able to ask for what they want—without considering the needs of a long-term partner—and therefore more easily have an orgasm because they are likely to be orgasm focused rather than relationship focused. They also speculate that older women could be more confident in their sexual needs, enabling them to be direct about asking their partner to perform certain acts that will enhance their sexual experience. What is interesting is that this is a far different picture from the one painted in studies of college age women hooking up (Armstrong, England, & Fogarty, 2012). Young women in England's and other researchers' studies on casual sex show a big orgasm gap between men and women in casual sexual pairings, with women's orgasms being much rarer than men's. The interpretation has been that they enjoy sex less and feel more inhibited when there is no relationship or an uncertain bond. It may be that older women are able to shuck the normative judgments and taboos that bedevil younger women and are able to enjoy sex more despite the casual nature of the sexual encounter.

Of course all sex is not relational. Even if single men and women decide to forgo relationships later in life they can still masturbate. Those who do not wish to enter the dating pool again but still desire sexual stimulation may be completely satisfied using sexual devices. The

marketplace for various masturbatory aids is vast and is utilized by both individuals and coupled partners. The occasional solo session with a sex toy may be enough for many older adults experiencing the dilemma of not wanting to date but still seeking exciting new sexual stimulation. A caution here however: while women far outnumber men as users of vibrators and other sexual aids, the fact is that there are fewer women than men who masturbate, and fewer women over 50 use vibrators than women in their twenties and thirties (Northrup, Schwartz, & Witte, 2012). This seems to indicate that older women still feel that masturbation is “sinful” or wrong or “pitiful” (because a woman ought to be able to have an orgasm with another person and failing that, is a disappointment). Self-pleasuring, it seems, is still more culturally stigmatized for women than for men—and this is especially true for older women.

LGB Singles. Studies like Rosenberger et al.'s (2011) indicate that there are high rates of non-committed sex within the gay community. What is unexpected is that the percent of men 60 years of age and older who had their last sexual event in the past week (62.9%) is greater than all age brackets sampled besides 40–49 year olds (63%). Obviously, age is not a bar to sexual participation for gay men. This is partially a result of a sub-cultural permission for relatively impersonal sex and partially a difference in cultural permissions for all men.

Nonetheless, as we have indicated previously, relationship quality matters for men as well as women. The lowest rates of reported orgasm during sexual events were found in the 60-year-old-and-up bracket, but these men were significantly more likely to experience an orgasm if the encounter was with a relationship partner (Rosenberger et al., 2011).

Bisexual males are more likely to live alone than people of other sexual orientation-gender combinations (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2013) and even more likely to report their most recent sexual event as involving a new acquaintance than gay men within the same age bracket (Rosenberger et al., 2011). A possible theory would be that older bisexual males have great difficulty finding a

partner (caused by prejudice and fear of bisexuality), making them especially vulnerable to sexual inactivity and lack of an intimate companion. Or they could simply conceal their bisexuality in surveys, preferring to list the sexual orientation in line with their current sexual behaviors.

Lesbians, single and partnered, report sharp declines in sexual frequencies as they age or over the duration of long-term relationships (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Loulan, 1987; Peplau, Cochran, Rook, & Padesky, 1978). Lever (as cited in Garnets & Peplau, 2006) found that after only two years together, lesbian couples have sexual intercourse less frequently than heterosexual couples who have been married for ten years. The sexual behavior throughout the life cycle of younger lesbians remains to be studied. It is possible, however, that these numbers of older and baby boom lesbians reflect the cultural inhibitions of a generation rather than what might be true for lesbians who have come of age more recently and for whom sex in general is less taboo.

Unlike gay males (and heterosexual females), older lesbians are actually more likely to live with a partner or friend than not, helping to counteract social isolation and mental illness (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2011). Lesbians generally have larger support systems and social networks (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2011). They are also less age restrictive towards whom they will date. A culmination of various studies shows that lesbians are much more open towards cross-generational relationships than are heterosexual women or gay males but show some preferences towards women around their own age or older (Kehoe, 1986; Schope, 2005; Silverthorne & Quinsey, 2000). With this considered, it is fairly safe to say that, in terms of age, single lesbians have a larger pool of eligibles than many heterosexual women of their age.

3 Physiological Changes Later in Life

Older bodies face sexual challenges. However women and men have both congruent and different issues. Both may need additional

stimulation for arousal and climax but obviously erectile issues, or fragile tissue issues are sex specific. Recent findings indicate that the orgasm stage of aging females' sexual response cycle is less defined and peak sexual pleasure can be obtained without necessarily reaching climax (Basson, Brotto, Laan, Redmond, & Utian, 2005; Kingsberg, 2016; Nusbaum, Lenahan, & Sadovsky, 2005). Men face issues such as erectile and ejaculatory disorders (Nusbaum, Lenahan, & Sadovsky, 2005; Rao, Ismail, Darshan, & Tandon, 2015; Waite, Laumann, Das, & Schumm, 2009; Zhao, Su, & Seftel, 2014). These changes acknowledged, it is important to note that capacity to experience pleasure from sexual activity does not decrease with age in either gender (Penhollow, Young, & Denny, 2009).

3.1 Erectile Dysfunction

AARP's *Survey of Midlife and Older Adults* found that 30% of male respondents over 45 reported some degree of ED and 27% had actually been diagnosed with the disorder (Fisher et al., 2010). The psychosocial impact from the loss of easy or any erectile capacity can be devastating to men and to their partners because it has been so associated with virility and over-all masculinity in men's lives (Wiley & Bortz, 1996). While stroking a non-erect penis can result in arousal and climax, lack of ability to have an erection is highly associated with the cessation of all sexual activity (Hinchliff & Gott, 2011).

3.2 Menopause

Menopause is medicalized in western cultures, but often psychosocial variables are ignored (Hartmann, Philippsohn, Heiser, & Ruffer-Hesse, 2004). Hartmann et al. (2004) found the impact of hormonal changes during menopause was "relatively weak," while relationship factors, body image, and severity of symptoms were much more pertinent for predicting sexual behavior and satisfaction. Bancroft, Loftus, and

Long (2003) found that issues often associated with middle age such as difficulty with orgasm, arousal, and lower lubrication were “poor predictors” of sexual satisfaction. In contrast, emotional well-being and emotional connection with partners during intercourse were far more effective predictors of sexual satisfaction (Bancroft et al., 2003). This is not to say that the physiological shifts caused by menopause do not impact women’s sexual longevity. But research indicates that menopausal bodily changes may coalesce with other age-related physical and psychosocial variables that encroach on a woman’s ability to desire and enjoy sexual intercourse. Therefore it is not unlikely that menopause is often blamed as the overall cause of sexual decline post-midlife rather than seen as only one facet of age-related sexual decline.

4 Psychosocial Changes Later in Life

We need to note that not all factors that affect aging and sexuality are physical or sexual issues. Death of a spouse, for example, is far more likely to occur after 50 than earlier in the life cycle, and it can have unanticipated consequences. Using the Medicare claims data of 420,790 couples between 67 and 99 years of age, researchers found a positive correlation between men losing their spouse and subsequently being diagnosed with an STD within less than a year of separation between both events (Ball, 2010). Ball (2010) notes however that this correlation was non-existent for women; even though they had a higher likelihood of having an STD overall, their likelihood of catching an STD post-widowhood was less than their risk pre-widowhood.

This difference may be due to demographic shifts. When Sasson and Umberson (2014) analyzed Health and Retirement Study data between 1994 and 2008, they found that women face a 30% chance of ever being widowed, compared to the 10.4% chance their male cohorts held. Additionally, nearly 19% of men remarry within 14 years of their spouse’s passing while only around 7% of women do (Sasson & Umberson,

2014). These trends, when taken together, also indicate that men are much more likely to actively seek out new sexual partners, or even a new committed relationship, after bereavement than most women would. Not all of this is due to gender ratios: women are very likely to have spent their last years of marriage before widowhood being caregivers and those women often do not want to face those kinds of emotional and physical demands again (Hunt & Reinhard, 2015).

Depression is another important psychological factor affecting sexual interest and activity (Baldwin, 2001; Cohen et al., 2007; Fröhlich & Meston, 2002). Popular beliefs assume that with age comes increased risk of developing some form of depressive mood disorder, however evidence is mixed. Women do have a higher risk of developing depression later in life, but for the most part, depression in the elderly is primarily situational (Cole & Dendukuri, 2003).

4.1 Attractiveness and Body Image

The immense value placed on youthful aesthetics presents a universal challenge for those aging out of their physical prime. Women worry about their looks as they age, but fortunately, these aesthetic changes don’t impede the psychological happiness of women as much as they had anticipated prior to menopausal status. Barrett and Toothman (2016) found that women 50 plus report greater emotional well-being than women in younger age brackets.

Still, even with a better physical image than expected, aging women consistently have negative views towards their own attractiveness. When McCarthy (1991) asked women and men between the ages of 65 and 75 to rate their own sexual desirousness, the mean rating for both sexes was within the “neither desirable nor undesirable” range. Not only does this indicate relatively low body image, but those sampled didn’t seem to be attracted to their peers—rather they found younger potential partners more desirable (McCarthy, 1991). Poor body image can severely undermine sexual satisfaction

(Holt & Lyness, 2007; Masters & Johnson, 1970), yet it is the norm for many older women. This overall impact of cultural disapproval of aging appearances or “imperfect” bodies at any age has been recently referred to as body shaming (Sanchez & Kiefer, 2007). These judgments affect body image (a psychological conceptualization of attractiveness) and can be responsible for anxiety about sexual and personal worthiness. Poor body image is correlated with lower sexual satisfaction, increased sexual self-consciousness during intimacy, and lower arousability (Sanchez & Kiefer, 2007).

Men, unaffected by the body changes that women have from pregnancy, and having a more gradual change in hormones than women do, have a physiological advantage which, in combination with less harsh judgments about their looks, gives them a psychological advantage when it comes to body image. Armed with cultural preferences that women (and other men) have for men with prestigious biographies or economic resources, they are more able to remain critical of other’s attractiveness while still being able to shore up their own marketability using factors other than physical attributes. Men have consistently been shown to become more critical of attractiveness and more attracted to youth as they age, and—unlike women—they are more likely to mate with younger partners and state more marital happiness if they rate their partner as highly attractive (England & McClintock, 2009; Margolin & White, 1987; Meltzer, McNulty, Jackson, & Karney, 2014; Teuscher & Teuscher, 2007). Most heterosexual women are well aware of men’s desire for youthful and attractive partners, which places serious pressure on older women to appear as youthful or as attractive as possible. If they fail to meet his expectations, the sexual consequences are real: some research indicates that male sexual desire is the primary determinants of whether a couple stays sexually active (Beckman, Waern, Gustafson, & Skoog, 2008).

One method that women have increasingly utilized in order to slow the appearance of aging is plastic surgery. The annual report conducted by the American Society of Plastic Surgeons

(2015) continually shows that the number of procedures performed per year is steadily increasing and the vast majority of these patients are middle-to-older aged women (American Society of Plastic Surgeons, 2014; Brooks, 2010). Modern advertisements for plastic surgery often treat aging as a medical condition, appropriately addressed by doctors in order to prevent its progression. New comparison levels enabled by looking at a woman who has had a “face lift” next to a woman who has not, have placed aging women in a bind: to look like you have not aged in twenty years you must endure expensive, probably painful, and often dangerous surgery and if you choose not to follow that path, you are likely to look much older than aged peers who have had surgical interventions. In an era when people over the age of 50 have a higher likelihood of divorce, women can legitimately worry about whether or not they will stay sexually compelling to their partner, even if he is not attracted to women half his age.

While women remain primary targets for the shifts in cosmetic upkeep as gender inequality has led to women’s definition of worth being tied to their attractiveness, a contemporary change in societal attitudes towards male attractiveness later in life is steadily gaining ground. In past generations men avoided harsh media critiques about their bodies and faces, but the male physique is increasingly coming under more requirements for leanness and muscularity (McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2004). A content analysis conducted between 1958 and 1998 found that the prevalence of the naked male body in magazines has sky rocketed (Pope, Olivardia, Borowiecki, & Cohane, 2001). Exposure to the increased saturation of idealized male figures in media positively correlates with men being dissatisfied with their physical appearance, having low body image, and experiencing body shame (Agliaia & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Hatoum & Belle, 2004; Pope et al., 2001; Sanchez & Kiefer, 2007). Furthermore, Meana and Nunnink (2006) found that low body image in men is correlated with distracting thoughts about appearance and performance during sex, reducing sexual satisfaction. Due to the relative newness of

mainstream male body objectification, it may be that men who are presently young (and already report higher rates of body dissatisfaction than older males) will experience higher levels of body shame as they age (Peat, Peyerl, Ric Ferraro, & Butler, 2011).

Lesbian women, gay men, and bisexuals. It is also important to remember that both men and women in the LGB population face most of the same standards of beauty that heterosexuals do in addition to the stigma attached to their sexuality. Still, there are some serious differences between gay men and lesbians when we speak about bodies. Lesbians are much less age and body conscious than gay men. Schope (2005) observed that lesbians also show better body image and less fixation on weight and appearance in general than heterosexual women and certainly homosexual males (Alvy, 2013; Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Owens, Hughes, & Owens-Nicholson, 2002; Wagenbach, 2004). Lesbians also seem to find higher BMIs preferable (Swami & Tovee, 2006). In essence, though they must cope with heteronormative standards around aging and beauty, the lesbian community is much more supportive of their members (even in terms of age and body type) than the heterosexual female community or the gay male community.

Unlike lesbians, older gay men, have been portrayed as isolated, depressed, undesirable, and lonely characters (Morrow, 2001; Pugh, 2005). However, while it is true older gay men are more likely to live alone, living alone has not meant an unsatisfactory sex life; recall that half of the older gay men Lyons et al. (2013) sampled were currently in a relationship (regardless of age) and 40% of men over 60 years of age reported they were “very satisfied” with their sex life.

Gay males’ proficiency in maintaining relatively high sexual satisfaction and growing social support systems later in life is actually impressive in the face of current literature regarding their conceptualization of age—specifically in regards to the rising theory of *accelerated aging* within the gay community. Accelerated aging theory asserts that homosexual men perceive themselves as older at any given age than a heterosexual male would of the same age

(Schope, 2005). Schope (2005) also found that the average age gay men labeled as turning old fluctuates within the late thirties, with younger gay males perceiving it to be earlier than older males. Accelerated aging forces early adult and middle-aged gay men to face age-related stigma much sooner and more strongly than heterosexual males or females. Not helping this unfortunate slant on age are findings that indicate younger gay males are much more critical towards age and determining what ages are viable for dating (Schope, 2005). And although younger gay males are generally uninterested in perusing older members of their community, older gay men continually show stronger preferences towards younger partners (Conway, Noë, Stulp, & Pollet, 2015) and to a larger degree than heterosexual men (Conway et al., 2015; Hayes, 1995; Silverthorne & Quinsey, 2000).

This pattern of internalized ageism may stem from the intense value placed upon appearance in the gay sub culture, allowing youthful features to be synonymous with sexual attraction.

There is very little research on bisexuals’ psychosocial well being. However, Fredriksen-Goldsen et al. (2013) found higher rates of internalized stigma paired with lower levels of social support systems among both male and female bisexuals. Derogatory attitudes towards bisexuality, referred to as biphobia among some researchers (see Welzer-Lang, 2008), may inhibit the formation of social networks thus, it is not terribly surprising that bisexuals are less likely to be partnered in their later years and more likely to suffer from higher levels of stress than their homosexual equivalents. It is also plausible that the majority of older bisexuals simply do not reveal their sexual fluidity in many relationships or identify as heterosexuals or homosexuals regardless of their behavior or history.

5 Discussion

With medical advances, and the stickiness of baby boom cultural values of “sex, drugs, rock and roll,” social support for life long sexuality

seems greater than perhaps at any other moment in history. Still, the relative paucity of research on sex after seventy constrains our ability to say as much as we would like about the lived experience of men and women in the last third of the life cycle. This is particularly true when we try to zero in on sexual, racial, and gender minorities. In addition, with the rise of medical innovations that enhance ability and desire (e.g. Viagra), a primacy of medical interpretations of sexual behavior has eclipsed a more social constructionist analysis of gendered sexual lives. Differences within gender performance or arousal are most often attributed to biological causes and differences between genders are not often attributed to culturally institutionalized values and life histories. We would have liked some more nuanced researched descriptions of how the social construction of gender creates our sexual feelings and lives but the enumeration of acts and problematizing of sexual functions far outstrips the literature on social factors that affect men's and women's sexual feelings and desires in aging populations.

Overall, our vision of what the cultural mandates have been for men and women from middle age onward show that Americans conceptualize growing old based on societal schemas of aging which diverge from the lived experience of many older people. Men and women often subscribe to more generous and individualistic constructs of sexual expression throughout the latter half of the life cycle than is acknowledged, or in fact, believed. Yet, lesbians, while not exactly defeating age stereotypes of beauty, have relegated them to more modest effects on mating and relationship maintenance. Even if we compare lesbian concepts of aging versus those held by gay males—who are more constrained by linking youth, beauty, and attraction—we see that the everyday expression of those prejudices is muted by the experience of everyday life and opportunities. When we look at the data, the majority of older gay men have vivid sex lives and many have lifelong partners who are peers. Yes, the socio-biologists give a reproductive rationale for why lifelong obsession with youth is in our genetic make-up, but that

does not obviate the fact that our media emphasizes youth and beauty in a much more exacting way than the average person utilizes. Modern movies are mostly about the pairings of youthful couples, or in the case of age disparity, it is almost always an older man with a much younger woman. Some older female stars have been able to cross the age pairing lines but it is rare. The same constriction might be said for sexual identities. While we believe that there is plenty of evidence to support the presence of non-binary sexual desires and behaviors, almost all the research is categorical. In fact, in depth research on any kind of bisexuality or gender flexibility or transsexual data among older populations is almost impossible to find.

What is made clear by our overview of the research literature is that sexuality does not simply fade away with age. There is no necessary withering of desire. Many men and women remain sexually aware and active far into old age, but cultural reinforcement of their feelings and desires is still modest—or in some places—missing. This is especially true for women, and we think one of the consequences of that cultural dismissal of older women's sexuality is that many women absorb that description of the sexless older woman and thus expect and possibly create an attitude wherein sexual vitality and sexual expression is allowed to subside or disappear. Cultural models of sexy women over 50 (Meryl Streep or Helen Mirren for example) may seem modest in impact being one of only a few leading older ladies allowed to have romance and sexual encounters on screen but they are extremely important for older women who have few, if any, social permissions for a sexy old age. Many minorities have had to have public relations campaigns to help counter ugly stereotypes and perhaps this is also needed for older men and women. Say what you will about Viagra and other medical boosts to sexual longevity, but their advertisements of gray haired lovers is a bright star on a bleak media horizon for sexualities at older ages. We have hope that in the years to come, we may see a de-stigmatization of the elderly and a pro-sex mentality towards all aging demographics heterosexual, LGBTQ, or fluid.

Age is, in part, a state of mind and with the right mindset sexual satisfaction and age need not be considered mutually exclusive.

Some progressive changes have been already surfaced. Phrases such as “60 is the new 40” and the increasing number of online dating sites dedicated to the 50-and-up market, acknowledge and create a sexual marketplace for older people. Even the rising divorce rates within this population show a re-envisioning of what age means to older men and women who feel they now have an avenue to seek out emotional and/or sexual intimacy. Transgendered and transsexual individuals are the latest beneficiaries of a more nuanced acknowledgement of minority populations whose ratification and sexual civil rights need validation. Almost completely unacknowledged by the public fifty years ago, this population is reaching the attention of masses with media endorsements like the critically acclaimed Amazon series *Transparent* and celebrity trans spoke persons (e.g. Laverne Cox and Chaz Bono). *Transparent* is particularly significant to our discussion since it presents the sexual life of an older transwoman.

These dramatic shifts illustrate an ongoing narrative that stands in stark contrast to that which existed for the Baby Boom’s parental generation and those before them. Sex, intimacy, and love finally have importance and validation. Women and men are beginning to see their opportunity to live sexually liberated lives regardless of their generational status. Who knows what the sexual desire and behaviors of a woman in her 70s will look like once she feels entitled to be sexual at *every* stage in her life cycle. The obstacles are many—gendered scripts of what sexuality must look like have dominated visions of acceptable sexual experiences later in life, making it harder for erotic images of older people (but particularly women) to become mainstream. This in itself depresses the ability for young as well as old people to reimagine a template of sexuality whereby older women can be seen as sexual beings. It is no surprise then, that older women look for ways to create more youthful appearances. For example, rising plastic surgery rates among older women are in great

part an effort to both increase their marketability as sexual partners and also to increase their own belief in themselves as objects of men’s (and sometimes women’s) desires. Men may seek similar methods to retain their youthful looks, but the reality is that these changes that men make rarely are based on the ability to remain sexually viable to heterosexual women. These scripts not only generate differential behaviors between men and women, they often become part of an individual’s self-concept and alter the trajectory of their sexual life from relatively open in young adulthood through middle age to restrictive during older years.

On the individual level, women have been socialized to be sexually monogamous, inherently linking sexual activity with the presence of a stable and emotionally fulfilling partner. Throughout history, the barriers to non-mongamous sex for women included not only social adversity, but for many it entailed physical retribution. Today there are still a handful of countries where a woman can face litigation and/or brutal punishment should she be found unfaithful. Even in the US and other Western countries, women face marginalization if their sexual behavior is non-monogamous or more active than community norms allow. Words like “slut” or “whore” or “promiscuous” may be hurled at her. In response to such a hostile environment, women themselves often embrace values that advocate strict monogamy not only for themselves but for other women. Their monogamous behavior is hardly based solely on their biology (as many evolutionary psychologists would argue) but out of the immense risk they ran should they violate the strict expectations of female monogamy. Throughout history, men have not had such severe constraints. Although some societies have punished men for extramarital sex, the vast majority of cultures wink at it. In fact, there is some support for men to be sexually active whether it is inside or outside of marriage or cohabitation. Even in our own culture, many men and women feel that it is unnatural for a man to only feel sexual attraction to one partner whereas women are expected to be more naturally monogamous and

ultimately devolve into child-focused matriarchs, or later into very unsexy grandmother roles. These dramatic gender differences have permitted males to be perceived as having a lifelong robust sexuality until extreme old age, whereas older sexuality agentic women are lampooned or seen as acting inappropriately. This cultural presumption of male sexual prowess is taken to an extreme in gay males. Rather than mature into the favorite gay uncle (analogous to the matronly older woman), gay men are expected to experience high levels of sexual activity and often with many sexual partners well into their oldest years.

On the macro level, these views of women's diminished sexuality in the second half of the life cycle, plus the demographic realities of many more women than men in older age have encouraged many women to exit the dating and mating market. If women felt permitted to engage in more casual sex, and have less strict definitions about what was appropriate sexual behavior (for example, dating younger men) the demographics would likely be less punishing. However, if our research has shown us anything it is that our norms and values about aging and sexuality are changing. This is something we can observe with more older men and, notably, more older women utilizing online dating, women post-50 wearing trendy clothing in lieu of the traditional grandmotherly garments, and in the few but growing number of older women on television that stray from the conventional (e.g. Jane Fonda and Lily Tomlin in their hit Netflix series *Grace and Frankie*). Granted, this progression towards gender equality remains at a slow pace. But as we see younger men and women act unconstrained by gendered sex roles, it seems to us that in future years, sexuality for older men and women will be far less stigmatized and far more active. We also expect increasing changes among today's older populations. Present and future medical innovations improve both sexual and overall health, providing a possibility that sexual experiences will become less

gendered sooner and allow both men and women to pursue an erotic future well into old age in a way that has not yet happened in the past. It may be that Baby Boomer's steadfast determination to stay young may provide new models for sexual behavior as this group reaches the 70s and beyond.

References

- Agliata, D., & Tantleff-Dunn, S. (2004). The impact of media exposure on males' body image. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 23*(1), 7–22.
- Alvy, L. M. (2013). Do lesbian women have a better body image? Comparisons with heterosexual women and model of lesbian-specific factors. *Body Image, 10*(4), 524–534. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2013.06.002>.
- American Society of Plastic Surgeons. (2014). *2014 Plastic surgery procedural statistics*.
- American Society of Plastic Surgeons. (2015). *Plastic surgery statistics report*.
- Armstrong, E., England, P., & Fogarty, A. (2012). Accounting for women's orgasm and sexual enjoyment in college hookups and relationships. *American Sociological Review, 77*(3), 435–462.
- Averett, P., Yoon, I., & Jenkins, C. L. (2011). Older lesbians: Experiences of aging, discrimination and resilience. *Journal of Women & Aging, 23*(3), 216–232. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08952841.2011.587742>.
- Averett, P., Yoon, I., & Jenkins, C. (2012). Older lesbian sexuality: Identity, sexual behavior, and the impact of aging. *Journal of Sex Research, 49*(5), 495–507. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2011.582543>.
- Baldwin, D. (2001). Depression and sexual dysfunction. *British Medical Bulletin, 57*, 81–99.
- Ball, H. (2010). Death of a spouse may be associated with increased STD diagnosis among older men. *Perspectives on Sexual & Reproductive Health, 42*(1), 64. https://doi.org/10.1363/4206410_1.
- Bancroft, J., Loftus, J., & Long, J. (2003). Distress about sex: A national survey of women in heterosexual relationships. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 32*(3), 193–208. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023420431760>.
- Barrett, A., & Toothman, E. (2016). Explaining age differences in women's emotional well-being: The role of subjective experiences of aging. *Journal of Women & Aging, 28*(4), 285–296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08952841.2015.1017426>.
- Basson, R., Brotto, L. A., Laan, E., Redmond, G., & Utian, W. H. (2005). Assessment and management of

- women's sexual dysfunctions: Problematic desire and arousal. *Journal of Sex Medicine*, 2(3), 291–300. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-6109.2005.20346.x>.
- Beckman, N., Waern, M., Gustafson, D., & Skoog, I. (2008). Secular trends in self reported sexual activity and satisfaction in Swedish 70 year olds: Cross sectional survey of four populations, 1971–2001. *British Medical Journal*, 337(7662), 151–154. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.a279>.
- Benson, J., & Coleman, M. (2016). Older adults developing a preference for living apart together. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78(3), 797–812. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12292>.
- Bergeron, S. M., & Senn, C. Y. (1998). Body image and sociocultural norms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22(3), 385–401. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1998.tb00164.x>.
- Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American couples: Money, work and sex* (1st ed.). New York: William Morrow.
- Brooks, A. (2010). Aesthetic anti-ageing surgery and technology: Women's friend or foe? In K. Joyce & M. Loe (Eds.), *Technogenarians* (pp. 64–82). Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Brown, S. L., Bulanda, J. R., & Lee, G. R. (2012). Transitions into and out of cohabitation in later life. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 74(4), 774. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00994.x>.
- Brown, S. L., & Kawamura, S. (2010). Relationship quality among cohabitators and marrieds in older adulthood. *Social Science Research*, 39(5), 777–786. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.04.010>.
- Brown, S. L., & Lin, I.-F. (2012). The gray divorce revolution: rising divorce among middle-aged and older adults, 1990–2010. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences & Social Sciences (J Gerontol B Psychol Sci Soc Sci)*, 67(6), 731–741. <http://dx.doi.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/geronb/gbs089>.
- Call, V., Sprecher, S., & Schwartz, P. (1995). The incidence and frequency of marital sex in a national sample. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57(3), 639–652. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353919>.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2002). *Cohabitation, marriage, divorce, and remarriage in the United States*. Hyattsville, Maryland: Department of Health and Human Services.
- Cohen, S., Kühn, K. U., Bender, S., Erfurth, A., Gastpar, M., Murafi, A., et al. (2007). Sexual impairment in psychiatric inpatients: Focus on depression. *Pharmacopsychiatry*, 40(2), 58–63.
- Cole, M., & Dendukuri, N. (2003). Risk factors for depression among elderly community subjects: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160(6), 1147–1156.
- Conway, J., Noë, N., Stulp, G., & Pollet, T. (2015). Finding your soulmate: Homosexual and heterosexual age preferences in online dating. *Personal Relationships*, 22(4), 666–678. <https://doi.org/10.1111/per.12102>.
- Das, A., Waite, L. J., & Laumann, E. O. (2012). Sexual expression over the life course: Results from three landmark surveys. In *Sex for life: From virginity to viagra, how sexuality changes throughout our lives* (pp. 236–259). New York: New York University Press.
- Delamater, J., & Koepsel, E. (2015). Relationships and sexual expression in later life: A biopsychosocial perspective. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 30(1), 37–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681994.2014.939506>.
- Delamater, J., & Sill, M. (2005). Sexual desire in later life. *Journal of Sex Research*, 42(2), 138–149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490509552267>.
- England, P., & McClintock, E. (2009). The gendered double standard of aging in US marriage markets. *Population and Development Review*, 35(4), 797–816. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2009.00309.x>.
- Fisher, L., Anderson, G., Chapagain, M., Montenegro, X., Smoot, J., & Takalkar, A. (2010). Sex, romance, and relationships: AARP survey of midlife and older adults.
- Fredriksen-Goldsen, K. I., Emlet, C. A., Kim, H. J., Muraco, A., Erosheva, E. A., Goldsen, J., et al. (2013). The physical and mental health of lesbian, gay male, and bisexual (LGB) older adults: The role of key health indicators and risk and protective factors. *The Gerontologist*, 53(4), 664–675. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gns123>.
- Fredriksen-Goldsen, K., Kim, H. J., Emlet, C., Murano, A., Erosheva, E., Hoy-Ellis, C., et al. (2011). *The aging and health report: Disparities and resilience among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender older adults*. Seattle, WA: Institute for Multigenerational Health.
- Fröhlich, P., & Meston, C. (2002). Sexual functioning and self-reported depressive symptoms among college women. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 39(4), 321–325. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490209552156>.
- Gagnon, J., Giami, A., Michaels, S., & De Colomby, P. (2001). A comparative study of the couple in the social organization of sexuality in France and the United States. *Journal of Sex Research*, 38(1), 24–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490109552067>.
- Garnets, L., & Peplau, L. A. (2006). Sexuality in the lives of aging lesbian and bisexual women. In D. C. Kimmel, T. Rose, & S. David (Eds.), *Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender aging: Research and clinical perspectives* (pp. 70–90). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gillespie, B. J. (2016). Correlates of sex frequency and sexual satisfaction among partnered older adults. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0092623x.2016.1176608>.
- Gottman, J. M., Coan, J., Carrere, S., & Swanson, C. J. (1998). Predicting marital happiness and stability from newlywed interactions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60(1), 5–22. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353438>.

- Gottman, J. M., & Levenson, R. W. (2000). The timing of divorce: Predicting when a couple will divorce over a 14-year period. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(3), 737–745. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00737.x>.
- Hartmann, U., Philippsohn, S., Heiser, K., & Ruffer-Hesse, C. (2004). Low sexual desire in midlife and older women: Personality factors, psychosocial development, present sexuality. *Menopause*, 11(6), 726–740.
- Hatoum, I., & Belle, D. (2004). Mags and abs: Media consumption and bodily concerns in men. *Sex Roles*, 51(7), 397–407. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000049229.93256.48>.
- Hayes, A. F. (1995). Age preferences for same- and opposite-sex partners. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 135(2), 125.
- Hensel, D. J., & Fortenberry, J. D. (2014). Life-span sexuality through a sexual health perspective. In D. Tolman & L. Diamond (Eds.), *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology* (pp. 385–413). USA: American Psychological Association.
- Hinchliff, S., & Gott, M. (2011). Seeking medical help for sexual concerns in mid- and later life: A review of the literature. *Journal of Sex Research*, 48(2–3), 106–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2010.548610>.
- Holt, A., & Lyness, K. (2007). Body image and sexual satisfaction: Implications for couple therapy. *Journal of Couple & Relationship Therapy*, 6(3), 45–68. https://doi.org/10.1300/j398v06n03_03.
- Hunt, G., & Reinhard, S. (2015). Caregiving in the U.S.: The national alliance for caregiving AARP Public Policy Institute.
- Kehoe, M. (1986). Lesbians over 65: A triply invisible minority. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 12(3/4), 139–152.
- King, V., & Scott, M. E. (2005). A comparison of cohabiting relationships among older and younger adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 271–285. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2005.00115.x>.
- Kingsberg, S. A. (2016). The impact of aging on sexual function in women and their partners. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 31(5), 431–437. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1019844209233>.
- Kleinplatz, P. J., Kleinplatz, P. J., Dana Ménard, A., Paquet, M. P., Zuccarino, D., Mehak, L., et al. (2009). The components of optimal sexuality: A portrait of “great sex”. *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, 18(1–2), 1–13.
- Lindau, S. T., & Gavrilova, N. (2010). Sex, health, and years of sexually active life gained due to good health: Evidence from two US population based cross sectional surveys of ageing. *British Medical Journal*, 340. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.c810>.
- Loulan, J. A. (1987). *Lesbian passion: Loving ourselves and each other* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Spinsters.
- Lyons, A., Pitts, M., & Grierson, J. (2013). Growing old as a gay man: Psychological well-being of a sexual minority. *Research on Aging*, 35(3), 275–295. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0164027512445055>.
- Manning, W. D., & Brown, S. L. (2011). The demography of unions among older Americans, 1980–present: A family change approach. In R. A. Settersten & J. L. Angel (Eds.), *Handbook of sociology of aging* (pp. 193–210). New York, NY: Springer.
- Manning, W. D., & Brown, S. L. (2015). Aging cohabiting couples and family policy: Different-sex and same-sex couples. *Public Policy & Aging Report*, 25(3), 94–97. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ppar/prv012>.
- Margolin, L., & White, L. (1987). The continuing role of physical attractiveness in marriage. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 49(1), 21–27. <https://doi.org/10.2307/352666>.
- Marsiglio, W., & Donnelly, D. (1991). Sexual relations in later life: A national study of married persons. *Journals of Gerontology*, 46(6), S338–S344.
- Masters, W., & Johnson, V. (1970). *Human sexual inadequacy*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Matthias, R. E., Lubben, J. E., Atchison, K. A., & Schweitzer, S. O. (1997). Sexual activity and satisfaction among very old adults: Results from a community-dwelling medicare population survey 1. *The Gerontologist*, 37(1), 6–14. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/37.1.6>.
- Mccabe, M., & Ricciardelli, L. (2004). Body image dissatisfaction among males across the lifespan: A review of past literature. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 55(6), 675–685.
- McCarthy, S. (1991). Sexual desirability, dating, and sexual intimacy as influenced by age, income, and physical attractiveness in older adults: Does the double standard of aging apply?.
- Mcfarland, M., Uecker, J., & Regnerus, M. (2011). The role of religion in shaping sexual frequency and satisfaction: Evidence from married and unmarried older adults. *Journal of Sex Research*, 48(2–3), 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224491003739993>.
- Meana, M., & Nunnink, S. (2006). Gender differences in the content of cognitive distraction during sex. *Journal of Sex Research*, 43(1), 59–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490609552299>.
- Meltzer, A. L., McNulty, J. K., Jackson, G. L., & Karney, B. R. (2014). Sex differences in the implications of partner physical attractiveness for the trajectory of marital satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106(3), 418–428. <https://doi.org/10.1037/t14088-000>.
- Morrow, D. (2001). Older gays and lesbians: Surviving a generation of hate and violence. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 12(3/4), 151.
- Musick, K., & Bumpass, L. (2012). Reexamining the case for marriage: Union formation and changes in well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00873.x>.
- Northrup, C., Schwartz, P., & Witte, J. (2012). *The normal bar: The surprising secrets of happy couples*

- and what they reveal about creating a new normal in your relationship. New York: Harmony Books.
- Nusbaum, M. R. H., Lenahan, P., & Sadovsky, R. (2005). The psychiatric consultant. Sexual health in aging men and women: addressing the physiologic and psychological sexual changes that occur with age. *Geriatrics*, *60*(9), 18–23.
- Owens, L., Hughes, T., & Owens-Nicholson, D. (2002). The effects of sexual orientation on body image and attitudes about eating and weight. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, *7*(1), 15–33. https://doi.org/10.1300/j155v07n01_02.
- Peat, C. M., Peyerl, N. L., Ric Ferraro, F., & Butler, M. (2011). Age and body image in caucasian men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *12*(2), 195–200. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021478>.
- Penhollow, T. M., Young, M., & Denny, G. (2009). Predictors of quality of life, sexual intercourse, and sexual satisfaction among active older adults—proquest. *American Journal of Health Education*, *40*(1), 14–22.
- Peplau, L. A., Cochran, S., Rook, K., & Padesky, C. (1978). Loving women: Attachment and autonomy in lesbian relationships. *Journal of Social Issues*, *34*(3), 2–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1978.tb02611.x>.
- Pope, H., Olivardia, R., Borowiecki, J., III, & Cohane, G. (2001). The growing commercial value of the male body: A longitudinal survey of advertising in women's magazines. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, *70*(4), 189–192. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000056252>.
- Pugh, S. (2005). Assessing the cultural needs of older lesbians and gay men: Implications for practice. *Practice*, *17*(3), 207–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09503150500285180>.
- Rao, T. S. S., Ismail, S., Darshan, M. S., & Tandon, A. (2015). Sexual disorders among elderly: An epidemiological study in south Indian rural population. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, *57*(3), 236–241. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.166618>.
- Risman, B. (2016). Gender as a social structure: Are millennials cracking the foundation?
- Rosenberger, J. G., Reece, M., Schick, V., Herbenick, D., Novak, D. S., Van Der Pol, B., et al. (2011). Sexual behaviors and situational characteristics of most recent male-partnered sexual event among gay and bisexually identified men in the United States. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, *8*(11), 3040–3050. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-6109.2011.02438.x>.
- Sanchez, D., & Kiefer, A. (2007). Body concerns in and out of the bedroom: Implications for sexual pleasure and problems. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *36*(6), 808–820. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-007-9205-0>.
- Sasson, I., & Umberson, D. J. (2014). Widowhood and depression: New light on gender differences, selection, and psychological adjustment. *The journals of gerontology*, *68*(1), 135–145. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbt058>.
- Schick, V., Herbenick, D., Reece, M., Sanders, S. A., Dodge, B., Middlestadt, S. E., et al. (2010). Sexual behaviors, condom use, and sexual health of americans over 50: Implications for sexual health promotion for older adults. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, *7* (Suppl. 5), 315–329. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-6109.2010.02013.x>.
- Schope, R. (2005). Who's afraid of growing old? *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, *45*(4), 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1300/J083v45n04_03.
- Schwartz, P., Diefendorf, S., & McGlynn-Wright, A. (2014). Sexuality in aging. *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology*, *1*, 523–551. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14193-017>.
- Silverthorne, Z., & Vernon, Q. (2000). Sexual partner age preferences of homosexual and heterosexual men and women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *29*(1), 67–76. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1001886521449>.
- Swami, V., & Tovee, M. J. (2006). The influence of body mass index on the physical attractiveness preferences of feminist and nonfeminist heterosexual women and lesbians. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *30*(3), 252–257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00293.x>.
- Teuscher, U., & Tesuscher, C. (2007). Reconsidering the double standard of aging: Effects of gender and sexual orientation on facial attractiveness ratings. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *42*(4), 631–639. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2006.08.020>.
- Tiefer, L. (2004). *Sex is not a natural act & other essays* (2nd ed.). USA: Westview Press.
- Tracy, J. K., & Junginger, J. (2007). Correlates of lesbian sexual functioning. *Journal of Women's Health*, *16*(4), 499–509. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2006.0308>.
- Trudel, G., Villeneuve, L., Préville, M., Boyer, R., & Fréchette, V. (2010). Dyadic adjustment, sexuality and psychological distress in older couples. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, *25*(3), 306–315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681991003702583>.
- Wade, L. D., & Delamater, J. D. (2002). Relationship dissolution as a life stage transition: Effects on sexual attitudes and behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *64*(4), 898–914. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00898.x>.
- Wagenbach, P. (2004). Lesbian body image and eating issues. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality*, *15* (4), 205–227. https://doi.org/10.1300/J056v15n04_04.

- Waite, L., & Gallagher, M. (2000). *The case for marriage: Why married people are happier, healthier, and better off financially*. New York: Doubleday.
- Waite, L. J., Laumann, E. O., Das, A., & Philip Schumm, L. (2009). Sexuality: Measures of partnerships, practices, attitudes, and problems in the national social life, health, and aging study. *Journals of Gerontology, Series B, Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 64B(suppl1), i56–i66. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbp038>.
- Weeks, D. J. (2002). Sex for the mature adult: Health, self-esteem and countering ageist stereotypes. *Sexual & Relationship Therapy*, 17(3), 231. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681990220149031>.
- Welzer-Lang, D. (2008). Speaking out loud about bisexuality: Biphobia in the gay and lesbian community. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 8(1–2), 81–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15299710802142259>.
- Wiley, D., & Bortz, W. (1996). Sexuality and aging—usual and successful. *The Journals of Gerontology*, 51A(3), M142.
- Williams, M. (2012). *Same-sex partnerships and the health of lesbian, gay, and bisexual older adults*. USA: Ph.D., School of Social Work, University of Washington.
- Willoughby, B., Farero, A., & Busby, D. (2014). Exploring the effects of sexual desire discrepancy among married couples. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 43(3), 551–562. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-013-0181-2>.
- Zhao, P. T., Su, D., & Seftel, A. D. (2014). Geriatric sexuality. *Primer of Geriatric Urology*, 143–200. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-4773-3_11.

Pepper Schwartz is a professor of sociology at the University of Washington. She is the past president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexualities, past president of the Pacific Sociology Association and she was the Relationship, Sexuality and Love Ambassador for AARP for more than a decade. She was given an award by the American Sociological Association for public understanding of sociology. She is now on the board of the University of Minnesota program on human sexuality. She is the author and co-author of 25 academic and popular books, including two that were on the New York Times Best Sellers list: *The Normal Bar: The Surprising Secrets of Happy Couples* and *10 Talks Parents Should Have with Children About Sex and Character*. Her most recent books are *50 Great Myths of Human Sexuality* and *Snap Strategies for Couples: 40 Fast Fixes for Everyday Relationship Pitfalls*. She is also the author of more than 50 journal articles and lectures widely, both to academic and general audiences.

Nicholas Velotta is an author and researcher focusing on the fields of sexuality, intimacy, and relationships. While attending the University of Washington, where he got a Bachelors in psychology, Velotta became a student of Professor Pepper Schwartz, Ph.D., who has become a collaborator on various projects and writing endeavors. He lives in Seattle and guest lectures at the University of Washington when he is not reading, writing, or researching.

Part VI

Families and Intimate Relationships



Michele Adams

Abstract

Gender inequality permeates society at all levels and in the context of most social institutions. One institution in which gender inequality remains resistant to change is the family. Over time, various theories have examined the causes of gender inequality generally, including biology, sex roles, and “doing gender,” each of which has also been applied to gender inequality in the family. Critiques of these approaches include their over-determinism, inability to grapple with gender inequality at macro social levels, and failure to theorize about change. The gender as structure approach looks at gender across multiple levels of social reality simultaneously. This dynamic, multi-faceted theoretical approach can be used to address gender inequality in families to the extent that we are able to take advantage of its complexity. After looking at, and critiquing, various historical approaches to gender inequality, this chapter notes that the gender as structure approach is best suited to examine gender inequality in families today, which are themselves characterized by dynamic fluidity and

complexity, and to offer potential avenues for altering that inequality.

1 Introduction

Gender inequality permeates society at all levels and in the context of most, if not all, social institutions. One institution in which gender inequality remains extremely resistant to change is the family, where it is not only a matter of social relations at the individual family level, but also a political matter involving questions of power and hierarchy in the larger society. As feminists have long noted, the basis for gender hierarchy and inequality is the focus on differences between women and men and the perceived essential nature of those differences, which creates a cultural dichotomy that values one sex over the other and asserts the naturalness of that hierarchy (Lorber, 1994).

Gender inequality in the family has mostly, but not exclusively, been studied by social scientists in the context of married heterosexual couples in which men/husbands have more power than women/wives as manifest in the division of household labor, family decision-making, and, in more extreme cases, domestic violence. This chapter examines gender inequality in the family by considering it through the lens of the following questions: What are the historical and conceptual bases for gender

M. Adams (✉)
Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, USA
e-mail: madams2@tulane.edu

inequality in families? What can we learn about gender inequality in families by viewing it through the lens of the gender as structure theoretical approach? How can we draw on and optimize the gender as structure perspective in future research on gender inequality in families?

The chapter begins by venturing briefly into the socio-historical background of gender inequality in the family, and moves on to examine prevalent theoretical justifications for this phenomenon. The section ends with a discussion of the potential of the gender as structure perspective to envision pressure points in previous theories of sex and gender, and, as a result, to disrupt the seeming unavoidability of gender inequality in the family. I then introduce several recent studies that draw creatively on gender as structure to examine elements of the household division of labor, broadly speaking, which has traditionally been used as a proxy for family power and inequality. The chapter ends by noting the increasing complexity of families in the United States and suggests that the multi-faceted and dynamic gender as structure approach is the approach best suited to examine gender inequality in families today and to offer potential avenues for diminishing that inequality.

2 Socio-Historical Background of Gender Inequality in Families

Gender inequality in families has deep roots that are inextricably tied to the history of gendered family hierarchy condoned in the Judeo-Christian creation story, which depicts Eve as the “helpmeet” of Adam, from whose rib she was created (Martos & Hégy, 1998). In accord with this view of women as derivative, men were seen as the intermediaries between humanity and God—with women having divine access only through men’s intervention (Lerner, 1986). Women had their “place” relative to men, and it was both inferior and God-given. When, however, questions started to arise about the “divine basis of social order,” anatomical differences between men and women came to the fore and “destined [women] for an entirely different social life from men”

(Lorber, 1993: 568–569). The difference between women and men, premised largely on reproductive function and capacity, anchored the “biology as destiny” school of thought on gender relations that was institutionalized over time in cultural norms, law, and policy. Biological difference and its social correlates, then, created the basis for seeing men and women in families as not only dissimilar, but as occupying unequal status positions, as well.

Marriage heightened gender inequality by conceptually unifying husband and wife as “one flesh” under the English doctrine of coverture, which institutionalized the husband as his wife’s (and the family’s) representative in all public matters (Basch, 1986). Under this doctrine, at marriage, a woman’s rights became “covered” by those of her husband, and her identity was effectively subsumed under his. Coverture precluded wives from owning or willing away property, entering into contracts, or possessing other markers of individual agency (Blackstone, 1765). While originally intended as a way to “protect” married women, coverture in the United States expanded to incorporate a somewhat broader “coverture ethos” alleging that women were innately fragile, irrational, and less able than men to “comport” themselves in society (Cheu, 2012: 117, referencing Bingham, 1824).

Even as coverture lost its legal standing in the United States in the mid-1800s with the advent of married women’s property laws, it became institutionalized over time in other ways (Hartog, 2000). For instance, while the doctrine of coverture itself did not appear to require a woman to take her husband’s surname at marriage, over the years the practice of doing so became seen as “tradition” and, in certain historical periods, the “practice became so universal...that it brokred no exceptions, which in effect gave it the force of law” (Anthony, 2014: 83–84). Remnants of coverture continue to permeate many of the traditions and rituals of modern weddings, including a bride’s transfer from her father to her new husband (see, for instance, Geller, 2001). Even today, the “coverture ethos” is prevalent in public policy debates over issues such as reproductive rights, where

anti-abortion rhetoric often relies on a logic that assumes women are implicitly unable to make decisions in their own best interests (Cheu, 2012).

3 Theoretical and Conceptual Background for Gender Inequality in Families

Biology and Sociobiology Historically, one of the primary justifications for gender inequality in the family has been based on biological differences between women and men, organized primarily around reproduction. Women have the capacity to bear children and lactate, while men's involvement in the reproductive process ostensibly ends at insemination. Advocates of this particular line of thought suggest that gender differences in behavior are biologically based (Udry, 2000), and evolutionary theory "predicts that gender differences will exist when such differences maximize reproductive success" (Pratto & Hegarty, 2000: 57). The emphasis placed on reproductive difference as destiny has led to the assumption of a biological (i.e., "natural") basis for distinguishing between the "roles" of women and men both inside and outside of the home, and the "brain/womb" distinction, which assumes that women's reproductive capabilities limit their ability to think rationally (Rhode, 1990).

When extended to the social realm, this rationale leads inexorably to the conceptual organization of society through the lens of the ideology of separate spheres, which links women to the private sphere of home and social reproduction, and men to the public sphere of the market and economic production (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). In association with the ideology of separate spheres, the 19th century "cult of true womanhood" connected the characteristics of "piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness" with "womanly virtue" (Welter, 1966: 151). These characteristics defined "good women" and conveniently identified them as singularly suited for domestic duties. In this way, the biological focus on reproductive difference merged

effortlessly into social arrangements that conceptually constrained women to the reproductive domain and away from sources of economic power. The separation of spheres was more an ideological divide than a practical or realistic one for women of color and poor whites who were slaves or domestic workers (Dill, 1988). The ideologies of separate spheres and the cult of true womanhood reduced the visibility and perceived import of the productive labor that women did both in the home and the workforce (Bose, 1987) and set the stage for institutionalizing and naturalizing gender inequality in the family.

Functionalism and Sex Roles The biological differences perspective was reframed in the 1950s by Talcott Parsons, whose functionalist approach depicted family as organized around different but complementary roles for women and men. Role specialization, he and his co-author Robert Bales asserted, was adaptive for the family, and was based on a divide between expressive and instrumental tasks. The husband was the instrumental task expert, having "the primary adaptive responsibilities relative to the outside situation," while the wife was seen as the expert in fulfilling the family's expressive needs, being "primarily the giver of love" (Parsons & Bales, 1955: 151). Family and social stability rested on the complementarity of, and lack of competition between, the roles of wives and husbands. This continued focus on difference also ensured gender inequality in the family, as sex role differentiation tended to "remove women from the kind of occupational status which is important for the determination of the status of a family" (Parsons, 1940: 853). In other words, in accord with the notion of coverture, husbands were still seen as representing their wives, and their families, in the public sphere.

During World War II, out of necessity, women were encouraged to enter the paid workforce and assume the manufacturing jobs traditionally held by the then-absent men. Culturally, the larger-than-life image and power of Wonder Woman (Munford & Waters, 2014) and the assured "We Can Do It!" of Rosie the Riveter characterized women's self-confident emergence into the public sphere during the wartime period.

After the war ended, however, while the large majority of employed women wanted to remain in these “traditionally male” jobs, a modernized version of “true womanhood” emerged to coerce women to leave the workforce and return to the home, thus reducing competition for jobs with returning veterans (Bose, 1987). Popular cultural images followed the “updated” idea of true womanhood, as a domesticated Wonder Woman was “diminished in power and size as women ‘returned’ to the home” (Adams, 2016: 553). Although record numbers of women remained in the paid workforce, they generally drifted back into the types of jobs they had held prior to the war (Department of Labor, Women’s Bureau, 1946). As men returning home re-assumed their breadwinner and head-of-household status, the retreat to the familiarity of coverture was complete and women were once again expected to resume financial dependence on their husbands, re-entrenching inequality in the family.

The tension within the 1950s nuclear family caused by the re-emergence of the cult of true womanhood [or what Friedan (1963) would later call the “problem with no name”] was overlaid by a patina of sentimental togetherness, material success, and outward serenity, all of which produced what appeared to be a “golden age of the family” (Coontz, 1992). Marriage rates peaked after the war and remained high through the 1950s as men and women married young and elevated birth rates created a “baby boom” that was to affect the United States for decades to come. The post-war economy provided a solid “family wage” to white husbands that allowed them to provide for stay-at-home wives who cared for children and the home. The growth of the suburbs and the booming economy put the “American Dream” of home ownership within reach of most white middle-class families. Television sitcoms such as “Ozzie and Harriet” and “Leave it to Beaver” played up the harmonious, stable, and highly idealized white nuclear family, and brought this image into most homes as television ownership grew (Coontz, 1992; Spiegel, 1992). Gender-differentiated family roles were part and parcel of this image, promoting the breadwinner dad and the happily homebound

mom who cooked and did housework in a dress and pearls. Even families of color, for whom racial discrimination prevented the family wage, easy access to home ownership, and separation of home and family life, faced the breadwinning dad and stay-at-home mom as the measure of an ideal family. The differentiated gendered roles of many 1950s families in practice often led to the “problem with no name” (Friedan, 1963), a condition of restlessness that led many outwardly content housewives to self-medicate with alcohol and drugs (Coontz, 1992). The undercurrent of female angst that characterized the “golden” 1950s-era nuclear family could be traced largely to dissatisfaction with the inequality that emerged from the rigid cultural expectations for, and in-home enforcement of, differentiated sex roles, inequality experienced most acutely by women (Coontz, 1992; Friedan, 1963).

Conceptually, the inflexible cultural distinction between the “roles” of women and men derived from biological differences that were reified in differentiated personality traits (women were assumed to be nurturing, emotional, and domestically-oriented and men were assumed to be intellectual, rational, and business-oriented) and that prescribed family and social functions (women as homemakers; men as breadwinners). (Re)enforcement of differentiated sex roles arose from socialization practices that taught girls and boys, from a very young age, to follow society’s dictates about what constituted “appropriate” gender behavior and decorum. Accordingly, parents managed their children’s appearance and behavior to replicate society’s gender norms (Cahill, 1989). Children were socialized not only to act in gender-acceptable ways, but also to internalize the relative status positions associated with these gender-differentiated norms. Girls were given dolls, tea sets, and miniature household appliances to play with, frilly dresses to wear, and instruction on ladylike behavior, all designed to guide them towards later becoming wives and mothers. Boys, on the other hand, were given toy trucks, footballs, and firemen’s hats or police badges to play with, and clothed in rugged denim overalls—designed to orient them toward potential occupations and their future as

family breadwinners (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). As girls and boys matured into women and men who married and formed families, this early socialization served to maintain the gender order by (re)constituting and naturalizing the “complementary,” separate-and-unequal statuses of wives and husbands in the family, and of women and men in society that was advocated by social theorists such as Talcott Parsons.

Critiques of the sex role perspective, like those of biological explanations for gender inequality, take aim at the problematic assumption that sex category determines behavior and attitudes early in life that are invariant over the course of an individual’s lifetime. Given these assumptions, gender hierarchy, inequality, and power in the family become largely unassailable as just another piece of the “natural” gender order. While women, men, or even families might individually challenge society’s prevailing sex roles, these perspectives cannot account for accomplishment of collective or institutional change. Moreover, rebellion at an individual level exacts social sanctions, particularly for women, who as mothers tend to be the near-constant targets of cultural judgment and (dis)approbation (see Hays, 1996). Given the assumptions inherent in the sex role perspective, the possibility of changing gender inequality in the family becomes difficult if not impossible.

Doing Gender: The Social Interactionist Approach While biological approaches and sex role perspectives created early justification, premised on gender difference, for gender inequality in families, their weaknesses included an inability to account for personal agency and lack of a theory about how gender inequality could be addressed or altered. With this in mind, feminists and feminist scholars, beginning in about the 1960s, started to actively question the ideology of separate spheres and to focus, in particular, on the nuclear family as a site of women’s oppression. *The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan, 1963), read by millions of discontented housewives, suggested that the angst that they believed to be an individual shortcoming was actually related to the problem of gender inequality in the family, which was itself part of a larger framework of

oppression (see Coontz, 2011). Situating this issue at the individual level clearly limited thinking about how it could be overcome.

Shifting the conversation about gender to the level of interaction, sociologists West and Zimmerman (1987) brought the notion of “doing gender” into everyday parlance. With this shift in perspective, West and Zimmerman (1987) moved agency into the discussion of gender inequality in the family, albeit agency within the structure of gender norms considered socially appropriate. Noting that gender is an interactive accomplishment, performed within a specific temporal and spatial framework of gender expectations that creates boundaries for characterization of an individual’s actions as (un)acceptable, they pointed out how the “accomplishment of gender is at once interactional and institutional” and indicates accountability to what society perceives as “conduct becoming to...a woman or a man” (West & Zimmerman, 2009: 114, also 1987). Doing gender, in this context, is not a choice but a cultural mandate.

Because cultural notions of femininity and masculinity have traditionally been linked with status and power, doing gender in accordance with cultural norms is positively linked with gender inequality in the family. Essentially, as men and women interact in families to produce socially legitimate gendered selves, they also produce and reinforce a gender hierarchy that privileges men. Thus, by performing gender-differentiated family tasks and chores, individuals are not only doing gender but they are also doing inequality. Take, for example, housework, the overwhelming burden of which has consistently fallen on women (Coltrane, 2000, 2010; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). A “doing gender” rationale for the unbalanced division of labor suggests that women do more housework than men in order to demonstrate their femininity; this rationale surfaces in research to explain, at least in part, why women do not automatically regard it as unfair that they do most of the housework (see, for instance, Greenstein, 1996; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). It also plays a part in studies analyzing situations where women who earn more than their husbands in the paid labor

force often compensate and try to bolster conventional gender norms in their families by increasing their own housework load (Tichenor, 1999, 2005). Similarly, some studies suggest that unemployed men often do less housework than their employed wives (see, for instance, Legerski & Cornwall, 2010). These couples “do gender” by performing housework in traditionally gendered ways to display their accountability as appropriately feminine or masculine, and, in the process, shore up inequality in families.

The “doing gender” approach encourages social scientists to think more about personal agency in the construction of gender norms and inequality, and, according to West and Zimmerman (2009), in the process creates opportunities for considering how to effect change. The issue is whether this approach goes far enough, even while avoiding the overdetermined aspects of the biological and sex-role socialization perspectives. Questions of power and hierarchy in the larger society are largely overlooked within the perspective’s primary focus on interpersonal relations and interaction, and the gender inequality embedded in social institutions is generally ignored as a frame for these relations. Finally, as cultural beliefs about gender are internalized and then actualized from a subconscious level, “doing gender implies legitimating inequality” (Risman, 1998: 23).

The “doing gender” approach has been highly influential in analyzing the resilience of gender inequality in families; “blaming” this inequality on doing gender has become almost standard to the point where social scientists are calling for more attention not only to how gender is done, but how it is “undone” as well (Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2011). But does “doing gender” in the context of family go far enough in creating the theoretical foundation for challenging gender inequality in the family? To what extent, for instance, is the way women and men do gender when they are doing (or avoiding) housework structured by the cost and ability to get good childcare or by public policies that institutionalize the ideal worker as male? In order to account for the larger picture in which gender inequality in the family is situated, and thus imagine how

that inequality might be disrupted, we need to think at a different level—at all different levels simultaneously, in fact, which is what the gender as structure perspective allows us to do. By seeing the effects of gender at multiple contextual levels simultaneously and by viewing the effects as recursive between levels and institutional contexts, gender as structure allows us to see where the points of tension lie and lets us think about how to put pressure on family dynamics that continue to facilitate gender inequality.

In the conceptual approaches discussed above, we have, on the one hand, engaged gender as a sex-ascribed or socially-inscribed individual characteristic that drives differentiated behaviors and, on the other, as an interactional accomplishment through which individuals are held socially accountable as members of a particular sex category. These approaches have been used to explain the causes of gender inequality in the family (and in society generally), but they have been unable to explain its resilience, focusing as they do on only one dimension or level of social life at a time. Recognizing this limitation, feminist social theorists began to think “outside of the box” about how all levels could be engaged simultaneously and recursively (Risman, 1998, 2004; Risman & Davis, 2013). The outcome of this engagement is the “gender as structure” approach, discussed below.

Gender as Structure Gender, as feminist sociologist Risman points out (2004), is complicated. The “gender as structure” theoretical perspective accommodates this complexity, taking as its starting point the idea that gender is embedded in and permeates society at all levels. The effects of gender are recursive and multidirectional—gender constraints at one level impact, and are impacted by, gender effects at another, and this perspective allows for, and encourages, complication of notions about causality, resilience, and areas of possible disruption of gender inequality. Unlike previous theories that emphasize either structure or agency, the gender as structure perspective places equal emphasis on how gender acts as a structural constraint at the same time as actors have agency to interpret, manipulate, and potentially resist that structure.

Specifically, socialization practices operate at the individual level to create a gendered lens through which women and men come to see the world; gender-infused cultural expectations shape how men and women interact to account for these expectations, and organizational and institutional norms create the larger context within which gender operates to structure inequality at each of these levels. Family (as a social institution) and families (as individual contexts within which gender norms are perpetuated and changed) are impacted by and impact gender attitudes and behaviors in other social institutions and contexts. Altering gender inequality in the family (and in families) requires theoretical complexity that the gender as structure perspective provides.

Practically speaking, how to look at impacts across multiple recursive levels concurrently is somewhat of a dilemma and requires new ways of thinking about what constitutes gender inequality in families. In the past, division of household labor has often been used as a proxy; and to investigate the potential of the gender as structure approach for use in examining inequality in the family context, I draw on the example set by the extensive body of social scientific research on the unequal distribution of housework (for reviews, see Coltrane 2000, 2010; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In this regard, a substantial amount of research has focused on individual gender attitudes about who *should* do the housework or on how couples “negotiate” housework based on cultural expectations, time availability, or relative resources, including economic resources and the dynamics of (often hidden) power. Other research has looked at how, for instance, the employment model that fixes the image of the ideal worker as male impacts the performance of domestic chores (see, for instance, Gerson, 2010). In other words, a significant amount of fruitful work on household labor has been done at the individual, cultural/interactional, and institutional levels, but fewer studies have to date attempted to incorporate multiple levels and their interaction simultaneously. Below, I present examples of recent studies that have used the gender as structure perspective to look at gender inequality

in the family through the prism of multiple levels concurrently.

4 Inequality in Families Through the Gender as Structure Lens: Recent Empirical Illustrations

In recent years, social science researchers have become more comfortable with using the gender as structure perspective to analyze gender inequality in society and have created an emergent literature that attempts to account for the simultaneous examination of multiple levels of social reality. Literature on gender inequality in the family is also drawing on the gender as structure perspective, but, on the whole, researchers in this area have been somewhat less pioneering in their efforts to operationalize this approach (see Ferree, 2010), reflecting the difficulty of implementing intersectional approaches in general. Here I introduce three studies that are innovative in using gender as structure to examine power and inequality in the family and which directly or indirectly implicate the unequal division of labor in the home.

Use of the gender as structure model creates opportunities for examining inequality in the family in novel ways. The notion of the “stalled gender revolution” provided a baseline expectation that inequality between men and women in both the home and the workplace would disappear over time with the convergence of gender norms (England, 2010; Gerson, 2010; Hochschild and Machung 1989; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). However, as this chapter notes, gender inequality in families remains remarkably resistant to change *in spite of* (or in association with) converging expectations about the abilities of, and opportunities open to, women and men. Using the gender as structure perspective, the research below begins to illuminate why gender inequality in the family remains so resilient.

In 1985, Sarah Fenstermaker Berk famously referred to the American household as a “gender factory” in which the division of household labor both creates and is created by “conjugal” power (Berk, 1985; see also Komter, 1989). Marriage

has long encouraged men and women to “act out gendered identities as wives and husbands, especially in the division of household labor” (Randles, 2016: 244), and a consistent finding over the past decades, both nationally and cross-nationally, in research on heterosexual families has been that wives continue to do significantly more housework than husbands (see, for instance, Coltrane, 2000, 2010). Thus, when the government gets involved in using social policy to promote marriage and the related family scripts of husband and wife, it also becomes implicated in promoting inequality in the family. Although not directly addressing the division of household labor, Randles (2016) hones in on the government’s indirect reinforcement of traditional gendered family roles even as it purports to address the imbalance of power in marriage at the couple level. To do so, Randles examines 20 “government-approved” marriage education programs (and materials from their curricula) instituted under the auspices of the Healthy Marriage Initiative, to interrogate the multi-level and recursive gender impacts at play in challenging and/or reinforcing the gender status quo. Specifically, as described below, she engages the gender as structure perspective to show how gender bias infusing the initial public policy (PRWORA) from which the Healthy Marriage Initiative was spawned limits the potential of derivative marriage education programs to change the gender status quo, even over time.

In 1996, the Clinton administration sponsored reforms to welfare programs in the United States through the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). PRWORA institutionalized a “patriarchal model of family life” (Randles, 2016: 243) by withdrawing state support from poor mothers, pressuring them to turn instead to marriage and husbands for economic support. This act created a patriarchal foundation for the Healthy Marriage Initiative, which was developed in 2002 by the Bush administration, introducing public policy that redistributed funds originally allocated for welfare assistance to finance programs to promote “healthy” marriages. As a result, marriage education programs blossomed throughout the

United States. Randles (2016) analyzes the extent to which these programs reinforce or challenge gendered power in marriage relationships. Her research indicates that these marriage education programs are intrinsically problematic because they fail to address the gender stereotypes embedded in the “larger systems of power, inequality, and state action” rooted in PRWORA (Randles, 2016: 242). Because of PRWORA’s patriarchal grounding on which subsequent marriage promotion efforts are built, any attempts at constituting gender equality at the interpersonal level through these efforts continue to fail. At an abstract level, then, when viewed through the lens of the gender as structure perspective, *if the goal is to promote gender equality in relationships*, then marriage education programs initiated under the umbrella of PRWORA, through the Healthy Marriage Initiative, are inherently flawed and doomed to failure, ultimately reinforcing rather than challenging gender inequality in the family.

A second study that draws on the gender as structure approach to innovatively address inequality in families was undertaken by British Sociologist Parsons (2016). Feeding the family has been at the heart of the practice and ideology of the household distribution of labor since research on housework began. Grocery shopping, cooking meals, and cleaning up afterwards have been discrete tasks evaluated in relation to equality and power in the home. The ideology of “feeding the family” has been addressed as an important consideration of “good mothering” and something that good mothers “want” to do to show love and care for their families (DeVault, 1991). In many ways, as with other unpaid household chores, the ideology of feeding the family as empowering for women comes into tension with the time requirements for putting this ideology into practice. Using an auto/biographical methodological approach that involves email interviews with 75 individuals in the U.K., Parsons (2016) modernizes this tension by addressing the “new” cultural mandate for good mothering that involves putting “healthy” food (as opposed to non-organic, non-homecooked, “convenience” food) oriented to

individual family members' tastes on the table as a sign of love and caring. She draws on the gender as structure model to show how this "updated" version of good mothering involving "healthy foodways" is gender- and class-driven, involves more time and effort from mothers whether they work in the paid labor force or not, and blurs the boundaries between paid and unpaid labor in that women need to think about and plan for making the time to purchase and cook "healthy" food from scratch. At the individual level, Parsons points out that "a commitment to 'healthy' family foodways is a means of reproducing feminine identity" (2016: 384); at the level of cultural interactions, she notes that healthy family foodways "reinforce the cultural expectations of appropriate middle-class mothering," (p. 385), and at the institutional level, "the ideological insistence on 'healthy' family foodways reifies 'the' family as a site for inculcating appropriate 'healthy' family values" (p. 385) (as opposed to "unhealthy" lower-class family values). Using the gender as structure perspective, then, allows us to see how intensive mothering, with its built-in cultural contradictions (Hays, 1996) continues to be updated and recycled to reinforce gendered inequality in the family.

An additional study warranting attention here was conducted by British Sociologist Sullivan (2013), who draws on overviews of cross-national policy, as well as existing time-use data from research in the U.S. (American Heritage Time Use Study) and Britain (Multinational Time Use Study) on the division of household labor, in order to tease out gender differences in performance of routine housework and child care. Taking a multi-level approach to the data through the lens of the gender as structure model, Sullivan suggests that separating routine housework from child care can provide a fresh perspective on power and inequality in the family.

At the individual level, Sullivan finds, not surprisingly, that men and women in both the U.S. and Britain reported that routine housework such as cleaning, cooking, and laundry was less enjoyable than even paid employment, while child care was perceived as "relatively

enjoyable," second only to enjoyment of leisure activities (2013: 75). Sullivan examines family work at the interactional level in two ways: first, she looks at whether partners' enjoyment of household and child care tasks was affected by joint participation in these efforts and, second, she examines trends across countries. In the first instance, she finds that wives, but not husbands, see routine housework and child care as more enjoyable when done in conjunction with their partners, suggesting an interactional effect for them. For husbands, child care appears to be enjoyable whether accomplished jointly with their wives or not—suggesting that they may be doing the more "leisure-oriented" (and thus enjoyable) child care anyway. Similarly, looking at cross-national trends in the amount of time spent on household and child-care tasks, Sullivan points out the persistence of gender in the performance of routine housework across countries, even as the trend in child care tasks is for gender to matter less (p. 75).

Specifically, to evaluate the impact of cultural stereotypes on how gender is done through household labor, Sullivan examined 40-year trends over all 16 of the studied countries in the amount of time men and women spent doing routine housework (such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry—traditionally assumed to be "feminine" chores), care work, and "noncore" housework (such as home maintenance and "outside" work—traditionally assumed to be "masculine" chores). Over this time period, she found that housework followed traditional gender-stereotyped patterns: although the amount of time women spent doing housework dropped and men's increased slightly over time, women continued to do the lion's share of routine housework and care work, while men's household labor performance was focused on non-routine (non-core) work. Her conclusion was that "gender segregation of domestic and care tasks at the cross-national level appeared quite persistent over the countries of the study, even though the gender gap was narrowing" (Sullivan, 2013: 81).

At the institutional level, Sullivan explores the extent to which national social and public policies are associated with the persistent,

cross-national, finding that women, even as they work more in the paid labor force, continue to do the substantial majority of routine household labor and care work. To address this issue, she looks at data from the Multinational Time Use Study from the 1960s to the early 21st century, grouping the study's 16 countries into "policy clusters" based on their public investment in policies that promote social equality, as well as their prevailing gender ideology. Briefly, the "liberal, non-interventionist" cluster generally organizes social policy around market forces and a "modified" breadwinner model in which women are employed but are also expected to perform most of the domestic duties; this cluster included countries such as Great Britain and the United States. In the "social-democratic" or Nordic cluster (Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden), the state takes a larger role in providing social benefits, with the goal of social equality; public policy encourages both men and women to participate in paid labor through state provision of high quality child and elderly care. The "social-capitalist" or "conservative" cluster, including France and Germany, provides services through social policies designed to sustain inequality based on grounding in an ideology that posits men as breadwinners and women as caretakers. Finally, the "southern or Mediterranean" cluster, including Spain and Italy, organizes public policy around traditional gender ideology and relies on family networking to provide "informal" sources of welfare.

Overall, Sullivan found that, while women's relative proportion of routine housework has declined over time in each of the four clusters studied, the decline has been steepest in the "social-democratic" cluster, where gender ideology and social policy have focused on social equality and on encouraging both women and men to participate in paid labor. Relatedly, the decline in women's routine housework participation has been slowest in the "social-capitalist" and "southern" clusters where relatively traditional notions about gender ground public policy around social welfare.

With respect to child-care, however, a somewhat different pattern emerged—which was largely no pattern at all. While the most marked decline in women's participation over time was still in the Nordic or "social-democratic" cluster, other clusters revealed fewer patterned trends. Taken together, these findings at the institutional level suggest that policies promoting gender equality in the workplace are likely to be more directly effective at allowing women to reduce their proportion of routine housework than are policies specifically aimed at reducing care work, a finding which runs counter to much current policy orientation. The empirical understanding that men and women tend to enjoy child care, while few people, men or women, tend to enjoy housework (indicated at both the individual and interactional levels), allows policy makers and other stakeholders who really are interested in gender equality to focus policy on strengthening equal gender access to the paid workforce, knowing that such policy is likely to also affect the relative distribution of routine household labor. This contradicts much current thinking on the relationship of national policy to household labor participation and care work and is a direct result of engaging multiple levels concurrently as advocated by the gender as structure perspective.

The above studies are indicators of how the gender as structure perspective can be used in intriguing ways to study gender inequality in the family. This literature is expanding, and we expect it to continue to develop as researchers become more comfortable with applying this approach. While the studies mentioned address possible ways of evaluating existing data and gathering new data that take advantage of the gender as structure approach, more needs to be done in terms of "thinking outside the box" to examine implications across levels concurrently and recursively. To what extent can family researchers afford to keep thinking in previously framed ways about inequality? What questions do we, as feminist family social science researchers, need to ask to best take advantage of the gender as structure theoretical approach?

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Gender inequality in families has a long history, remaining remarkably resilient over time. This chapter has addressed broad theoretical perspectives that developed in particular historical contexts to examine possible causes for both the emergence and the resilience of this phenomenon. The first two of these perspectives (biology and sex roles) are focused heavily on ascribed differences between women and men, while the third (“doing gender”) is focused on how women and men enact those differences in accord with cultural expectations of femininity and masculinity. While “doing gender” afforded individuals more agency than did prior approaches, it too was ultimately centered around difference. Difference, as feminist social scientists have noted for decades, is the *sine qua non* of inequality, a consideration that has led to a call for elimination of gender as a category of difference (Lorber, 1994). MacKinnon notes that “[g]ender is socially constructed as *difference* epistemologically.... A built-in tension exists between this concept of equality, which presupposes sameness, and this concept of sex, which presupposes difference” (1990: 215; quoted in Lorber, 1994: 282–283). More recently, theorizing about gender inequality has moved toward gender relations theory and gender as social structure. These latter, overlapping, approaches distance themselves from the epistemological acceptance of gender as difference, and move on, instead, to look at gender as a social structure that is deployed at all levels of society to both create and re-create inequality. Inequality in the family through the gender as structure lens involves addressing (1) how gender operates at the individual level through socialization into and internalization of culturally normative assumptions about what husbands and wives are “supposed” to do in families; (2) how gender operates at the level of cultural expectations circumscribing social interactions, expectations that center around the “proper” activities and behaviors of husbands and wives and families generally; (3) how gender operates both precisely and diffusely through all social institutions to structure

gender relations in the family; and (4) how all of these levels act recursively on all other levels. This creates a fluid, dynamic model that not only helps us to determine why gender inequality in the family occurs and how it is sustained, but also allows us to see pressure points where change can occur.

Many social scientists focused on gender and/or families have noted the resilience of gender inequality in the family. Nevertheless, the relative lack of theoretical complexity has made it exceedingly difficult both to understand why gender inequality has remained so resistant to change and to locate potential avenues of change. The gender as structure model has given us a tool to examine the complexity of gender inequality in families, and we need to focus on how to use this tool to greatest effect. The distribution of household labor has been used as a proxy for gender inequality and power in family for decades; nevertheless, few studies to date have explored housework using the gender as structure theoretical model fully—to examine, that is, the household division of labor not only at the individual, interactional, or institutional levels of society, but across those levels as well, also looking at the recursive impact of one level on another. Doing so requires “thinking outside the box” methodologically, as well as theoretically.

To fully explore gender inequality in families, we also need to consider the enormous complexity of today’s families themselves, a trend that shows few signs of abating. Not only has the structure of families experienced rapid change over the latter part of the 20th century and into the 21st, but types of families are proliferating as well. Two biological parent nuclear families, although often represented as the norm, are declining in numbers and are no longer in the majority. Single-parent families (mother-headed and father-headed), step-families, grandparent-headed families, and those created in cohabiting relationships are but a few of the increasing, and increasingly mainstream, “new” family structures that family researchers are exploring with an eye to gender inequality. Besides new family structures, we also need to think about new types of family, such as families created in the context of

same-sex marriages and those, probably most complex with respect to explorations of inequality, created in the context of polyamorous relationships involving multiple adult and child groupings (see Sheff, 2014). How do we assess levels of (in)equality in these families? Does using household labor as a proxy still apply? If so, how do we articulate the division of household labor in, say, a polyamorous family with multiple groupings? If the division of household labor is no longer a valid proxy for (in)equality in the family, what is?

In conclusion, increasing complexity is the hallmark of contemporary families and, as feminist family social scientists, we need to expand our cultural toolkits to evaluate and examine the level of (in)equality with which they operate. The gender as structure model provides an intriguing theoretical tool for our use, allowing us to think about the multi-level and recursive effects of gender on all kinds of families. How to best put this perspective to use is the next frontier for research that allows us not only to examine gender inequality in families, but to disrupt the durability of that inequality as well.

References

- Adams, M. (2016). Review of feminism & popular culture: Investigating the postfeminist mystique. *Gender & Society, 30*(3), 552–554.
- Anthony, D. (2014). In the name of the father: Compulsion, tradition, and law in the lost history of women's surnames. *The Journal of Jurisprudence, 25*, 59–95.
- Basch, N. (1986). The emerging legal history of women in the United States: Property, divorce, and the constitution. *Signs, 12*(1), 97–117.
- Berk, S. F. (1985). *The gender factory: The apportionment of work in American households*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Bingham, P. (1824). *The law of infancy and coverture*.
- Blackstone, S. W. (1765). *Commentaries on the laws of England* (Vol. I).
- Bose, C. E. (1987). Dual spheres. In B. B. Hess & M. M. Ferree (Eds.), *Analyzing gender: A handbook of social science research* (pp. 267–285). Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Cahill, S. E. (1989). Fashioning males and females: Appearance management and the social reproduction of gender. *Symbolic Interaction, 12*(2), 281–298.
- Cheu, M. (2012). Now and then: How coverture ideology informs the rhetoric of abortion. *Texas Journal of Women & the Law, 22*(1), 113–130.
- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 1203–1233.
- Coltrane, S. (2010). Gender theory and household labor. *Sex Roles, 63*, 791–800.
- Coltrane, S., & Adams, M. (1997). Children and gender. In T. Arendell (Ed.), *Contemporary parenting: Challenges & issues* (pp. 219–253). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Coontz, S. (1992). *The way we never were*. New York: Basic Books.
- Coontz, S. (2011). *A strange stirring: The feminine mystique and American women at the dawn of the 1960s*. New York: Basic Books.
- Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. (1946). *Women workers in ten war production areas and their postwar employment plans, Bulletin 209*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender and Society, 21*(1), 106–127.
- Devault, M. (1991). *Feeding the family: The social organization of caring as gendered work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dill, B. T. (1988). Our mothers' grief: Racial ethnic women and the maintenance of families. *Journal of Family History, 13*(4), 415–431.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender and Society, 24*(2), 149–166.
- Ferree, M. M. (2010). Filling the glass: Gender perspectives on families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 429–439.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The feminine mystique*. New York: Norton.
- Geller, J. (2001). *Here comes the bride: Women, weddings, and the marriage mystique*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows.
- Gerson, K. (2010). *The unfinished revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenstein, T. (1996). Gender ideology and perceptions of the fairness of the division of household labor: Effects on marital quality. *Social Forces, 74*, 1029–1042.
- Hartog, H. (2000). *Man and wife in America: A history*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. New York: Viking.

- Komter, A. (1989). Hidden power in marriage. *Gender and Society*, 3(2), 187–216.
- Lachance-Grzela, M., & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion's share of housework? A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, 63, 767–780.
- Laslett, B., & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15, 381–404.
- Legerski, E. M., & Cornwall, M. (2010). Working-class job loss, gender, and the negotiation of household labor. *Gender and Society*, 24(4), 447–474.
- Lennon, M. C., & Rosenfield, S. (1994). Relative fairness and the division of housework: The importance of options. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(2), 506–531.
- Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lorber, J. (1993). Believing is seeing: Biology as destiny". *Gender and Society*, 7(4), 568–581.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1990). Legal perspectives on sexual difference. In D. L. Rhode (Ed.), *Theoretical perspectives on sexual difference* (pp. 213–225). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Martos, J., & Hégy, P. (Eds.). (1998). *Equal at the creation: Sexism, society, and Christian thought*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Munford, R., & Waters, M. (2014). *Feminism and popular culture: Investigating the postfeminist mystique*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Parsons, J. M. (2016). When convenience is inconvenient: 'Healthy' family foodways and the persistent intersectionalities of gender and class. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 25(4), 382–397.
- Parsons, T. (1940). An analytical approach to the theory of social stratification. *American Journal of Sociology*, 45(6), 841–862.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family, socialization and interaction process*. New York: Free Press.
- Pedulla, D. S., & Thébaud, S. (2015). Can we finish the revolution? Gender, work-family ideals, and institutional constraint. *American Sociological Review*, 80(1), 116–139.
- Pratto, F., & Hegarty, P. (2000). The political psychology of reproductive strategies. *Psychological Science*, 11(1), 57–62.
- Randles, J. M. (2016). Redefining the marital power struggle through relationship skills: How U.S. marriage education programs challenge and reproduce gender inequality. *Gender and Society*, 30(2), 240–264.
- Rhode, D. (1990). *Theoretical perspectives on sexual difference*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. (2004). Gender as social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender and Society*, 18(4), 429–450.
- Risman, B. (2011). Gender as structure or trump card? *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 3, 18–22.
- Risman, B. J., & Davis, G. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology Review*, 61(5–6), 733–755.
- Sheff, E. (2014). *The polyamorists next door: Inside multiple-partner relationships and families*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Spigel, L. (1992). *Make room for tv: Television and the family ideal in postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sullivan, O. (2013). What do we learn about gender by analyzing housework separately from child care? Some considerations from time-use evidence. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5, 72–84.
- Tichenor, V. (1999). Status and income as gendered resources: The case of marital power. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 61, 638–650.
- Tichenor, V. (2005). Maintaining men's dominance: Negotiating identity and power when she earns more. *Sex Roles*, 53(3/4), 191–205.
- Udry, J. R. (2000). Biological limits of gender construction. *American Sociological Review*, 65(3), 443–457.
- Welter, B. (1966). The cult of true womanhood: 1820–1860. *American Quarterly*, 18(2), 151–174.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1, 125–151.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (2009). Accounting for doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 23(1), 112–122.

Michele Adams is Associate Professor of Sociology at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana. Her research interests include gender, culture, and family, with a focus on their intersections and discursive construction over time. She has published in venues such as *Media, Culture, and Society*, *Journal of Family Issues*, *Sex Roles*, *Family Relations*, and *Family Law Quarterly*, and is co-author with Scott Coltrane of *Gender and Families*. Her current research examines the historical conflation of eugenics discourse and family values rhetoric, and how it has inflected cultural and political debates around women's rights.

Gender (Non) Conformity in the Family

26

Katie L. Acosta and Veronica B. Salcedo

Abstract

This chapter surveys the empirical research on gender (non) conformity in the family with an emphasis on work that provides an intersectional analysis or centers the experiences of marginalized social groups. We offer that masculinities and femininities are performed in culturally specific ways and survey research that illustrates some of these differences. We look at research on men redefining hegemonic masculinity, parent's gender socialization of their children, intimate partners navigating gender in their relationships and sexually nonconforming individuals doing gender within families of choice.

Kazyak, 2009). In this chapter, we survey the scholarship addressing the family's role in shaping gender (non) conformity both in terms of physical presentation and gendered behavior. We use the term gender (non) conformity in order to disrupt the polarization between conformity and nonconformity. Instead, we argue it is a constant negotiation which one achieves to varying degrees at different points in time. We conceptualize family as those individuals of origin who participate in raising one from childhood and those individuals of choice who become a part of one's support networks in adulthood. Thereby, we define family as a person's biological or adoptive relatives, caretakers, friends and community members. Like gender, we see family as negotiated, fluid and achieved in social interactions.

1 Introduction

Scholars have long theorized gender as an achieved process (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and have for some time explored the social agents that teach us how to do gender including peers, schools (Martin, 1998; Pascoe, 2007; Thorne, 1993), and media (Martin, 2005; Martin &

We begin this chapter by laying out the framework for masculinities, femininities and their intersections. This is followed with empirical research on how men redefine masculinity. Next, we survey the empirical research on parents' gender socialization of children. Here, we include scholarship on how parents encourage gender conformity in their children and at times support nonconformity. In the next section, we explore how gender is negotiated within intimate partnerships. This is followed by an analysis of research on gender norms within gay and lesbian communities. Each section weaves together research on racial, ethnic and sexual minority groups in order to present a more intersectional

K. L. Acosta (✉) · V. B. Salcedo
Georgia State University, Atlanta, USA
e-mail: kacosta@gsu.edu

V. B. Salcedo
e-mail: vsalcedo1@student.gsu.edu

analysis. We incorporate research that adopts Collins' (2000) approach to intersectionality—exploring how oppressions are interlinked and organized along a matrix of domination. We also incorporate research that adopts McCall's (2005) *anticategorical* and *intercategorical* methodological approaches to intersectionality. The anticategorical approach emphasizes deconstructing categories in order to dismantle inequalities. The intercategorical approach is focused on comparative relationships of inequality (or lack thereof) among multiple social groups. We conclude with an analysis of how intersectionality has been advanced in research on gender (non) conformity and the family as well as with suggestions for how intersectionality and other theoretical approaches can be advanced in the future.

2 Theorizing Masculinities and Femininities

For Connell (1995) gender is a practice that organizes people's interactions in relation to one another. Connell offers four relationships that distinguish masculinities in a Western context: hegemonic, dominant/subordinate, complicit, and authorized/marginalized. Hegemonic masculinity, a nearly unattainable ideal embodied by a few elite white men, is predicated upon the subordination of all other masculinities and femininity. Emphasized femininity is the basis for yielding to men's interests and needs, while other forms of femininity accommodate and resist subservience at varying levels (Connell, 1987).

Any theorization of masculinities is incomplete without an analysis of femininities and its hierarchies. Schippers (2007) reframes Connell's concept emphasized femininity, arguing it is hegemonic since it embodies the practices assigned to women and reinforces a hierarchical and complementary relationship with hegemonic masculinity. This ensures men's dominant position and women's subordinate position (94). Schippers argues that gender differences and relationality are institutionalized through our social practices and that masculinities and femininities are at the center of gender hegemony.

When women embody social practices of hegemonic masculinity, those practices are stigmatized because they challenge gender hegemony; Schippers terms these practices pariah femininities. Additionally, Schippers notes, men whose practices disrupt gender hegemony embody hegemonic feminine characteristics.

Connell (1995) offers that the interaction of gender, race, and class construct multiple hierarchical masculinities. Further explicating these relationships, Collins' (2004) argues that all masculinities and femininities exist in subordination to the hegemonic as part of a racialized system of sexism. This system relegates racial minorities and women to marginalized masculinities and femininities based on the intersection of race, class, gender and sexual orientation (186). Chou (2012) argues that within this racialized gendered system, the white racial frame relegates Asian American men to effeminacy. Controlling images of Asian Americans span a continuum of hypersexuality and passivity and are used to justify white supremacy (Espiritu, 2008). A racist structure shapes how racial minorities and women experience subordinated femininities and masculinities and in turn their racial/ethnic identities. Pyke and Johnson (2003) argue Asian American women resist the submissive femininities they associate with other Asian women. Instead, they adopt a hegemonic femininity which they attribute with whiteness and distance themselves from their ethnicities.

Missing from most theorizations of masculinity and femininity is an analysis of its cultural specificities. Acosta (2013) argues that hierarchies of femininity can vary by geographic location and that there are different characteristics indicative of dominant and pariah femininities in the United States as opposed to Latin America. González-López (2005) offers that masculinities and femininities are shaped in part by regional patriarchies and expressions of hegemony vary according to rural and urban locations. Fuller (2006) identifies multiple Peruvian masculinities both in public and private spheres that vary by class. These scholars provide nuance to our understanding of marginalized masculinities and femininities as well as

racial and ethnic minority's resistance to gender hegemony. In addition, Shimizu (2012) and Nguyen (2014) argue that passive or effeminate portrayals of Asian American men can provide an alternative to toxic hegemonic masculinity and advocate for more ethical and responsible notions of manhood. In doing so, they challenge the aspiration for hegemonic masculinities and femininities.

In the following sections, we identify how and to what extent families challenge and/or reinforce gendered expectations regarding domestic work, the socialization of children, in interpersonal relationships and within families of choice.

3 Comparing How Men Redefine Masculinities

Recent research on Latino masculinities has critiqued the image of machismo for its culturally reductive and stereotypical representation of Latino men's experiences. For instance, Hurtado and Sinha (2016) find for Latino men, manhood is about having strong ethical values, rejecting hegemonic masculinity, acknowledging gender discrimination and women's subjugation under patriarchy. This study finds Latinos express a stronger feminist ideology than white men which the authors' contribute to differences in how both groups of men experience privilege. For Latino men, they argue, male privilege intersects with oppression resulting in a better understanding of social inequalities and state control than white men for whom privilege intersects with advantage. In research on Mexican fatherhood, González-López (2004) finds that immigration shapes men's expressions of masculinities and the sexual values they instill in their daughters. These men report promoting gender equity in their families and affording their daughters the latitude to experience educational opportunities. While these men express concern with their children's susceptibility to negative influences (drugs, violence) in the United States, they do not assert authoritative, or dominant forms of masculinity in their parenting. Olavarria (2006) finds working-class men in urban Chile struggle to

balance prescriptive notions of patriarchal fathering with their desire for closer affinity to their family. As more women are entering the workforce, Olavarria finds that fathers share more domestic responsibilities, although they do not contribute equally. For some men, this experience leads to an appreciation for their partners. While for others it leads to feelings of helplessness. These studies provide a more complex view of masculinities among heterosexual Latino men: one that explores how they negotiate masculinities that still allow them to support gender equity.

Research on white men in the United States finds that unemployment during the 2008 Great Recession forced men to do gender in less normative ways (Demantas & Myers, 2015). Before unemployment, these men did not participate in many domestic chores; however, most men embrace housework as a fair way to compensate women for their paid labor. These men accept that the decision-making role shifts to their working female partners, whose financial support they appreciate. Many reconceptualize housework as hard, challenging labor appropriate for "real men." Latshaw (2015) argues that in choosing to stay home with their children, fathers resist gender conformity. Latshaw identifies two groups of fathers: *reluctant* and *resolute*. Reluctant fathers are primary caregivers to their children when in transition between jobs. These men assert normative notions of masculinity by avoiding feminized housework. Resolute fathers embrace these responsibilities and reinvent masculinity by blurring the division of gendered work. These fathers choose to stay at home instead of entering the job market. While some men in the United States redefine masculinity to include caring for their family (Demantas & Myers, 2015), others reify normative masculinity when engaging in domestic work by using gendered language to rationalize these tasks (Latshaw, 2015).

This research speaks to the constraints hegemonic masculinity places on men's identities in culturally distinct ways. Hurtado and Sinha's (2016) and González-López's (2004) work suggest that Latino men are not committed to

achieving hegemonic masculinity, preferring instead a more gender equitable way of expressing masculinity. Perhaps the marginalities these men experience in terms of race, class and citizenship foster less oppressive masculinities. Research on white middle-class men in the United States suggests they too are exploring alternative ways of doing gender and establishing stronger emotional bonds in the family. Despite some shifts in power relations, these men continue to view the home primarily as a women's domain even as women contribute financial support for the family. Still, this phenomenon is not unique to the United States as Olavarría (2006) finds Chilean men share similar views.

4 Parental Gender Socialization

Research on parents' gender socialization of children finds that in households where parents intentionally disrupt hegemonic masculinity, children still learn to articulate a gendered self once they reach school age (Risman & Myers, 1997). In a study of preschool age children, Martin (1998) finds children learn to acquire gendered bodily practices through the gendered disciplinary tactics they are subjected to. Research also suggests variations in parent's gender socialization of children according to parent's gender and sexual identity as well as the biological sex of the child. For instance, heterosexual fathers are committed to helping their sons achieve hegemonic masculinity and are motivated by their own desires to obtain and maintain hegemonic masculinity. These fathers view their son's sexuality as a representation of their own and thus privilege heterosexuality (Kane, 2006, 2012). In contrast, heterosexual mothers report societal pressures as their primary motivation for reinforcing gender conformity in their sons (Kane, 2006, 2012). Parents' gender socialization of daughters differs in that as children they are often encouraged to reject celebrated forms of femininity in favor of more masculine assigned attributes.

Some research on nonheterosexual parents suggests that they also often succumb to

pressures to encourage gender conformity in their children. Berkowitz and Ryan (2011), for example, find parents at times overcompensate for their own sexual nonconformity by promoting societally prescriptive gender norms for their children. Still, they find while sexual minority parents largely promote essentialist ideas of appropriate masculinity and femininity, they nonetheless find ways to resist essentialist notions of the relationship between sex and gender roles. Other research indicates that parent's negative childhood experiences with compulsory heterosexuality drive them to encourage their children's gender exploration (Averett, 2016). Parents offer a "gender buffet" with a "variety of gendered options for clothes, toys, and activities and interests including feminine, masculine, and gender-neutral choices" (209–210). Some parents utilize a value-neutral strategy and do not restrict access to any materials or activities. Others curate a gender buffet to actively resist harmful aspects of masculinity. In addition, these parents nurture emotional expression in their sons or self-sufficiency in their daughter.

4.1 Gender Variance and Children

When parents support gender nonconformity for their children their biggest concern is the relationship between doing gender and sexual identity. Parents are motivated to encourage their children's gender conformity because they believe not doing so would make others perceive their children are gay. Parents' ideologies regarding the relationship between gender conformity and heterosexuality are influenced by those to whom they turn for expert parenting advice. Parents who seek advice regarding their children's gender nonconformity are met with books and websites that reinforce the link between gender nonconformity and homosexuality, often in stigmatizing ways (Martin, 2005).

Medical professionals are also complicit in reinforcing the relationship between gender conformity and sexual orientation. For instance, Davis, Dewey, and Murphy (2016) look at the

ways medical professionals approach transgender and intersex bodies, arguing that in both cases doctors expect their medical interventions on transgender and intersex bodies will lead to a heterosexual gendered body. Medical professionals reinforce sex, gender and sexuality binaries and impose their biases for these binaries on the parents of intersex children as well as on transgender individuals.

Research on families with gender variant children names three strategies parents use to support their children: *gender hedging*, *gender literacy*, and *playing along* (Rahilly, 2015). Parents engaging in these strategies deconstruct the assumed link between sex and gender and expand opportunities for their children while retaining a biological understanding of gender variant behavior. Consistent with gendered expectations of parenting, mothers more often than fathers actively participate in on-going negotiations and advocacy for their children's gender expression. Meadow (2011) finds that parents' understanding of their gender variant children's identities is shaped by the scripted narratives society makes possible for them. As such, these parents adopt medical and psychological discourses (that are otherwise used to create rigid biological narratives of gender) to describe their children's gender variance. Both Meadow (2011) and Rahilly (2015) note that race and class privilege makes it feasible for the parents in their studies to support their children's gender nonconformity. These studies make apparent the absence of research on racial minority parents' socialization of children.

4.2 Gender (Non) Conformity in Racial/Ethnic Minority Families

Research exploring the role of race/ethnicity and social class in shaping the values parents' instill in their children suggests that social position and the constraints families experience on account of racism or anti-immigrant sentiment can shape the gendered messages they convey. For instance,

Espiritu's (2001) work on first generation Filipino parents in the United States suggests they turn to gendered discourses of moral superiority and ethnic authenticity by positioning white women as 'promiscuous' and in juxtaposition to 'good' Filipina women. These parents leverage Filipina's sexual and gender agency to bolster ethnic pride against racism in the United States and in an effort to resist cultural subordination via colonization. Similarly, studies of sex and gender socialization within Latina/o families find adolescent daughters report experiencing more restrictions on their freedom than do their brothers (Garcia, 2012; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). In an exploration of parent's motivations for restricting their daughters' behavior, Chou (2012) finds East Asian American women attribute their limited social freedom as children to their parent's fear of potential predators who eroticize Asians. South Asian American women approaching young adulthood learn to master domestic chores and are encouraged to find a co-ethnic husband with a high-status profession. These parents are motivated by cultural preservation and a desire to protect daughters from discrimination through economic security. Other research finds significant pressure for girls to conform to societally acceptable forms of femininity as they enter adulthood. For instance, sexually nonconforming Latinas experience more acceptance from their parents if they are gender conforming as parents perceive gender transgressions would make their sexual transgressions visible (Acosta, 2013). By presenting an outward appearance of acceptable femininity, parents believe their sexually nonconforming daughters will minimize this transgression. In another study, African American women report that, as adolescents, their fathers reinforced racialized norms of appropriate black femininity and instilled in them contradictory messages about the importance of being both strong and respectable women (Johnson, 2013). These studies underscore how immigrant and racial minority parents enforce socially acceptable expressions of femininity upon their daughters to buffer the effects of racism, homophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment.

5 Doing Gender and Redefining Family Within Intimate Partnerships

As the complementary relationship between masculinities and femininities has already been established in the research, some scholars explore how this codependence is experienced within couple's partnerships. For instance, Pfeffer (2010) notes that women partners of transgender men conform to socially prescriptive gender roles during the transition process. Similarly, Ward (2010) highlights trans men's desires for their femme partners to embody a "girl" subjectivity while simultaneously celebrating their masculinity: a process Ward terms *giving gender*. Femme partners are tasked with creating the illusion that the labor involved in giving gender is effortless and in some ways silence their own subjectivity for their partner's sake. Further outlining the compromises they make, Pfeffer (2014) notes cis women with trans men partners struggle to adopt a fitting sexual identity (given language limitations) and with being misrecognized as heterosexual when in social settings. Cis women experience discomfort from misrecognition, at times, resisting it by embodying counternormative practices. On the other hand, misrecognition can be validating for trans men partners because in being perceived as heterosexual their gender identity as men is also recognized.

While Ward's work emphasizes the gender labor of trans men's femme partners, Pfeffer explores these women's acts of resistance. Pfeffer (2012) notes, cis women partners of trans men engage in both *normative resistance* (resisting life choices considered socially acceptable such as marriage and parenthood) and *inventive pragmatism* (choosing to manipulate these institutions to gain resources for their families). Structural forces constrain the ways they resist dominant and privileged family forms while simultaneously creating a space for their queer families within these institutions. Still, there is a cost associated with inventive pragmatism, in gaining access to heteronormative privilege these families can also be excluded from LGBTQ

communities (Pfeffer, 2014). These studies highlight the complementary ways that cis women and their trans men partners embody gender and explore the social consequences and advantages families experience in doing gender in complementary ways.

Research on household division of labor can illustrate how power and gender expectations impact heterosexual couples' ability to navigate inequality (Davis & Greenstein, 2013). Risman and Johnson-Sumerford (1998) find postgender couples organize domestic responsibilities in ways that disrupt traditional gender scripts. These couples include women who are not financially dependent on their husbands which allows them to better negotiate power and control in their homes. When meeting the emotional needs of the family, more gendered patterns emerge for some families. Some mothers serve as the emotion expert—establishing stronger bonds with the children and managing the couples' familial needs. Still, more couples either share the emotion work or double their individual efforts to be equally present emotionally in the relationship.

Carrington's (1999) work suggests that both lesbians and gay men publicly present egalitarian family values but ultimately fall subject to gendered constraints in carrying out tasks. Gay men who do domestic work downplay the labor involved in order to preserve a threat to their gender identity. Those who do not routinely participate in domestic work also mitigate their partners' involvement in order to preserve their masculinity and distance them from feminized labor. Still, this pattern may shift for gay couples with children. For instance, rather than distancing themselves from feminized labor, gay stay-at-home fathers challenge and expand masculinity by redefining "accomplishment" in non monetary ways (Goldberg, 2012). Some gay fathers share childcare and feminized domestic tasks more equally than do heterosexual couples (Goldberg, Smith, & Perry-Jenkins, 2012). Some gay fathers adopt a flexible ideology of masculinity that allows for emotional expression and nurturing while creating new norms for their family (Schacher, Auerbach, & Silverstein,

2005). These men engage in *degendered parenting* by blending traditional gendered roles as they shift towards progressive fathering practices.

In her work on black lesbian couples, Moore (2011) delineates the link between care work and one's gender presentation in shaping gender imbalance in these relationships. Partners with a more feminine gender display describe doing more household labor than their less feminine partners. Still while gender imbalances may persist, there are also key instances where socially prescriptive gender roles are disrupted in black lesbian families. For instance, in stepparent families biological mothers leverage power over the family through control of the couple's finances and through performing most of the domestic duties in the home. These families are often formed when a biological mother allows a partner to move into an already established home that she shares with her biological children which inherently creates a power imbalance in favor of the biological mom and leads to a disruption of gender conforming roles.

Research on polyamorous relationships also explores the ways partners reproduce and disrupt hierarchical and gendered dynamics in the family. Sheff (2006) finds that polyamorous men aspire to achieve poly-hegemonic masculinity, resisting normative hegemonic masculinity in favor of a more gender equitable arrangement where power is shared with their female partners. These men recognize a woman's freedom to form intimate bonds with other people, despite the risk of losing control to other potential partners. However, Scheff also notes in some long-term polyamorous relationships men reify hegemonic masculinity by leveraging their race, class, gender and heterosexual privileges to restrict other people's access to their female partners.

These studies provide insight into how gender is negotiated within intimate partnerships for gay, lesbian, poly, heterosexual and queer families. Each study highlights how families simultaneously conform to and resist prescriptive gender scripts. Further, these studies delineate the structural barriers that inhibit their efforts to resist.

6 Gender (Non) Conformity Within Families of Choice

Some research explores the relationship between gender and visibility in sexually nonconforming communities. Because these communities provide important social support for gay men and lesbians, we survey this research as illustrative of the role families of choice play in how they deploy gender. Stein's (1997) work on lesbian communities in the 70s, 80s, and 90s documents lesbians' association of societally acceptable femininities with women's oppression and thus their preference for an androgynous gendered self. Their efforts to blur gender differences were intentional acts to separate lesbian identified women from the dominant society. Esterberg (1997) describes gender among lesbians as performative and in some ways a playful blending of masculinity and femininity. Esterberg finds femme lesbians struggle with wanting to be recognized within the lesbian community as well as within dominant society. Crawley (2001) uses women-seeking-women personal ads to explore class differences in gender preferences. Crawley finds middle-class women are more committed to their gender conformity than working-class women but still seek partners who adopt butch/femme gender displays. Further, the personal ads suggest these women are more likely to describe the partners they seek as having masculine or feminine characteristics, suggesting that while they have clear preferences regarding gender presentation they avoid the language of butch/femme. Crawley suggests this avoidance may be attributable to the feminist stigma associated with butch/femme gender displays.

As women who are socially positioned differently along a racial hierarchy in the United States, black and white lesbians' experience different kinds of oppressions (Moore, 2011). These distinct subjectivities are evident in the variations of gender presentations apparent in different lesbian communities. Moore offers that gender presentation among black lesbians reflects both black culture and lesbian group membership which leads to a gender expression that is culturally unique from that of predominately white

lesbian communities (90). Further, Moore offers three physical gender presentations salient in black lesbian communities: *femmes*, *gender-blenders* and *transgressives*. Like Crawley (2001), Moore captures how social class restricts gender displays for black women, noting middle-class women are more likely to reject gender nonconformity out of concern for the impact it could have on their professional goals. Whereas working-class black lesbians (and middle-class lesbians employed in male dominated professions) are more willing to resist societal gender expectations.

Acosta's (2016) work looks at gender expectations in terms of dress and behavior among Latina lesbians in one social group. She argues these women establish norms around appropriate gender presentation and serial monogamy in order to protect an image of themselves as sexually moral. Acosta notes these women's suspicion of others who embody a masculine gender display and those they perceive to be promiscuous. Further, Acosta notes these rigid expectations fuel Latina lesbians' oppositional consciousness, allowing them to resist racial/ethnic stereotypes and hypersexualization.

Research on gay men's communities offers a nuanced look at the ways gendered behavior is regulated among friends. For instance, Decena (2011) finds that Dominican gay men distance themselves from effeminacy in order to retain legitimacy, social mobility and acceptance. Still, effeminacy which is deployed through playful body movements and language intonation can be expressed among close gay friends which allows for intimacy with one another. Filipino gay men often adopt a Bakla identity which derives from the Tagalog word for homosexuality, effeminacy and cross dressing (Manalansan, 2003). Bakla can be derogatory, suggesting that one is not a "real man" but Bakla is also embraced as an expression of feminine performance. Gaining belonging among Filipino gay men requires the use of *swardspak*, a Filipino gay vernacular that involves the performance of femininity. Baklas see one another as friends or kin in the Diaspora but their sexual and romantic attractions are reserved for "more masculine" men. While this

research does not speak to expectations for gendered dress, it offers a unique analysis of the body as a site of gendered discipline for non white immigrant men.

Collectively, the research on gay and lesbian communities elucidates how individuals are held accountable to adhering to specific gender and sexual ideologies in order to obtain group membership. Thus, even within communities designed to be a respite from the othering that occurs in the dominant society, the limitations imposed by the dominant society continue to shape attempts at gender (non) conformity.

7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have highlighted research exploring gender constraints as experienced through both interactions and social structures and the integral role of the family in holding us all accountable for doing gender appropriately. Most of the studies surveyed are theoretically motivated by the doing gender paradigm. West and Zimmerman's (1987) work goes beyond Goffman's analysis of gender display in that they delineate the intricacies involved in accomplishing gender; positing that doing gender is not a choice. Even when we resist, others perceive us as men or women and that perception impacts interactions. Despite West and Zimmerman's efforts to make this distinction, it is not uncommon for research to simultaneously draw from Goffman (1959) and/or Butler (1990). While there is always room for researchers to draw from multiple theoretical frameworks, much of the empirical research in this area has blended these three to the point of losing some theoretical precision.

Risman (2009) argues that doing gender has become ubiquitous and advocates that scholars go beyond exploring the changing ways in which people do gender and instead look at the ways that gender is undone. The research surveyed in this chapter illustrates Risman's critique. Gender scholars often limit an analysis to how individuals balance the demands of hegemonic masculinities and femininities or create new

masculinities and femininities within gender hegemony. For instance, Sheff's (2006) work on poly-hegemonic masculinities does exactly this. Rather than providing an analysis of how men in poly relationships resist gender binaries by refusing hegemonic masculinities, Sheff offers that these men adopt a different kind of masculinity in their families. An alternative way to interpret these men's behaviors is to see them as challenging or resisting socially prescriptive gender norms in the interest of loosening the constraints of gender hegemony. Pfeffer (2010, 2012, 2014) and Ward (2010) begin to move us in this direction through analysis of cis women and their transmen partners. Demantas and Myers (2015) approach gender as structure and find that institutional level changes impact men's involvement in the paid labor force resulting in more gender flexibility towards domestic work. Careful analysis of these studies offers an understanding of the limitations of resisting gender and thus aid us in advancing theory.

Most of the research surveyed in this chapter has relied upon a racially homogenous sample of either predominantly white respondents or respondents of one racial minority group. In addition, class diversity is lacking in these samples. These studies adopt multiple intersectional methodological approaches to gender (non) conformity in the family. For instance, Davis et al.'s (2016) research exemplifies McCall (2005) anti-categorical approach in that it points to the social construction of sex and the nuanced ways that medical professionals *give sex* to transgender and intersex bodies based on their preconceived notions of gender. Moore's (2011), Acosta's (2013, 2016), and Chou's (2012) work are all examples of Collins' (2000) approach to intersectionality—centering on one racial or ethnic minority group and exploring their intersecting oppressions. Research adopting McCall's inter-categorical approach is not well represented in the scholarship. This approach requires a systematic comparison of groups in terms of gender, class, race, ethnicity or other social dimensions. While McCall advocates this approach lends itself to quantitative analysis, we also see its potential for qualitative research. For instance,

despite a small sample size, Kane's (2006, 2012) work makes comparisons across social groups and effectively illustrates the differences between mothers' and fathers' gendering practices as well as the differences in their gendering of sons versus daughters. These comparisons in our view contribute to intersectionality's complexity. Some critiques of McCall's categorical approach argue that it reappropriates a theoretical perspective aimed at centering black women's voices, rendering them invisible (Alexander-Floyd, 2012). Still, we believe there is ample room within intellectual discourse for multiple approaches to intersectionality to exist and enrich gender studies scholarship (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Nonetheless, scholars building on intersectionality ought to acknowledge and reflect upon its theoretical origins as a theory for voicing black marginality in meaningful ways.

The research surveyed in this chapter makes an invaluable contribution to the study of gender (non) conformity and the family. It builds upon interactional and structural theoretical approaches to explore the family's role in reifying gender binaries through outward appearances and behaviors. These studies deepen our understanding of gender hegemony through illustrative findings of the limitations to resisting gender conformity and the impact that gender constraints have on our familial roles. In the future, this area can benefit from research that accepts Risman's (2009) invitation for more scholars to adopt a lens of undoing gender so that we can go beyond naming gender as an achievement when it is observed. Furthermore, research that is methodologically informed by McCall's (2005) inter-categorical approach to intersectionality will allow for a better understanding of gender inequality. Perhaps unlike McCall, we do not see the inter-categorical approach to intersectionality as a model primarily informed by large data comparisons. These comparisons can also be achieved with qualitative methods (albeit more rare). The absence of this work limits the comparisons researchers can draw and ultimately the strength with which we can claim racialized gender differences. Lastly, scholars have been slow to develop a nuanced understanding of the

cultural differences that inform socially prescriptive gendered practices. Espiritu (2001, 2008), Acosta (2013, 2016) and others contribute to this goal, a more expansive analysis of these differences awaits theorizing.

References

- Acosta, K. L. (2013). *Amigas y Amantes: Sexually nonconforming Latinas negotiate family*. *Families in focus*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Acosta, K. L. (2016). Cultivating a lesbiana seria identity. *Sexualities*, 19(5/6), 517–534.
- Alexander-Floyd, N. G. (2012). Disappearing acts: Reclaiming intersectionality in the social sciences in a post-black feminist era. *Feminist Formations*, 24(1), 1–25.
- Averett, K. H. (2016). The gender buffet: LGBTQ parents resisting heteronormativity. *Gender & Society*, 30(2), 189.
- Berkowitz, D., & Ryan, M. (2011). Bathrooms, baseball, and bra shopping: Lesbian and gay parents talk about engendering their children. *Sociological Perspectives*, 54(3), 329–350.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Carrington, C. (1999). *No place like home: Relationships and family life among lesbians and gay men*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, 28(2), 129–149.
- Chou, R. S. (2012). *Asian American sexual politics: The construction of race, gender, and sexuality*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black sexual politics: African American, gender, and the new racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender & power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Crawley, S. L. (2001). Are butch and fem working-class and antifeminist? *Gender & Society*, 15(2), 175–196.
- Davis, G., Dewey, J. M., & Murphy, E. L. (2016). Giving sex: Deconstructing intersex and trans medicalization practices. *Gender & Society*, 30(3), 490.
- Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2013). Why study housework? Cleaning as a window into power in couples. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5(2), 63–71.
- Decena, C. U. (2011). *Tacit subjects: Belonging and same-sex desire among dominican immigrant men*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Demantas, I., & Myers, K. (2015). Step up and be a man in a different manner: Unemployed men reframing masculinity. *Sociological Quarterly*, 56(4), 640–664.
- Espiritu, Y. (2001). We don't sleep around like white girls do: Family, culture, and gender in Filipino American lives. *Signs*, 26(2), 415–440.
- Espiritu, Y. (2008). *Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love*. *The Gender Lens Series*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Esterberg, K. G. (1997). *Lesbian and bisexual identities: Constructing communities, constructing selves*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fuller, N. (2006). The social constitution of gender identity among Peruvian males. In M. C. Gutmann (Ed.), *Changing men and masculinities in Latin America* (pp. 134–152). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Garcia, L. (2012). *Respect yourself, protect yourself: Latina girls and sexual identity*. New York: New York University.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2012). *Gay dads: Transitions to adoptive fatherhood*. New York: NYU Press.
- Goldberg, A. E., Smith, J. Z., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2012). The division of labor in lesbian, gay, and heterosexual new adoptive parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(4), 812–828.
- González-López, G. (2004). Fathering Latina sexualities: Mexican men and the virginity of their daughters. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(5), 1118–1130.
- González-López, G. (2005). *Erotic journeys: Mexican immigrants and their sex lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hurtado, A., & Sinha, M. (2016). *Beyond machismo: Intersectional Latino masculinities*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Johnson, M. S. (2013). Strength and respectability: Black women's negotiation of racialized gender ideals and the role of daughter-father relationships. *Gender & Society*, 27(6), 889–912.
- Kane, E. W. (2006). 'No way my boys are going to be like that!' Parents' responses to children's gender nonconformity. *Gender and Society*, 20(2), 149–176.
- Kane, E. W. (2012). *The gender trap: Parents and the pitfalls of raising boys and girls*. New York: New York University Press.
- Latshaw, B. A. (2015). From mopping to mowing. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 23(3), 252–270.
- Manalansan, M. F. (2003). *Global divas: Filipino gay men in the diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Martin, K. A. (1998). Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. *American Sociological Review*, 63(4), 494–511.

- Martin, K. A. (2005). William wants a doll. Can he have one? Feminists, child care advisors, and gender-neutral child rearing. *Gender and Society*, 19(4), 456–479.
- Martin, K. A., & Kazyak, E. (2009). Hetero-romantic love and heterosexiness in children's g-rated films. *Gender and Society*, 23(3), 315–336.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
- Meadow, T. (2011). 'Deep down where the music plays': How parents account for childhood gender variance. *Sexualities*, 14(6), 725–747.
- Moore, M. R. (2011). *Invisible families: Gay identities, relationships, and motherhood among black women*. California: University of California Press Books.
- Nguyen, T. H. (2014). *A view from the bottom: Asian American masculinity and sexual representation. Perverse modernities*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Olavarria, J. (2006). Men at home? Child rearing and housekeeping among Chilean working-class fathers. In M. C. Gutmann (Ed.), *Changing men and masculinities in Latin America* (pp. 333–350). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pfeffer, C. (2010). 'Women's work'? Women partners of transgender men doing housework and emotion work. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(1), 165–183.
- Pfeffer, C. (2012). Normative resistance and inventive pragmatism: Negotiating structure and agency in transgender families. *Gender and Society*, 26(4), 574–602.
- Pfeffer, C. (2014). 'I don't like passing as a straight woman': Queer negotiations of identity and social group membership. *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(1), 1–44.
- Pyke, K. D., & Johnson, D. L. (2003). Asian American women and racialized femininities: 'Doing' gender across cultural worlds. *Gender & Society*, 17(1), 33–53.
- Raffaelli, M., & Ontai, L. (2004). Gender socialization in Latino/a families: Results from two retrospective studies. *Sex Roles*, 50(5/6), 287–300.
- Rahilly, E. P. (2015). The gender binary meets the gender-variant child: Parents' negotiations with childhood gender variance. *Gender & Society*, 29(3), 338–361.
- Risman, B. J. (2009). From doing to undoing: Gender as we know it. *Gender and Society*, 23(1), 81–84.
- Risman, B. J., & Johnson-Sumerford, D. (1998). Doing it fairly: A study of postgender marriages. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 60(1), 23–40.
- Risman, B. J., & Myers, K. (1997). As the twig is bent: Children reared in feminist households. *Qualitative Sociology*, 20(2), 229–252.
- Schacher, S. J., Auerbach, C. F., & Silverstein, L. B. (2005). Gay fathers expanding the possibilities for us all. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 1(3), 31–52.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, 36(1), 85–102.
- Sheff, E. (2006). Poly-hegemonic masculinities. *Sexualities*, 9(5), 621–642.
- Shimizu, C. P. (2012). *Straitjacket sexualities: Unbinding Asian American manhoods in the movies*. Asian America. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Stein, A. (1997). *Sex and sensibility: Stories of a lesbian generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ward, J. (2010). Gender labor: Transmen, femmes, and collective work of transgression. *Sexualities*, 13(2), 236–254.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), 125–151.

Katie L. Acosta Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Sociology at Georgia State University. Her areas of expertise include Latinx Sexualities, Race and Ethnicity, Gender, Immigration, and Family. Her book *Amigas y Amantes: Sexually Nonconforming Latinas Negotiate Family* was published in 2013. She is currently working on a second book project entitled, *Stepping into Queer Parenting*, which explores the legal, social, and interpersonal experiences families face in queer and lesbian stepparent households. In addition to her published book, her research can be found in *Gender & Society*, *Journal of Homosexuality*, *Black Women Gender and Family*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *Sexualities*, and *Family Relations*.

Veronica B. Salcedo is a MA candidate in the Sociology department at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia. Her research focuses on sexually nonconforming Filipina/Filipina American women in the southern U.S. She earned her undergraduate degree at The College of William and Mary and is a native of Virginia Beach, Virginia.

The Gendered Division of Household Labor

27

Oriel Sullivan

Abstract

In this chapter I first define, and then examine the origins of research into, the gendered division of household labor and care. I outline the main theoretical approaches, finishing with the development of multi-level theoretical frameworks that connect the institutional and interactional levels of the gendered construction of labor and care. I follow the logic of these models to describe current configurations and trends. I focus on the factors identified by successive decade reviews as being the most important influences on the gendered division of household labor and care, and describe spousal resources and educational level as examples of individual-level influences. I then discuss cross-national trends in relation to institutional-level policy contexts, comparing evidence for and against the idea of a recent ‘stall’ in progress towards gender equality. I conclude by arguing that it is important to recognize the processes of progressive change that are at work, in order to continue to press

for movement in the direction of greater equality. I outline the most significant barriers that need addressing, emphasizing in particular the persistency of traditional masculinities, and policy directions that fail to address the need for a better work-life balance for both women and men.

1 The Gendered Division of Household Labor

The division of household labor refers to the division of unpaid household tasks between household or family members. In recognition of the importance of distinguishing between housework and care, gender and family scholars prefer to refer to the division of household labor and care. This division of labor and care within the domestic sphere forms part of and is related to the wider division of labor, which describes the division of paid and family work and care between household members. It is a key area of research for scholars of gender and family within the disciplines of sociology, economics and psychology. In this first section I address the motivation for, and origins of, research into the division of household labor and care. What is it that makes the study of housework and care interesting?

O. Sullivan (✉)
University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
e-mail: oriel.sullivan@sociology.ox.ac.uk

2 The Origins of Research in the Division of Household Labor

As Davis and Greenstein have recently asked in the title of their Editor's Introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Family Theory and Review*: Why study housework? (Davis & Greenstein, 2013). The research which first identified housework—traditionally the preserve of women—as a topic of sociological inquiry described its essentially boring, repetitive and isolated nature (e.g. Oakley, 1974). The traditionally feminine-associated, mundane, tasks of routine housework (i.e. cleaning, clothes care and daily cooking) are things that people do not enjoy, and are unwilling to do. Because of its generally negative perception, the performance of housework by women and men within couples has long been regarded in the sociological literature as an important indicator of marital power; a research tradition dating back to the work of Blood and Wolfe (1960). Put simply, those with less power in the household (however that power is defined) do more housework.

There is strong evidence that the subjective experience of housework and child care is very different. Child care falls into a different category of experience which, at least in some of its aspects, is perceived as enjoyable and rewarding. The importance of the child care provided by parents has been the subject of intense interest in relation to child development and outcomes. Time investments in caring for children have been shown to positively affect child outcomes. Through their daily activities and interactions with children, mothers and fathers directly affect children's psychological wellbeing and cognitive development (Lamb, 2010).

The origins of research into the division of household labor and care can be traced to the second wave of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s. Up to the 1960s there had been little interest in the domestic division of labor within the household, with previous economically-based research treating the traditional normative household as a 'black box'. This box was perceived as rationally organized such that the partner with the highest

potential earnings (assumed to be the husband) went 'out to work', supporting his family economically, while the wife stayed home and cared for the family. Early feminist research interrogated that 'black box', revealing the hidden burden of unpaid 'women's work' within the home. As women began to enter the labor force in increasingly larger numbers, the focus was on trying to understand the reasons for the continuing unequal gender distribution of unpaid work despite the fact that women were doing more paid work (e.g. Berk, 1985; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Oakley, 1974). The research of Arlie Hochschild—involving the observation of family members as they went about their day-to-day activities—epitomized the feminist project of delving inside the household black box. In *The Second Shift*, published in 1989, Hochschild and Machung described a process whereby women had entered the 'first shift' of the workforce, but noted that this had resulted in surprisingly meager change in who did the domestic 'second shift' (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

Perhaps because of the origins of this body of research in the attempt to problematize existing economically-based models of the household division of labor, the focus of most empirical analysis has been on (predominantly white) heterosexual couples. However, the same issues clearly apply in relation to couples of different sexuality and race/ethnicity, as I refer to in the section below on current configurations and trends. The relatively few analyses that include different marital statuses and household structures (for examples see Baxter, Hewitt, & Western, 2005; Gershuny & Sullivan, 2014; South & Spitze, 1994) show that the gendered nature of housework and care extends across all such statuses and structures: married women do more housework than women in all other household structures while married men do less; single parents do more unpaid domestic work and care than childless singles; single mothers do more unpaid domestic work and care than single fathers; and adolescent girls do more housework than adolescent boys.

The growing awareness of the contribution of unpaid domestic work to national economies has meant that the valuation of unpaid work and care

within the home is now increasingly being incorporated into national accounting. The value of all non-market household labor and care in the US in 2010 was recently independently estimated at over five thousand billion dollars, which would lead to a 44% upwards estimate of conventional GDP (Suh & Folbre, 2016). Indeed, feminist Marxists have argued that capitalism is predicated on this reservoir of unrecognized reproductive labor.

3 History and Assessment of Main Theories

The main emphasis of research in this area for most of the period up to the first decade of the 21st Century was on trying to understand what goes on inside the home and why the distribution of housework among heterosexual couples remained so unequal. Various theoretical perspectives received support as possible explanations for the continuing gender gap in housework and care—most notably, from an economic perspective, economic dependency (economic exchange) and economic bargaining, and from the feminist perspective, marital bargaining and gender display.

Economic models of household production were predicated on rates of market income, while the value of unpaid labor was estimated as a ‘shadow wage’ calculated according to how much it would cost to employ someone else to do it. Under the assumption of economic rationality, a person whose earning power was worth more than the shadow wage would substitute their unpaid labor for market work. The simple trade theorem that lies at the heart of Becker’s (1981) *Treatise on the Family* holds that both members of a couple may stand to gain by distributing more paid work to the partner with the higher marginal wage, and more unpaid work to the other. This logic formed the basis for economically-based explanations of the division of household labor.

A major contribution of feminist inquiry has been to show that models of economic rationality are not effective for understanding what goes on

inside households, and that gender has to be taken into account in any analysis of the domestic division of unpaid work and care. From an early point in the debate, the marital power framework proposed by Blood and Wolfe combined a theory of power based on individual resources (that were instantiated in bargaining between spouses) with a gender lens which is sensitive to the fact that, in a situation where both institutional and interactive contingencies accord more resources to men than to women, domestic gender power is structurally unequal (e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Marx Ferree, 1990). This framework provided a more gender-sensitive approach to the understanding of marital bargaining than economic bargaining theory, which accorded primacy to the role of paid employment. In contrast, within the marital power framework, bargaining within couples is conceived of as concerning decisions about paid and unpaid labor made simultaneously. The outcome of this bargaining process reflects both contingent circumstances (e.g., the birth of a child), and the deployment by each spouse of a range of embodied resources (not simply market income) in the process of bargaining over both paid and unpaid work. Nevertheless, in its empirical application in quantitative research, sociological accounts of marital bargaining have also tended to emphasize the primacy of paid employment (market income) in determining who gets to do the household unpaid labor and care.

The doing gender perspective—also focused on marital interaction and negotiation—provided a radical alternative to this approach. The idea of doing gender derives from the concept of ‘gender display’, as originally described by Goffman. It focuses on the processes by which gender is continuously being constructed and negotiated in interaction and behavior, proposing that gender is itself the product and accomplishment of social doings and interactions; a “routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 125). Interaction with a partner in a heterosexual relationship can be seen as one of the most significant locations for this enactment of gender, and the routine performance of housework is regarded as a key

indicator of such enactment. Housework is identified as a site for the interactive performance of gender according to the expected norms of femininity or masculinity. Women do gender by performing the bulk of feminine-defined tasks such as routine housework, while men do gender by doing none or very little of it. In this sense, doing the housework may be regarded, in the words of Butler, as a “performative act” of gender (Butler, 2006). We can find support for both the marital bargaining and doing gender frameworks in the existing literature on the division of household labor and care (see below), and they are not necessarily opposing; rather, they can both represent specific contingencies of interaction in the domestic sphere.

3.1 Multi-level Theoretical Models

The above theoretical perspectives dominated empirical work on the household division of labor for a couple of decades from the 1970s through to the first decade of the 21st Century, generating a large and influential body of literature. As the theoretical lens of this literature was on what went on inside the household, empirical research predominantly focused on the individual characteristics of, and the negotiations occurring between, spouses. However, during the latter part of the 20th Century feminist scholars were also starting to explore the connections between wider-level institutional policy contexts and gendered configurations of the division of labor. Their aim was to provide a more gender-sensitive analysis of the configurations of national welfare policies than that provided by Esping-Andersen’s germinal work *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1999).

This shift in emphasis in research to incorporate both individual and national level variables occurred hand-in-hand with the development over the 1990s and 2000s of new multi-level theoretical frameworks of gender—there were several examples appearing during this period of models attempting to address the interwoven relationships between the levels of structure and action in relation to gender.

Connell’s concept of ‘configurations of gender practice’ (Connell, 2000) builds on the doing gender perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987), conceiving of masculinity and femininity as dynamic processes that have the ability to transform gender structures. A major contribution to this theoretical development appeared with Risman’s analysis of the gender structure. In the construction of her gender structure model, Risman focuses on three interpenetrating dimensions: the individual level of gendered identities, gendered cultural meanings and expectations as played out in interaction, and gender-specific institutional constraints and opportunities (Risman, 1998, 2004). The conception of gender as structure enables an approach linking individual factors (including gender ideologies and resource-linked socio-economic and demographic characteristics) through interaction to the wider institutional (social-structural, policy and discursive) sphere.

Various applications of such multi-level theoretical frameworks have been made in relation to the household division of labor and care. Sullivan’s (2006) model of ‘embedded interaction’ in the production of the division of household labor and care describes a recursive process occurring across the levels of (1) individual spousal resources and gender consciousness, (2) marital interaction and negotiation, and (3) the wider discursive sphere (national policies and normative ideologies of gender). Building upon this, and on Gershuny, Bittman, and Brice’s (2005) concept of ‘lagged adaptation’, Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson (2018) have proposed a multilevel theoretical model that they refer to as ‘lagged generational change’. The new element is the introduction of a longitudinal dimension, with an explicit focus on how the recursive influences of micro and macro-level play out across generations. If we start at the micro-level, a girl’s initial gender socialization in her household of origin in, say the 1970s, occurs in a context in which her parents’ domestic practices can be expected on the average to reflect a previous generation’s gendered expectations. These are already out of step with current real conditions because, for example, of the slow and

imperfect communication of policy changes, as well as her parents' socialization within ideologies and conventions inherited from *their* parents. The educational and employment opportunities for girls in most societies over the latter part of the twentieth century were significantly greater than those available to their mothers—although their brothers' options were, in most cases, not very different from those of their fathers. Therefore, if and when she forms a heterosexual partnership, *her* paid employment, combined with *their* inherited expectations of differential gendered responsibilities and expectations, leads to an unfair accumulation of paid and unpaid work on her shoulders. She experiences these as various specific sorts of disadvantages in the form of reduced life chances in relation to leisure time, restricted choice among family formation options, and restrictions on career development.

At the same time, she is involved in social interactions, negotiations and conflict relating to these issues of work-life balance, particularly with peers and her spouse. As a result of these interactional processes there is a slow build-up of pressure for new forms of regulation (e.g. statutory parental and, more recently, paternal, leave provisions); changes in tax and benefit systems (e.g. allowances for childcare costs); and new public service provision (e.g. improvements in the availability of both public and employment-located childcare services). So the influence that macro-level norms and regulatory systems have on individual-level socialization and interaction is recursively linked to the influence that marital and peer interaction has on the public discourse. And in both directions we would expect to observe a substantial time lag. In the latter case, there is a delay while changes in individual-level gender ideologies and strategies diffuse into the public discourse. In the former case, there is delay while changes in regulatory systems or normative ideologies diffuse in interaction, and while the implications of these changes are articulated in changed individual behavior. This model enables a conceptualization of the slow processes of change influencing the gender division of household labor and care over

the past half-century, in which delays (stalling?—see below) are built into the system.

4 Current Configurations and Trends: Individual Level Factors

In the next sections I turn to describing some of the current configurations and trends in the division of household labor and care. This requires sifting a vast volume of literature, and, inevitably, I have had to be selective. As an organizing principle, I have chosen to describe these configurations and trends in relation to factors identified as being the most influential in the production of household labor and care in successive influential decade reviews of the topic. Following the logic of the multi-level theoretical models described above, I have separated these factors into individual-level influences (focusing on spousal resources such as educational attainment) and institutional-level influences (welfare and social policy). Throughout, of course, the dimension of gender cross-cuts these influences.

A succession of decade reviews (Coltrane, 2000 for the 1990s; Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, & Robinson, 2012; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010, for the 2000s) have outlined the main features and trends in the division of household labor and care in Western countries. Despite equality in educational access and in legal requirements for equality of treatment in the workplace, women still take a primary role in household labor and care, while men are doing somewhat more over time, although primarily in respect of child care and the masculine-defined non-routine household tasks such as shopping and home maintenance (Gershuny, 2000; Kan, Sullivan & Gershuny, 2011). With considerable consistency the most important individual-level influences on the performance of household labor and care have been identified as: (1) Absolute and relative market incomes of spouses (in general, the higher the absolute and relative income of one partner, the less housework they do); (2) Educational level (in general, the higher the level of women's education

the less housework they do, while the opposite is true for men. On the other hand there is a strong positive relationship between child care and educational level for both men and women); and (3) Gender ideology/attitudes (although there is a confounding effect with education, on average the greater an individual's belief that men and women should share career and family responsibilities equally, the more equal is their division of domestic labor and care, even when educational level is taken into account).

Because of the overwhelming focus of the early literature in this area on white heterosexual couples, differences in relation to race and sexuality have been far less studied. However, there is by now a growing volume of literature on differences in relation to the performance of various household work and care tasks by race/ethnicity and sexuality. For example, Cabrera, Hofferth, and Chae (2011) found that, after controlling for other variables, African American and Latino fathers had higher levels of engagement in caregiving and physical play activities with their children than White fathers. Likewise, although women in the UK whose ethnic origin was Indian or Pakistani had the highest share of housework when controlling for other factors, and spent significantly more time on housework than white British women, it isn't necessarily white British couples who are most egalitarian: Indian men and men from East Asian countries spent more hours on housework than their white British counterparts (Kan & Laurie, 2016). In relation to sexuality, the general findings seem to show that same-sex couples share child care and housework more equally than heterosexual couples (Goldberg, Smith, & Perry-Jenkins, 2012), and that, within same-sex couples, lesbian couples share more tasks equally (Kurdek, 2007). As Goldberg (2013) notes what is still very rare is research on how these differences have changed over time.

At the institutional level national policy context is highly influential (national contexts in which female empowerment is greater and in which political structures and policies advocate gender equity tend to show more egalitarian allocations of household labor and care).

Below, I describe the main findings of two of the most influential bodies of literature that have addressed the relationship between individual-level influences and the division of household labor/care. The first of these relates to the debate between the relative importance of spousal resources and doing gender in the performance of housework. The second focuses on the relationship between educational level and child care. I then turn to the literature that has addressed the institutional level of national policy contexts.

4.1 Spousal Economic Resources Versus Doing Gender in the Performance of Housework

Over the past two decades a large and influential body of research has investigated the influence of spousal economic resources on the division of household labor and care within heterosexual couples. One aim has been to test the idea of economic bargaining against gender-based explanations. Earlier papers using quantitative methodologies suggested that there was a strong linear dependence between relative earned incomes (the usual measure of relative spousal economic resources) and the division of housework within couples, supporting the suppositions of economic bargaining theory. In general, the higher the earned income of a member of the couple relative to their spouse, the less housework they performed. However, qualitative research conducted in Britain and the USA during the 1980s had already begun to document behaviors among men that would later be identified as gender display. The British studies were conducted among groups of working class couples, with a specific focus on communities where the recent dramatic decline of traditional sources of employment for men (e.g. coal-mining; steel working) meant that large numbers had lost their jobs, losing along with it their normative role of family breadwinner (Morris, 1985). Morris's conclusions indicated that male redundancy did not in general lead to any renegotiation of the

domestic division of labor. Men in this situation, having been deprived through unemployment both of their identity in the public sphere and of their normative position within the domestic sphere, emphasized their normative role at home through not contributing much to the household chores.

At around the same period, Hochschild and Machung (1989) reported similar findings from their qualitative study of 50 dual-earner couples in the US. They found differences in the sharing of housework between couples where the husbands earned less than their wives, none of whom shared the housework, and those where the husbands earned the same as or more than their wives, among whom between one-fifth to one-third shared housework.

Following these earlier qualitative studies, Brines's (1994) paper, and a follow-up by Greenstein (2000), firmly established the 'gender display' thesis in the quantitative literature on the division of household labor. These studies, based on large-scale national data from the USA, provided support for the idea that both men and women in situations which deviated from the traditional norms of gender reacted by emphasizing their normative identities through (1) contributing less to housework (in the case of men who were economically dependent), or, (2) the over-accomplishment of housework (in the case of breadwinner wives). Bittman, England, Folbre, Sayer, and Matheson (2003) termed this particular manifestation of gender display 'gender deviance neutralization'. These findings seemed to underline the importance of gender as a mediator of economic bargaining theory, and provided one possible answer to the question why it appeared that men were failing to "take up the slack" in the routine performance of housework in a period when women were increasingly entering the primary labor force.

Quantitative studies thereafter did not produce a unanimous verdict on the question of gender deviance neutralization. Further support for the effect in the US and Australia appeared in Bittman et al. (2003), but it was not found in Sweden (Evertsson & Nermo, 2004, 2007). Gupta (2007) and Gupta and Ash (2008)

reassessed the basis of the economic dependency and gender deviance neutralization perspectives, arguing that it is crucial to take into account women's absolute incomes, and that previous findings in relation to relative earnings and relative share of housework can be more simply explained in terms of a relationship between women's absolute earnings and their housework hours. They concluded that an alternative model—the *women's autonomy* perspective—fits the evidence better than either the economic dependency or the gender deviance neutralization models. Using a longitudinal approach, Killewald and Gough (2010) also found no relationship between relative earnings and women's housework. They demonstrated a non-linear association between women's absolute earnings and housework, arguing that previous findings suggestive of gender deviance neutralization could be accounted for by the misspecification of analytic models.

Almost all the papers referred to above used earned income (or functions of it) as their primary independent variable. However, as I have argued, this has the effect of reducing the more nuanced concept of marital bargaining derived from Blood and Wolfe's work on marital power to a more simplistic economic formula that ignores other resources and sources of power within households. It has the effect, for example, of assigning a rating of zero bargaining power to all those without an earned income. Some authors have also included measures of relative spousal education and occupational status (e.g. Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Evertsson & Nermo, 2007). With the intention of taking account of a wider range of economically salient resource measures, Sullivan and Gershuny (2016) used panel data to calculate a lifetime measure of human capital from the accumulation of educational achievement, skills, employment and occupation over the life course. This measure of resources allows the inclusion of those who had no current market earnings, and represents more realistically the bargaining power of those who had current earnings below the level that their human capital would indicate (for example, those who have taken on less skilled employment

because of the need to care for children). Using panel data and a fixed effects model, the key finding was that husbands in couples with the most extreme relative human capital distribution in favor of the woman contribute very substantially to housework. Findings support marital bargaining theory, and there is no evidence for gender deviance neutralization. Indeed, since in such couples wives also do much less housework than others, the division of housework time approaches equity.

4.2 Educational Attainment and Child Care

Educational level has been consistently identified as one of the most significant factors affecting the performance of household labor and care (Coltrane, 2000). Although there are conceptual difficulties with the interpretation of educational level as a variable, in the literature its effect has mainly been perceived in terms of differing values and ideologies. These values have been shown to play a significant role in the performance of household labor and care, independent of other socio-economic factors such as class. One of the most important elements that Risman found to facilitate change in the gender structure was an ‘egalitarian philosophy’ among couples (Risman, 2004), and there is on average a greater commitment to egalitarianism expressed by those with higher levels of education. Findings from attitude surveys show that stronger support for various aspects of gender equality are usually distinguishable first among younger and more highly educated groups, before gaining wider acceptance.

For women, the relationship between educational attainment and employment also plays a critical role in the theoretical link between household labor/care and educational level. Both the economic bargaining model (where the higher her level of education, the more advantaged her position in the primary labor market and the greater power she commands in the

household) and the ‘morale’ model (where greater potential and actual earning power is associated with lower levels of satisfaction derived from the performance of household labor) have been influential.

The main findings from the research literature have been, firstly, that the higher a man’s level of educational attainment, the more household labor and care he is likely to contribute, both in absolute terms and relative to his female partner. On the other hand, more highly educated women tend to do *less* housework than women with lower levels of educational attainment, but (like men) they do more child care. Where a women’s educational attainment is higher than that of her male partner the division of domestic labor is likely to be most equal. In a study examining 30-year changes in the division of household labor and child care among dual earner parents in the US and Britain, Sullivan (2010) showed that in both countries men with lower levels of educational attainment increased their contributions to housework over the period 1960s to the 2000s to equal the contribution of college-educated men. This suggests a ‘catching up’ effect among men with lower levels of educational attainment. In the case of men’s child care, however, the education gap in paternal time investment widened over the same period (see also Altintas, 2016; Ramey & Ramey, 2010). For women there was a consistent pattern in which more highly educated women did proportionately less housework over time than their counterparts with lower levels of educational attainment, while the rising trend in child care time was somewhat less differentiated according to education.

Because of the interest in the contributions of parents to their children’s developmental outcomes, the main focus of research in relation to educational level has been the relationship with rising child care investments. Cross-nationally, there have been increases in child care time for both mothers and fathers across countries with different family policies and regulations on childminding (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Gershuny, 2000; Robinson & Godbey,

1999; Sayer, Gauthier & Furstenberg, 2004). It has been argued that these increases are in line with changes in the meaning and nature of childcare, involving a growing emphasis on more caring fathering practices and participation in child-related activities, in particular among the more highly educated middle classes. Bianchi et al. (2006) suggest that parents seek ways to maximize time with their children by including children in their own leisure time. The increase in 'recreative' childcare is particularly relevant to more highly educated parents who may seek to expose children to activities and programs designed to prepare them for college or better working opportunities. By investing in such 'developmental' behaviors, more highly educated parents promote processes of capital formation among their children and further reinforce existing differentials in human and cultural capital (Lareau, 2003).

While both women and men show increases in the time they spend in child care, it is those shown by men that have perhaps received the most attention. Father care has been the focus of a huge amount of both academic and popular interest. The past decades have witnessed a clear across-the-board increase in father care time in those industrialized countries for which we have time use data series (e.g. Gauthier, Smeeding, & Furstenberg, 2004; Gershuny, 2000; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2005; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). However, these overall trends conceal significant heterogeneity according to men's educational level, as I have described. The overwhelming conclusion from this literature is that fathers with higher levels of educational attainment engage in more child care (and, particularly, in developmental and recreative, as opposed to purely physical, child care).

5 Current Configurations and Trends: The Cross-National Policy Context

In this section I turn to the institutional level. A large body of research has been devoted to investigating the effect of differing policy

contexts on household labor and care (for general recent references see Esping-Andersen, 2009; Kamerman & Moss, 2009; O'Brien, 2009; Orloff, 2009). This literature provides significant evidence of the important constraining effects of institutional settings such as employment and welfare policies on individual decisions regarding the allocation of time and family organization, with targeted policies relating to parental leave and flexible working arrangements leading to a more gender-equal division (Treas & Drobnic, 2010). For example, recent comparative research has documented the importance of relevant policies, ideological and institutional structures for: decisions regarding time spent in paid and unpaid work (Hook, 2010; Knudsen & Waerness, 2007; Pettit & Hook, 2005; van der Lippe & van Dijk, 2001); the domestic division of labor (Cooke & Baxter, 2010; Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Fuwa & Cohen, 2007; Geist, 2005); and men's unpaid work and care (Craig & Mullan, 2010; Hook, 2010; Smith & Williams, 2007). Overall, this body of research has clearly supported the idea that institutional settings governing welfare policies and provisions were highly influential in affecting the individual-level factors determining the gender division of housework and care.

But in addition, policy contexts in which female empowerment is greater and in which political structures advocate gender equity tend to favor egalitarian allocations of household labor. Altintas and Sullivan (2017) show, in support of previous research, that fathers of children aged under 5 in Nordic countries, where the state takes an active role in increasing the labor force participation of both men and women according to a dual-earner family model, contributed substantially more overall to household labor and care than those in southern Mediterranean and central European countries, in which policy has been based on a traditional male-breadwinner/female homemaker family model. However, taking longer-term trends into account, while fathers' contributions started at low levels in southern Mediterranean countries, they showed strong increases in core housework time, particularly relative to fathers from

Anglophone countries (Canada, Australia and the USA). This lends some support to the idea of a social diffusion effect over the past few decades, in which less-traditional gender attitudes and behavior have been diffusing more rapidly in more gender-traditional societies (see Esping-Andersen & Billari, 2015). Fathers in central European countries, although starting from high levels in the 1960 and 1970s, made the least change over time. They showed very low time investments and only a modest increase in involvement over time. Fathers in Anglophone countries displayed an interesting polarization; relatively few were involved in child care (to the extent of spending an average of 15 min per day in primary child care), but those who were involved were, by the first decade of 21st Century, spending by far the longest time in childcare, and equaling Nordic fathers in core housework time. It appears that there was an increasing polarization over time between those fathers who were involved, and those who weren't. Fathers who were involved seemed to be becoming more involved over time (i.e. spending more time in housework and, particularly, childcare).

6 Convergence or Not?: The Idea of the Stalled Gender Revolution

The analysis of international trends in the division of household labor and care was facilitated in the first decade of the twenty-first century by the further development of cross-time and cross-national series of time use data. High-profile research appearing in the US showed a widespread decrease in women's housework, with some corresponding, although much smaller, increases in men's housework, and a rather larger increase in men's child care time (Bianchi et al., 2006; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2005; Sayer, 2005). Cross-national data showed that the same trends were also evident across Europe, Canada, and Australia (Gauthier et al., 2004). It became clear that a widespread process of stuttering progress towards gender convergence was occurring across many countries—

men's contributions to housework were slowly increasing, while women's were dramatically decreasing, and both mothers and fathers were increasing their child care time.

Despite these general cross-national trends in the direction of greater equality in the division of household labor and care, much attention recently in the United States has focused on whether the gender transformation of paid and unpaid labor in society has hit a wall, or at least stalled. *New York Times* articles by family historian Coontz (2013) and sociologist Cohen (2014), among others, have drawn widespread attention to this stalled view of the US movement toward gender equality. While women have made wide gains in the public sphere of employment over the past half century, on many fronts the progress made in gender equality appeared to slow in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Stalling has been identified in the areas of women's employment, gender segregation of school subjects, attitudes towards gender equality and the division of unpaid labor (e.g. Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2011; England, 2010).

Some of the evidence on which the idea for the stalling of the gender revolution has been based relates to time use data from the late 1990s and 2000s in the US and the UK: various trends in the direction of greater gender equality showed a levelling off during this period. However, there are also indications in the wider cross-national picture of a slowing in the trend towards gender convergence in household labor and care. In illustration, Fig. 1 shows international trends in housework time (minutes per day) for women (in green, at the top of the figure) and men (in blue, at the bottom of the figure) from the 1960s through to the 2000s (Altintas & Sullivan, 2016). Two fitted lines are shown: a standard OLS linear regression line, and a LOESS curve based on a weighted regression algorithm not constrained to a linear form.

Figure 1 illustrates the main points: over a 50-year period steep declines in the time that mothers spend in housework has been the major factor in gender convergence. Over the same period father's average housework time has increased, but much less so than the decrease for

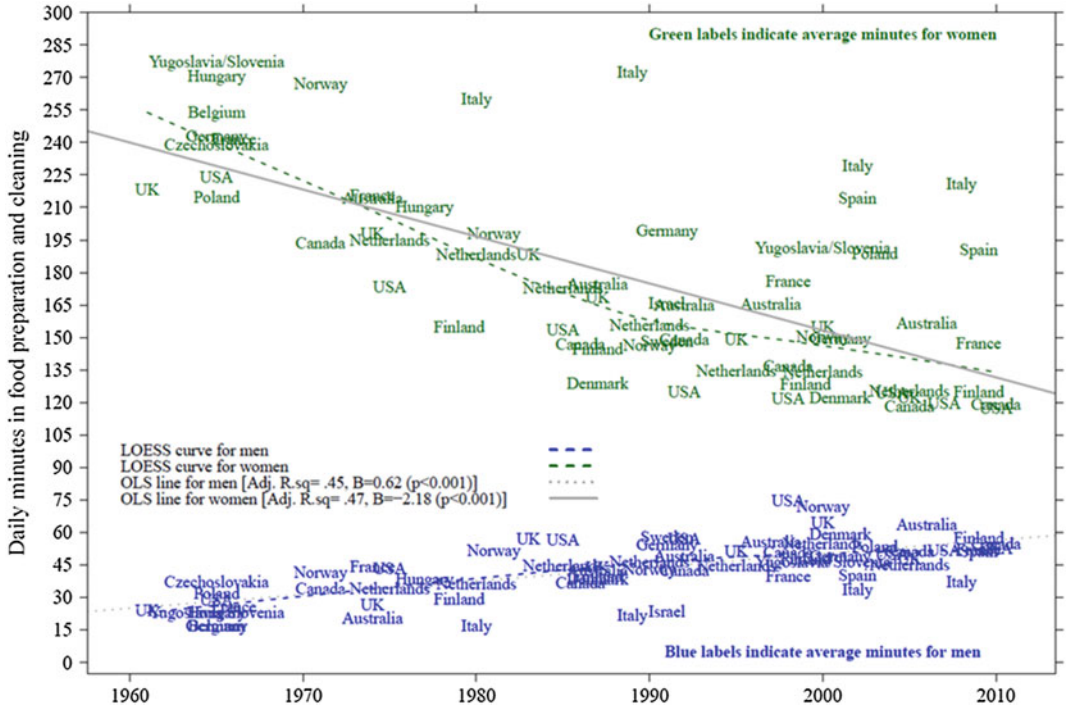


Fig. 1 Average minutes in core housework: women and men 1961–2011 (MTUS data) Source Altintas & Sullivan (2016)

women, so that by the end of the first decade of the 21st Century the gender gap in the performance of housework was still significant. There is substantial cross-national variation evident in the trends for women, and much less so for men. This variation among women is interpretable in relation to existing public policy regimes typologies, reflecting differences in gender ideologies and practice (Esping-Andersen, 2009).

For men, there is little difference between the two fitted regression lines. In contrast, for women the LOESS curve (dotted line) dips in the middle of the period, then straightens out somewhat towards the end. This indicates that cross-nationally there was a period of steeper decline in women’s housework time, lasting up to about 1990, followed by a flattening out of the curve. This flattening lends support at the cross-national level to the idea of a stalling in the process of gender convergence, a stalling that is primarily created by a leveling off of women’s

housework time, without much increase for men. Delving deeper, and using multivariate analysis, it was possible to differentiate 2 broad groups of countries in relation to the apparent levelling off in women’s housework time. Those countries where the gender division of housework was more unequal at the start of the period show steep declines in that inequality in the later part of the period. However, trends for those countries where the gender division of housework was more equal at the start of the period tended to be more curvilinear in shape; steeper in the earlier part of the period, and flattening off gradually towards the later part. This slowing in trajectory occurs approximately from the late 1980s. This feature is characteristic of Anglophone countries, and some northern European countries such as Finland and the Netherlands. The slowing in convergence is particularly clear in the case of the USA, where the trend towards gender convergence dipped to its most equal in the late

1990s before increasing again in the direction of greater inequality.¹

For child care at the cross-national level the picture is quite different (not shown), with a rising trend in child care time evident for both mothers and fathers of children aged under 5 (although country variance is greater than in the case of housework). Two contrasting features for mothers and fathers are of specific note. Although the time mothers spend in child care is higher throughout the week than that of fathers, in several countries there is a steeper average increase in the time that fathers spent in child care at weekends than is the case for mothers, particularly during the later part of the period. For mothers, in contrast, there was a greater increase in child care time during weekdays than at weekends. We observe here a form of time-conditioned gender convergence, which seems to be happening more at weekends, rather than during the week.

In summary, there is some evidence for a stall, or levelling off, of the trend towards gender convergence in household labor and care in certain countries where the process of gender convergence is more advanced. To set against this, there is an argument that progress towards gender equality should always be regarded as a long-term, uneven, process, and we should not necessarily expect to see large changes in the space of only a few decades. Huge changes in women's opportunities have occurred over several generations, but at the same time any long-term process of change is subject to set-backs that are the result of historical contingencies (Ridgeway, 2011). It is evident, for example, that currently neither the institutional context surrounding work-place opportunities to combine employment with family responsibilities, nor normative stereotypes of masculinity, have adapted sufficiently to women's long-term

increasing engagement in the labor force—an issue that I address in the concluding section below.

7 Conclusions and Reflections on Future Research

The slow-down in the rate of gender convergence that we have seen supports the idea that there may be limits to which equality in housework can be achieved under particular constraints of social policy, workplace management culture and gender ideology. However, as argued by Bianchi et al. (2012), this slow-down doesn't necessarily imply an absolute ceiling effect. In Nordic countries, where social policy and gender ideology are more conducive to gender equality, it seems that the move in the direction of gender equality continues—although perhaps at a slower pace (e.g. Evertsson, 2014). Moreover, there is evidence for increases in more gender egalitarian attitudes across European and Anglophone countries (e.g. Braun & Scott, 2009; Pampel, 2011); for a shift away from rigid gender specialization toward more flexible, egalitarian partnerships (Schwartz & Han, 2014); and the suggestion of a catch-up effect in the contributions of fathers to domestic work and childcare in the very low-fertility countries of the southern Mediterranean (Sullivan, Billari & Altintas, 2014—see also Geist & Cohen, 2011). From the 'glass half full' perspective it may be argued that despite short-term stalls, slowdowns, and even reverses, as well as important differences in policy contexts, the overall picture is of a continuing move towards greater gender equality in the performance of housework (see also Stanfors & Goldscheider, 2015).

In contrast to the idea of revolution, connoting a rapid and dramatic moment of change, I have argued for a different metaphor; a slow dripping

¹While this recent movement in the US in the direction of greater inequality has been referred to as evidence for a stall in gender convergence, we would note that several sources over the past decade have questioned the results of the US time use data from the 1980s and 1990s—see, for example, Allard et al. (2007), Bianchi et al. (2012), Egerton et al. (2005).

of change, perhaps with consequences that are barely noticeable from year to year, but that in the end is persistent enough to lead to the dissolution of existing structures (Sullivan, 2006). Linking this back to the multilevel theoretical model of change I described above, the argument runs that daily practices and social interactions at the individual level both reflect and are constitutive of institutional level factors (attitudes, public discourse, regulatory systems), which change as a result of processes that stretch over generations. These progressive changes *are* important, but we should not expect too much from them in a short period of time, nor should we be complacent about the future. Only by recognizing what is changing, and why, and how quickly, and by trying to understand the processes that generate change, will we be in a position to promote it.

7.1 How to Promote Progressive Change?

Regardless of whether we feel that the glass is half-empty or half-full in relation to trends in the gendered division of household labor and care it is clear that there remain substantial and persistent obstacles in the project of achieving gender equality. These obstacles exist at different, although interconnecting, levels.

Various institutional processes operate to maintain the existing gender division in household labor and care. The gendered pattern of work schedules has reinforced the traditional division of household labor, particularly for housework which has to be undertaken on a routine basis and does not match well with long workweek schedules. The development of dispersed work-time schedules characteristic of post-industrial economies are also not in general favorable to progressive change in the division of household labor and care, and the growth of the service sector has made atypical work schedules (shift work, long and/or fragmented hours) more common.

It is sometimes argued that the fact that, on average, men and women do roughly similar

amounts of overall work (taking market work and unpaid labor and care together), means that the division of labor is actually gender equal. This may even be perceived as 'fair'. However, the equal-but-different *composition* of work time implies a situation of evident unfairness in terms of economic life chances. Once a couple adopt an even slightly traditionally gendered work distribution (i.e., men doing more paid work, women more household work)—perhaps following the birth of a first child—the woman subsequently accumulates human capital at a slower rate than does the man, increasing the pressure for further gendered specialization. The combination of post-childbirth biology, essentialist gender ideologies, masculinist workplace attitudes, and policy measures designed to enable women, rather than men, to combine employment with caring means that it is still, generally, the woman in a couple who takes time out of the workforce, or goes part-time following the birth of child. This in turn has knock-on effects on the gender wage gap, the disadvantage women experience in respect of their opportunities for career advancement, earnings and, ultimately, their pensions. So the provision of statutory maternity leave, or even parental leave, is not a simple answer to the problem. In a situation where it is overwhelmingly women who take such leave this has knock-on effects on gendered inequality throughout the life course. So what sorts of policies do we need?

In general, literature on the relationship between specific policies and household labor and care has tended to focus on policies aimed at supporting employed parents through the provision of parental leave, and early childhood education and care ('ECEC'). Much research effort has been directed at trying to show an effect of such policies in large-scale and in qualitative data. However, the direct effects of ECEC policies on progressive change in the division of labor may not be as significant as the effect of policies directly aimed at supporting female engagement in the primary labor market. Of equal importance is the promotion of opportunities for men to take a more active role in household labor and care through the provision

of meaningful periods of paternal leave and supportive workplace environments. Investigation of the role and efficacy of these approaches will be important for future studies in this area. A combination of these policy approaches is likely to be most influential—the first aimed at promoting women’s ease of access to the primary labor market, and the second focusing on increasing the time available to fathers to engage in family care.²

In conclusion, among the central things that remain to be challenged in order to continue to progress towards gender equality in the division of household labor and care are the tenets of traditional masculinity in which household labor and care is still regarded as ‘women’s work’, and where workplace culture is still overwhelmingly masculine in orientation (men who want to take time off work to care for children are often regarded, at best, as less serious and insufficiently dedicated to their jobs). It also needs to be recognized that narrowly-focused policy solutions in which it is overwhelmingly women who end up taking sustained periods out of, or in part time, employment in order to care for children will likely hinder the pace of progress. What is badly needed, therefore, is sustained policy commitment to the availability of a balanced work and family life for both women and men.

References

- Allard, M. D., Bianchi, S. M., Stewart, J., & Wight, V. R. (2007). Comparing childcare measures in the ATUS and earlier time-diary studies. *Monthly Lab Rev.*, *130*, 27–36.
- Altintas, E. (2016). The widening education gap in developmental childcare activities in the United States, 1963–2013. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *78*, 26–42.
- Altintas, E., & Sullivan, O. (2016). Fifty years of change updated: Cross-national gender convergence in housework. *Demographic Research*, *35*, 455–470.
- Altintas, E., & Sullivan, O. (2017). Trends in fathers’ contribution to housework and childcare under different welfare policy regimes’. *Social Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxw007>.
- Baxter, J., Hewitt, B., & Western, M. (2005). Post-familial families and the domestic division of labour. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *36*, 583–600.
- Becker, G. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. USA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Berk, S. F. (1985). *The gender factory: The apportionment of work in American households*. New York: Plenum.
- Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milkie, M. A. (2006). *Changing rhythms of American family life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bianchi, S. M., Sayer, L. C., Milkie, M. A., & Robinson, J. P. (2012). Housework: Who did, does or will do it, and how much does it matter? *Social Forces*, *91*, 55–63.
- Bittman, M., England, P., Folbre, N., Sayer, L., & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology*, *109*, 186–214.
- Blood, R. O., & Wolfe, D. M. (1960). *Husbands and wives: The dynamics of married living*. New York: Free Press.
- Braun, M., & Scott, J. (2009). Changing public views of gender roles in seven nations, 1988–2002. In M. Haller, R. Jowell, & T. W. Smith (Eds.), *The international global survey programme 1984–2009: Charting the globe* (pp. 358–377). Oxford: Routledge.
- Brines, J. (1994). Economic dependency, gender and the division of labor at home. *American Journal of Sociology*, *100*, 652–688.
- Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cabrera, N. J., Hofferth, S. L., & Chae, S. (2011). Patterns and predictors of father-infant engagement across race/ethnic groups. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *26*, 365–375.
- Cohen, P. N. (2014, November 23). How can we jump-start the struggle for gender equality? *New York Times Opinion Pages*.
- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *62*, 1208–1233.
- Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Cooke, L. P., & Baxter, J. (2010). Families in international context: Comparing institutional effects across Western societies. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *75*, 516–536.
- Coontz, S. (2013, February 16). Why gender equality stalled. *New York Times Sunday Review*.
- Cotter, D., Hermsen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. (2011). The end of the gender revolution? Gender role attitudes from 1977 to 2008. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*, 259–289.

²This interpretation makes the assumption that there is an underlying demand for such involvement, and the fact that by 2014 25% of all parental leave in Sweden was taken by fathers goes some way to support this (Swedish Institute, 2016: <https://sweden.se/society/sweden-gender-equality/>).

- Craig, L., & Mullan, K. (2010). Parenthood, gender and work-family in the United States, Australia, Italy, France and Denmark. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72, 1344–1361.
- Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2004). Cross-national variations in the division of household labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(5), 1260–1271.
- Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2013). Why study housework? Cleaning as a window into power in couples. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5, 63–71.
- Egerton, M., Fisher K., & Gershuny, J. (2005). *American time use 1965–2003: The construction of a historical comparative file and consideration of its usefulness in the construction of extended national accounts for the USA*. Institute for Social and Economic Research Working Paper 2005–28.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender and Society*, 24, 149–166.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The incomplete revolution*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Esping-Andersen, G., & Billari, F. C. (2015). Re-theorizing family demographics. *Population and Development Review*, 41, 1–31.
- Evertsson, M. (2014). Gender ideology and the sharing of housework and child care in Sweden. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35, 927–949.
- Evertsson, M., & Neramo, M. (2004). Dependence within families and the division of labor: Comparing Sweden and the United States. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66, 1272–1286.
- Evertsson, M., & Neramo, M. (2007). Changing resources and the division of housework: A longitudinal study of Swedish couples. *European Sociological Review*, 23, 455–470.
- Fuwa, M., & Cohen, P. N. (2007). Housework and social policy. *Social Science Research*, 36, 512–530.
- Gauthier, A. H., Smeeding, T. M., & Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (2004). Are parents investing less time in children? Trends in selected industrialized countries. *Population and Development Review*, 30(4), 647–672.
- Geist, C. (2005). The welfare state and the home: Regime differences in the domestic division of labour. *European Sociological Review*, 21, 23–41.
- Geist, C., & Cohen, P. N. (2011). Headed towards equality? Housework change in comparative perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73, 832–844.
- Gershuny, J. (2000). *Changing times: Work and leisure in postindustrial society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gershuny, J., Bittman, M., & Brice, J. (2005). Exit, voice, and suffering: Do couples adapt to changing employment patterns? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 656–665.
- Gershuny, J. & Sullivan, O. (2014). All the housework of all the household. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 12, 7–27.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2013). “Doing” and “undoing” gender: The meaning and division of housework in same-sex couples. *Journal of Family Theory and Research*, 5, 85–104.
- Goldberg, A. E., Smith, J. Z., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2012). The division of labor in lesbian, gay, and heterosexual new adoptive parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74, 812–828.
- Greenstein, T. N. (2000). Economic dependence, gender, and the division of labor in the home: A replication and extension. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 322–335.
- Gupta, S. (2007). Autonomy, dependence or display? The relationship between married women’s earnings and housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69, 399–417.
- Gupta, S., & Ash, M. (2008). Whose money, whose time? A nonparametric approach to modeling time spent on housework in the United States. *Feminist Economics*, 14, 93–120.
- Hochschild, A. R., & Machung, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hook, J. L. (2010). Gender inequality in the welfare state: Sex segregation in housework, 1965–2003. *American Journal of Sociology*, 115, 1480–1523.
- Kammerman, S. B., & Moss, P. (Eds.). (2009). *The politics of parental leave policies: Children, parenting, gender and the labor market*. Bristol: Polity Press.
- Kan, M. Y., & Laurie, H. (2016). Who is doing the housework in multicultural Britain? *Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038516674674>.
- Kan, M. Y., Sullivan, O., & Gershuny, J. (2011). Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effect of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data. *Sociology*, 45, 234–251.
- Killewald, A., & Gough, M. (2010). Money isn’t everything: Wives’ earnings and housework time. *Social Science Research*, 39, 987–1003.
- Knudsen, K., & Waerness, K. (2007). National context and spouses’ housework in 34 countries. *European Sociological Review*, 24, 97–113.
- Kurdek, L. A. (2007). The allocation of household labor by partners in gay and lesbian couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28, 132–148.
- Lachance-Grzela, M., & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion’s share of housework: A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, 63, 767–780.
- Lamb, M. E. (Ed.). (2010). *The role of the father in child development*. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. London: University of California Press.
- Marx Ferree, M. (1990). Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 866–884.
- Morris, L. (1985). Renegotiation of the domestic division of labour in the context of redundancy. In B. Roberts et al. (Eds.), *New approaches to economic life*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Oakley, A. (1974). *The sociology of housework*. London: Martin Robinson.
- O'Brien, M. (2009). Fathers, parental leave policies, and infant quality of life: International perspectives and policy impact. *AAAPSS*, 624, 190–213.
- Orloff, A. S. (2009). Gendering the comparative analysis of welfare states: An unfinished agenda. *Sociological Theory*, 27, 317–343.
- Pampel, F. (2011). Cohort change, diffusion, and support for gender egalitarianism in cross-national perspective. *Demographic Research*, 21, 667–694.
- Pettit, B., & Hook, J. (2005). The structure of women's employment in comparative perspective. *Social Forces*, 84, 779–800.
- Ramey, G., & Ramey, V. A. (2010). The rug rat race. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Spring, 129–199.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Risman, B. (1998). *Gender vertigo*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. (2004). Gender as social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender and Society*, 18, 429–450.
- Robinson, J. P., & Godbey, G. (1999) *Time for life: The surprising ways that Americans spend their time* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Penn State University Press.
- Sandberg, J. F., & Hofferth, S. L. (2005). Changes in children's time with parents: A correction. *Demography*, 42, 391–395.
- Sayer, L. C. (2005). Gender time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time. *Social Forces*, 48, 285–303.
- Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110, 1–43.
- Sayer, L. C., Gauthier, A. H., & Furstenberg, F. (2004). Educational differences in parents' time with children: Cross-national variations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66, 1152–1169.
- Schwartz, C. R., & Han, H. (2014). The reversal of the gender gap in education and trends in marital dissolution. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(4), 605–629.
- Smith, A. J., & Williams, D. R. (2007). Father-friendly legislation and paternal time across Western Europe. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 9, 175–192.
- South, S. J., & Spitze, G. (1994). Housework in marital and nonmarital households. *American Sociological Review*, 59, 327–347.
- Stanfors, M., & Goldscheider, F. (2015). *The forest and the trees: Industrialization, demographic change, and the ongoing gender revolution in Sweden and the United States, 1870–2010*. Stockholm Research Reports in Demography 18. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.
- Suh, J., & Folbre, N. (2016). Valuing unpaid child care in the US: A prototype satellite account using the American Time Use Survey. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 62, 668–684.
- Sullivan, O. (2006). *Changing gender relations, changing families: Tracing the pace of change*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Sullivan, O. (2010). Changing differences by educational attainment in fathers' domestic labour and child care. *Sociology*, 44, 716–733.
- Sullivan, O., Billari, F. C., & Altintas, E. (2014). Father's changing contributions to child care and domestic work in very low fertility countries: The effect of education. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35, 1048–1065.
- Sullivan, O., & Gershuny, J. (2016). Relative human capital and the performance of housework within couples: A longitudinal perspective. *European Sociological Review*, 32, 864–880.
- Sullivan, O., Gershuny, J., & Robinson, J. P. (2018). The gender revolution in paid and unpaid work: Continuing or stalled? *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, 10, 263–279.
- Treas, J., & Drobnic, S. (2010). *Dividing the domestic: Men, women, & household work in cross-national perspective*. Palo Alto, PA: Stanford University Press.
- Van der Lippe, T., & Van Dijk, L. (Eds.). (2001). *Women's employment in a comparative perspective*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1, 125–151.

Oriel Sullivan is Professor of Sociology of Gender in the Department of Sociology, Oxford University, and Co-Director of the ESRC-funded Centre for Time Use Research, home of the Multinational Time Use Study. Her research focuses on the comparative analysis of changing gender relations and inequalities, including the investigation of cross-national trends in housework and child care time. She has published widely in this area and is author of *Changing Gender Relations, Changing Families: Tracing the Pace of Change* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), a theoretical and empirical investigation of the (stuttering) trend towards increasing gender equality in the domestic sphere.

Emily W. Kane

Abstract

This chapter explores the sociological literature on the many ways in which parenting is both gendered and gendering. That exploration attends to the intersections of gender with other dimensions of inequality and the interconnections among gendered and gendering patterns at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels. Specific topics include definitions of parenthood, paths into parenthood, parenting labor, links between parenting and paid employment, social policy, and parenting as it shapes and is shaped by children's gender. Along with a review of key themes and patterns in the literature related to these specific topics, the chapter offers a discussion and suggestions for future directions. The literature has become more attentive, over time, to intersectionality, queer and trans issues, men and masculinities, and challenges to the gender binary. Future work should continue to deepen these more recent directions, and continue to emphasize power as a central organizing element of intersecting structures of inequality. Ongoing consideration of neoliberalism as a context in which

family and household patterns are constructed is also suggested, as is a commitment to feminist public engagement and social change.

1 Introduction

Parenting, in its many forms, is deeply gendered as a set of culturally-informed practices and deeply gendering in its impact on parents, children and societies. Gendered and gendering patterns are evident at all three interconnected levels of the gender structure identified by Risman (2004), from individual gendered selves to interactional processes to institutional domains. The literature documents a wide range of such patterns, with explicit recognition of their intersections with other structures of inequality. In this chapter, I review and synthesize both foundational arguments and more recent literature, summarizing the state of theory and research on parenting and gender in the United States. I highlight what sociologists of gender have concluded about the topic and sketch directions for future work. Many concepts and patterns that figure centrally in the literature on parenting and gender are addressed more fully in other chapters of this handbook. Of particular note is research on carework, gender in the paid labor force, the division of household labor, gender and the welfare state, domestic violence, family

E. W. Kane (✉)
Bates College, Lewiston, ME, USA
e-mail: ekane@bates.edu

formation patterns, gender socialization of children in families, and interactions between non-normatively gendered youth and their parents. I address these topics briefly given their relevance to parenting and gender, with more detailed considerations available elsewhere in this handbook.

As many scholars have noted, and Coontz (1992) conveyed to a broad audience in her now-classic book The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap, family structures are institutionally shaped and inextricably connected with other social structures, and families have always taken a wide variety of shapes and textures across times and places. Gender is critical as a structure shaping the social institution of family, as influential sociological studies like Berk's (1985) The Gender Factory, Hochschild's (1989) The Second Shift, and Stacey's (1990) Brave New Families established decades ago. More recent work continues to document how inequalities of gender, race, class, sexuality, and disability are reciprocally connected to family structures and family patterns, and throughout this chapter I consider those connections in terms of parenting in particular. Along with attention to mothers and mothering within a heterosexual nuclear household context, the sociological literature on gender and parenting recognizes a much broader array of experiences. Hill Collins (2000) traces a multitude of community-based mothering practices in Black Feminist Thought, while Hansen's (2004) Not-So-Nuclear Families documents the class-differentiated extended care networks rendered invisible by excessive focus on the household level. The gendered and gendering separation of fatherhood from motherhood has been explored extensively in books ranging from Coltrane's (1996) Family Man and Risman's (1998) Gender Vertigo in the 1990s to Edin and Nelson's (2013) Doing the Best I Can, with its focus on fathers in low-income communities, and Kaufman's (2013) Superdads, with its analysis of how fathers from a range of social locations navigate the tensions of work and parenting. The intersectionally gendered and gendering

experiences of queer families are the focus of books like Sullivan's (2004) The Family of Woman and Moore's (2011) Invisible Families, while the importance of transnational parenthood is revealed in works like Parreñas' (2002) Servants of Globalization and Hondagneu-Sotelo's (2001) Domestica.

With attention to all three levels of gender structure and an explicitly intersectional analysis, the sociological literature has established that parenting is shaped by, and simultaneously constructs and refines, gender, race, class, sexuality and nation-based inequalities. From the works noted above, to many other specific contexts, sociologists of gender have documented a range of key patterns. Enos (2001) details the way motherhood is constructed and constrained for incarcerated women, while Natalier and Hewitt (2014) reveal how heterosexual parents construct gender during child support negotiations. Pfeffer's (2012) work explores resistance to dominant constructions of family among transgender parents, and Brush (2011) provides detailed evidence of the role of domestic violence and public policy in constraining low-income mothers. Reich (2014) develops the concept of neoliberal mothering and the way it allows upper-middle class women to reproduce class privilege, while Messner (2009) provides a nuanced account of gendered parenting practices within youth sports programs that reinforce a range of intersecting inequalities. Randles (2013) highlights the very particular social construction of fatherhood imposed by neoliberal public assistance policy for families living in poverty, and Ryan and Berkowitz (2009) document the complex interactions through which gay and lesbian parents seek social recognition. Blum (2015) addresses how neoliberalism shapes the intersectionally gendered constraints faced by mothers parenting children with what she calls "invisible disabilities" like ADHD and autism-spectrum disorders. All of these specific examples in the literature, and many more, have generated fruitful concepts, conclusions and debates, a synthesis of which is the main focus of this chapter. At the end of the chapter, I also offer

some analysis of the state of the field, and consider some of the most promising directions for continued work.

2 Key Topics, Patterns and Concepts in the Literature

2.1 Defining Parenthood and Paths into Parenthood

Hays (1996, 4) offers a nuanced account of the cultural celebration of what she conceptualizes as intensive mothering, an ideology that claims “correct child-rearing requires not only large amounts of money but also professional-level skills and copious amounts of physical, moral, mental, and emotional energy on the part of the individual mother.” This model reveals the deeply gendered, classed and household-level construction of “good” parenting. It defines such parenting as the responsibility of individual women using household-level resources, a privatized endeavor in which individual mothers pass on class privilege to their children while limiting their own capacity to participate fully in the paid labor force. The hegemony of this model obscures many other ideologies and practices of parenting. Collins (2000) differentiates blood-mothers, othermothers and community othermothers as taking on the collective responsibility of raising children in African-American communities. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) casts light on the parenting work of transnational mothers, employed in the United States and sending financial support back to children in Latin America. Hoang and Yeoh (2011) explore similar processes for Vietnamese transnational parents, with particular focus on the impact of transnational motherhood on “left behind” fathers. Shows and Gerstel (2009) document the class-differentiated parenting practices of fathers who are physicians versus emergency medical technicians, arguing that the former group leverages its class privilege to reproduce gendered patterns that limit involvement with their children while the latter group reshapes traditionally gendered parenting practices. Haney

(2010) explores the struggles of incarcerated mothers in community-based prisons that house them together with their children, as the carceral state controls their parenting in complex and highly problematic ways. And Edin and Nelson (2013) establish the daily commitments of time, energy and resources that non-residential fathers in low-income communities often devote to their children, in stark contrast to rhetoric about “deadbeat dads.”

While the realities of parenting play out in a wide variety of ways, shaped by and further shaping social inequalities, the hegemony of the intensive mothering model becomes the standard against which other approaches are judged, reinforcing the legitimacy of inequitable outcomes for children and families. As Elliott, Powell and Brenton (2015, 367) report in their analysis of interviews with low-income women of color raising children, many judge themselves against the standards of intensive mothering, even as they struggle to navigate structural conditions that make it impossible to execute that kind of parenting.

The ideology of intensive mothering reflects a version of privatized mothering that is not conducive with the constraints placed on low-income, Black single mothers, and instead increases their burdens, stresses, and hardships even while providing a convenient explanation for these very difficulties: mothers are to blame. This convenient fiction in turn supports and justifies the huge disparities in life opportunities among American families today as social safety nets continue to erode.

Related and overlapping patterns are evident in Frederick’s (2017) analysis of interviews and focus groups with mothers with disabilities, especially in relation to how those women are labelled by others. “Nonnormative mothers, including women of color, poor mothers, queer mothers, and women with disabilities come under particular scrutiny, as they are systematically defined as “risky” mothers who are inadequate for the task of ideal mothering” (Frederick, 2017, 75).

Paths into parenthood are socially complex as well, and sociologists of gender have outlined a variety of constraints shaping those paths.

Though the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States extends one pathway to second-parent recognition for queer partners, queer and transgender individuals continue to face many obstacles in establishing parenthood (Bernstein, 2015), especially if they prefer not to participate in the institution of marriage (Pfeffer, 2012). Structural changes in the economy and family formation have also complicated paths into parenthood. In a large-scale survey and interview study, Gerson (2010, 12) argues that young adults in the United States have new hopes and expectations for parenting, but, as she puts it, “changing lives are colliding with resistant institutions”:

While institutional shifts such as the erosion of single-earner paychecks, the fragility of modern marriage, and the expanding options and pressures for women to work have made gender flexibility both desirable and necessary, demanding workplaces and privatized child rearing make work-family integration and egalitarian commitment difficult to achieve.

Bass (2015, 362) finds that among heterosexually-coupled young adults, women are “disproportionately likely to think and worry about future parenthood in their imagined work paths.” Even before becoming parents, these women are more likely than their male partners to shape their work aspirations around the anticipated constraints Gerson (2010) points out, in a manner that directs them toward less financially secure occupations and greater dependence on a man’s income.

For those whose transition into parenthood takes place in the context of a heterosexually-partnered household, the literature has long indicated that the transition tends to reinforce gender inequalities within the household and beyond (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997; Moen & Roehling, 2005; Singley & Hynes, 2005; Fox, 2009; Yavorsky, Kamp Dush, & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). At the same time, parenting in the United States is increasingly likely to be taken on by single mothers, with or without a non-residential co-parent involved (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). The increasing share of parenting that takes place in single-parent

households headed by mothers is evident across racial and class categories, but the paths into this gendered trend vary especially by class. Hertz (2008) reports on the intentional decisions of single middle and upper-middle class professional mothers, forging new approaches to motherhood that draw on their class resources to parent on their own. In a comprehensive study of low-income women’s experiences with parenting and partnership, the pattern Edin and Kefalas (2011) uncover often involves an unexpected pregnancy, followed by a thoughtful decision to embrace motherhood but postpone partnership until they believe economic conditions give them a reasonable chance for a lasting and stable marriage.¹

2.2 Parenting Labor

After the transition into parenthood, there are clear divisions by gender in the ongoing labor of parenting. The contours of these divisions are one of the most frequent topics in the sociological literature on gender and parenting. Now a classic, Hochschild’s (1989) *The Second Shift* offered an engaging look at the significant additional parenting and other domestic labor women took on in dual-earner heterosexual households with children. Hochschild popularized recognition of what she called a leisure gap, in the form of the extra month a year of 24-h days these mothers put into employment and household work relative to their male partners. Ten years later, in another influential work, Risman (1998) set out to profile heterosexual couples who more equitably shared that labor. But as she notes early on in *Gender Vertigo*, such couples were harder to find than she expected. Even among couples who considered themselves relatively egalitarian, she rarely found equal division of parenting labor. She explores that pattern to develop a

¹Another relevant pattern in the intersectional inequalities that define paths to parenthood is evident in the literature on infertility, which Bell (2009) argues has long ignored low-income women’s limited access to infertility treatment and the inequitable burden such women face from environmental and occupational hazards that compromise fertility.

theory of the way gendered structures of inequality are reproduced not so much at the level of gender-socialized individual preferences, but through significant interconnected pressures at the interactional and institutional levels. Though she considers the division of labor across a range of families, her particular foci in the book include single fathers and the heterosexual couples who come closest to equity. She uses their experiences to document that gendered inequalities in the family can be reshaped if institutional and interactional circumstances support or compel it.

More recent work documents the reduction of leisure gaps between dual-earner heterosexual parents, but overall those gaps continue to favor fathers (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2007; Coontz, 2015). As Craig and Mullan (2013, 1359) note in a comparative analysis of five nations, “parenthood was associated with more total work and a deeper gender division of labor in all of the countries studied,” and especially so in the United States and Australia due to “gender neutral opportunity in the public sphere but little public institutional support to balance work and family.” Parenting labor is gender-differentiated not only in minutes and hours, but in type and accompanying stress levels. For example, Offer and Schneider (2011) document that men in middle-class dual-earner heterosexual households with children spend less time multitasking than their female partners, and that multitasking creates more stress for mothers than fathers in these households. Given both the tasks and everyday accountability demands mothers often face from intensive mothering ideologies (Hays, 1996; MacDonald, 2010; Walzer, 1998), they may feel “particularly stressed when multitasking at home and in public because, being highly visible in their proximate surroundings, their ability to fulfill their roles as good mothers can be easily judged and criticized” (Offer & Schneider, 2011, 829).

Race, class, sexuality, disability, and partnership status are all critical to consider in painting a fuller picture of gender and parenting labor. Some have argued, for example, that intensive mothering labor is often a gendered approach to

reproducing class privilege. Reich (2014) documents the way class-privileged mothers articulate vaccine refusal in a manner that advantages their children while reducing the safety and security of children with fewer economic resources. Sayer (2015) summarizes her extensive time-diary research by noting that “Child care remains a highly gendered activity” but also that child care norms among middle and upper-middle class parents are “influential mechanisms of class reproduction.” Scott (2010) documents the extensive additional burden mothers face in relation to the carework associated with raising children with disabilities, highlighting some of the same neoliberal constraints that Blum (2015) considers in her work on mothers of children with “invisible” disabilities.

And white, upper-middle class mothers can often exploit racial, class and nation-based inequalities to buy their way out of some of this gendered parenting labor gap, by hiring women of color and immigrant women to take on that work at low wages. In *Global Woman*, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) describe the ways “The lifestyles of the First World are made possible by the global transfer of the services associated with a wife’s traditional role—childcare, homemaking, and sex—from poor countries to rich ones” (4). Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001, 25) reveals the complex costs of these arrangements in her interview study with Latina immigrant domestic workers engaged in transnational motherhood: “women raised in another nation are using their own adult capacities to fulfill the reproductive work of more privileged American women, subsidizing the careers and social opportunities of their employers ... (while) denied sufficient resources to live with and raise their own children.” In another study that included both immigrant and non-immigrant in-home childcare workers, MacDonald (2010, 203) emphasizes the conflicts that arise as class-privileged mothers in heterosexual partnerships expect lower-income women to execute the kind of intensive mothering to which they feel accountable: “How the highly gendered work of mothering is enacted in class-based ways generates most of the conflict in these relationships.”

Same-sex partners also navigate complex divisions of parenting labor that carry gendered dimensions. In an interview study of primarily white, middle and upper-middle class lesbian co-parents in the San Francisco Bay area who had conceived through donor insemination, Sullivan (2004) finds that most of her participants divide parenting labor at least somewhat equally. But she also includes attention to the gendered implications for the small number of couples who followed what she calls a “Rozzie and Harriett” pattern of one partner as breadwinner and the other as full-time parent. She also offers a nuanced exploration of the everyday emotion work that the non-biological comothers must take on as they seek to establish themselves as socially-recognized mothers. Moore’s (2011, 178) study of a socioeconomically varied group of Black lesbian coparents in New York City fleshes out the compelling argument that “even in same-sex unions, gender profoundly influences the construction of family life,” because intersectionally-specific gendered social expectations and gendered structures shape participation in everyday interactions as well as institutional settings. From the interactional responses they face in relation to their varying individual gender presentation to gendered institutional constraints shaped by labor market structures, expectations from institutions like their children’s schools, and the feminization of poverty, these lesbian co-parents’ lives are best understood through an intersectional framework that acknowledges gender as a “profound influence.” The same argument is supported by analyses of single mothers, whose experiences are structured by gendered wage gaps, gender segregated carework expectations, the privatization of families, and a host of other gendered constraints (see, for example, McLanahan & Percheski, 2008; Edin & Kefalas, 2011). These scholars and others remind us that gendered structures shape parenting across a wide range of contexts, not only when a comparison of men and women within a household is the focus of the analysis.

2.3 Parenting Labor as Linked to Paid Employment

Closely linked to these gendered variations in parenting labor are gendered and gendering patterns in paid labor. Though addressed more fully in other chapters, a few key patterns are important. The integration of parenting and paid employment is contingent on a set of gendered inequalities that especially burden women also disadvantaged by intersecting inequalities of race, class and citizenship status. These include the wage gap that disadvantages women workers (Hegewisch & DuMonthier, 2016) and the interconnected wage gap that disadvantages those involved in paid carework occupations (England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002). Also relevant are the difficulties mothers face in combining the social expectations of motherhood with the supposedly “gender neutral” demands of the labor force (Hochschild, 1989; Hays, 1996; Moen & Roehling, 2005), as well as the punitive way U.S. social policy treats low-income mothers (Hays, 2004; Collins & Mayer, 2010), undocumented immigrant mothers (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001), and mothers of children with disabilities (Baker & Drapela, 2010; Scott, 2010).

One concept some scholars have used to capture the economic element of these burdens is the “motherhood penalty.” Budig and England (2001, 204) document a significant “wage penalty for motherhood,” concluding that “While the benefits of mothering diffuse widely—to the employers, neighbors, friends, spouses, and children of the adults who received the mothering—the costs of child rearing are borne disproportionately by mothers.” Focusing on the earnings of white mothers across the income spectrum, Budig and Hodges (2010) find that this penalty is greatest for lower-income women. Glauber (2007) analyzes data for mothers across racial groups, documenting greater motherhood penalties for white women. And Correll, Benard and Paik (2007) use experimental data to document that the motherhood penalty others have studied in relation to earnings is also evident in

hiring decisions, with parenthood either insignificant or positively associated with the likelihood of hiring any given male applicant but negatively associated for female applicants. Along with these variations on a motherhood penalty in income and hiring, parents and especially mothers in the labor force face great difficulty meeting the expectations of increasingly inflexible employers who offer shifting and unstable hours, limited sick leave and family leave that is rarely paid, and who expect some employees to stay connected well beyond the normal workday through technology (Moen & Roehling, 2005). Some class-privileged professional mothers are pushed out of the labor force by these demands, as documented by Stone (2008) in her critique of the flawed assumption these women are “opting out.” Others, as previously noted, attempt to resolve those competing demands by outsourcing the gendered labor of mothering to low-income women. In *For the Family: How Class and Gender Shape Women’s Work*, Damaske (2011) argues that middle and upper-middle class women are more often able to use class resources to maintain steady employment in spite of the demands of family life, while working class women are more often forced to pull back or interrupt their employment as they juggle gendered carework expectations in their families. Scholars have convincingly documented the lifetime earnings cost mothers face for taking on this work (Budig & England, 2001), a gendered cost of parenting that is important to acknowledge. But it is also important to acknowledge the many structures that shape the meaning of women’s parenting labor. As Hill Collins (2000, 46) notes, for example, in some cases “Black women see the unpaid work they do for their families more as a form of resistance to (racial) oppression than as a form of exploitation by men.”

2.4 Gender, Parenting, and Social Policy

Social policy is referenced in many of the patterns within the literature that I have already

noted. But given its crucial role as an institutional-level force shaping gender and parenting, some brief separate consideration of the topic is warranted. Comparative scholars have noted limitations to paid parental leave and publicly-subsidized child care as factors producing gendered inequalities in both employment and parenting labor across nations, and the absence of such paid leave in the United States is particularly striking in comparative perspective (see, for example, Orloff, 2009; Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2010). Along with these examples of the institutional-level construction of gendered constraints on parenting, at the interactional and individual-level scholars have also addressed how gendered expectations and gendered selves impact “uptake” of available policies in ways that can reproduce gender inequalities in parenting (e.g., Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Though women’s greater likelihood of taking parental leaves disadvantages them in the labor force and reinforces their responsibility for the second shift of parental labor, the potential of policy to loosen these gendered constraints is also evident in scholarship documenting that fathers who take parental leaves “come to think about and enact parenting in ways that are more similar to mothers” (Rehel, 2014, 110).

Parental leaves and subsidized child care are common topics of consideration for feminist scholars of social policy, as are a variety of other policy arenas. From broad policy trends that have increasingly privatized families at the household level, considered by Cooper (2014) in her recent book *Cut Adrift*, to more specific policy domains like child welfare policy (Reich, 2005), criminal justice policy for incarcerated mothers (Enos, 2001), policy around queer families (Bernstein, 2015), child support policy (Natalier & Hewitt, 2014), and health and social services policy (Blum, 2015), feminist critics have documented the many ways family policy can disrupt but often reinforces gendered divisions and intersecting inequalities at the institutional level and also at the interactional level and in the shaping of gendered selves. Randles (2013, 864), for example, reveals the way U.S. welfare policy “promotes a highly gendered conception of

paternal caregiving” for low-income fathers participating in federally-funded fatherhood programs, while Pfeffer (2012) analyzes the complex patterns of “normative resistance” and “inventive pragmatism” transgender families employ as they interact with legal and policy constraints.

Public assistance for low-income families has been a particularly frequent target for feminist sociologists critical of the way neoliberal policy reinscribes gendered expectations for parenting in a manner especially harsh for mothers living in poverty. Through punitive work requirements and marriage promotion programs, Hays (2004, 30–31) argues, policymakers “treat the work of raising children, the issues of wages and working conditions, and the problems of gender and race inequality as ‘private’ concerns, appropriately negotiated by individuals in isolation. Our nation’s leaders... simultaneously condemn the ‘dependence’ of poor women and children on the state and celebrate their dependence on miserly employers and men.” Collins and Mayer (2010) refer to the work requirements central to Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) as “tying both hands” for low-income mothers, forcing them into an exploitative labor market without protections as workers and without adequate social provision for the carework they would otherwise provide at home. Brush’s (2011, 16) analysis of the intersection of neoliberal welfare policy and domestic violence policy also highlights privatization, and the way it can make low-income mothers especially vulnerable: “Privatization shifted the burden of arrangements for child care, transportation, housing, and job training to the market or family members instead of the welfare state. As a consequence, some women find themselves relying on men who have abused them or their children in the past for practical help in meeting those requirements.”

2.5 Children’s Gender and Gendering Children

Two related parenting topics that sociologists of gender have considered in detail are how parents

are influenced by their children’s gender and the role parents play in gendering children. Other chapters cover these topics more fully, but their direct relevance to parenting and gender makes them worth addressing here briefly. As I note in a summary of existing scholarship, “A body of literature that includes primarily large quantitative studies but also some qualitative studies documents a general tendency toward preferring sons, especially for fathers and especially in less developed areas of the world” (Kane, 2014). Once children enter a family, a comprehensive review of the literature by Raley and Bianchi (2006) concludes that children’s gender shapes some aspects of parenting in the United States, with parents of sons somewhat more likely to marry and stay married, and fathers somewhat more likely to engage actively with sons than with daughters. Where such variations arise, they are an important reminder that parenting is gendered not only in the expectations surrounding mothers versus fathers, but also in the way those expectations may play out differently as gendered parents interact with sons and daughters. Though definitive statistics are difficult to calculate due to complexities of definition, reporting and interpretation, parental abuse of children also seems to vary by gender of child and parent in the United States: sons are more likely to experience physical abuse and daughters more likely to experience sexual abuse, and fathers are more likely to perpetrate physical and sexual abuse while mothers are more likely to perpetrate emotional abuse and neglect (Coltrane & Adams, 2008, 275–277).

The role parents play is constructing children’s gender has also received considerable attention from sociologists of gender. In my book *The Gender Trap* (Kane, 2012), I draw on gender structure theory and interviews with parents of preschool-aged children from a broad range of backgrounds, to explore the way institutional, interactional and individual level processes constrain parents. I find that those constraints often lead parents to reproduce the gender binary, heteronormativity, traditionally gendered childhoods, and gender and other intersecting inequalities, even when they are trying to open a

broader range of possibilities for their children. But I also consider a smaller group of parents who are explicitly and intentionally working to resist gendered childhoods, who in my study were often parents located within at least one subordinated position within the intersecting matrices of gender, race, class and sexuality-based inequalities. Given that other chapters of this handbook address gender socialization within the family and how parents respond to gender non-conforming children in detail, I will not offer additional coverage of the extensive literature on these topics here.

3 Discussion and Future Directions

As the literature presented in this chapter indicates, sociologists of gender have documented that parenting is both deeply gendered and deeply gendering. And they have documented this while attentive to intersecting inequalities and to all three levels of the gender structure identified by Risman (2004). From our definitions of parenthood and parenting to the way the labor of parental carework is executed and its connections to paid employment in the labor market to social policy and children's gender, parenting is shaped by gendered selves, gendered interactions and gendered institutions. At the same time, parenting acts as a gendering force that reinforces, shapes and potentially disrupts the gender structure in ways that can only be understood accurately through an intersectional lens.

The literature reviewed here has been influenced by trends in the broader fields of the sociology of gender and interdisciplinary gender studies: increasingly consistent recognition of intersectionality, queer and transgender issues, transnational approaches, men and masculinity, and critical interrogation of the gender binary. From a literature once more often anchored in topics like the division of childcare among heterosexual couples and the impact of single motherhood, a much wider range of experiences, theoretical perspectives and approaches have joined these topics in constituting the overall body of sociological research on gender and parenting. Moving beyond a

household-based definition of parenting, moving beyond a focus on women and then further beyond a binary approach to gender, and theorizing intersectionally and without heteronormative assumptions, are all movements that expand the literature. These are important expansions that advance our understanding of gender and parenting not only by studying a greater diversity of experiences and structures, but also more accurately understanding the common topics that once dominated the literature. Future scholarship on parenting within the sociology of gender should continue to consider, and continue to deepen its consideration of, this broader range of approaches and experiences. And it should do so with consistent recognition of power as a central organizing element of intersecting structures of inequality. Scholars of gender and parenting should also respond to developments in the mainstream visibility of trans and non-binary genders, with newly supportive laws and policies but also problematic backlash raising new and critical questions.

Like the sociology of gender in general, the literature on gender and parenting has addressed all three levels of the gender structure, with increasingly prominent attention to their interconnections. As Risman (2004, 435) notes, "Change is fluid and reverberates throughout the structure dynamically." Changes at any of the levels she differentiates—individual, interactional and institutional—have implications for and impacts on the other levels, and a holistic approach that considers those levels and their dynamic links is critical for further deepening our understanding of gendered and gendering patterns related to parenthood. One particularly noteworthy example of institutional level patterns is the relative hegemony of neoliberal frameworks in the contemporary West. As various scholars cited in this chapter have pointed out, neoliberal social policy has reshaped families and communities with consequences that vary tremendously by class, race, gender, sexuality, gender identity, and nation. Sociologists focused on gender and parenting should continue to pay close attention to neoliberalism as a context within which family and household patterns are constructed. Examples include the punitive

impact of the prison-industrial complex and welfare reform, diminished funding for health care and social services, public infrastructure and public education, and the ongoing lack of adequate funding for child care and parental leave. These are all aspects of an increasingly privatized family and the increasing privatization of care-work and social reproduction that are critical to recognize. An adequate analysis of any question related to gender and parenting requires that recognition. Even instances which might at first appear isolated from these harsh social forces are often instances in which class resources have allowed some parents and children to buy their way out of the additional burdens neoliberalism places on most people. Like the more general claim that an intersectional analysis is critical to any investigation of gender and parenting, the particular impact of neoliberalism at the institutional level and its reverberations at the individual and interactional levels is critical to consider throughout the literature as it continues forward.

But as Risman (2004) highlights, the change that can reverberate across levels can also disrupt inequalities and structural constraints. A variety of the studies considered in this chapter address that possibility, and explore the way institutions can be pushed in new directions, interactional spaces can be opened up to new configurations of practice, and individual selves can be crafted with fewer limits and constraints. This potential for change is often addressed in the literature, and it is important not to isolate that potential inside self-referential academic discourses. Public engagement should remain a key goal of sociological scholarship on gender and parenting. Many, probably even most, of the authors cited here have committed themselves to addressing gender inequalities and other intersecting inequalities with the explicit intention to contribute to progressive social change. From accessibly written books to blogs that summarize more technical articles for a broader audience, from legal briefs to policy analysis to white papers, from raising awareness in classrooms to direct feminist organizing, sociologists focused on gender and parenting have engaged local, regional, national and international communities.

The scholarship reviewed in this chapter includes examples of systematic documentation of structural constraints, partnerships with a variety of organizations and entities to craft research questions and share analyses, debunking myths and revealing the regressive impact of policies and practices. Dedication to feminist public engagement has been a distinguishing feature of much of the literature within the sociology of gender, including literature focused on parenting and parenthood. Given the many crises, tensions, and injustices evident in our communities, nations and world, continued dedication to that kind of engagement is essential.

References

- Baker, D. L., & Drapela, L. A. (2010). Mostly the mother. *Social Science Journal*, 47, 578–592.
- Bass, B. C. (2015). Preparing for parenthood. *Gender & Society*, 29, 362–385.
- Bell, A. V. (2009). It's way out of my league. *Gender & Society*, 23, 688–709.
- Berk, S. (1985). *The gender factory*. NY: Plenum.
- Bernstein, M. (2015). Same-sex marriage and the future of the LGBT movement. *Gender & Society*, 29, 321–337.
- Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milkie, M. A. (2007). *Changing rhythms of American family life*. NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Blum, L. (2015). *Raising generation Rx*. NY: NYU Press.
- Brush, L. (2011). *Poverty, battered women and work in U.S. public policy*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Budig, M., & England, P. (2001). The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 204–255.
- Budig, M. J., & Hodges, M. J. (2010). Differences in disadvantage: Variation in the motherhood penalty across white women's earnings distribution. *American Sociological Review*, 75, 705–728.
- Collins, J. L., & Mayer, V. (2010). *Both hands tied*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought*. NY: Routledge.
- Coltrane, S. (1996). *Family man*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Coltrane, S., & Adams, M. (2008). *Gender and families*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Coontz, S. (1992). *The way we never were*. NY: Basic Books.
- Coontz, S. (2015). CCF symposium on housework, gender and parenthood: Overview. *Council on Contemporary Families Online Symposium on Housework, Gender and Parenthood*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/housework-symposium-overview/>. Accessed July 22, 2016.

- Cooper, M. (2014). *Cut adrift*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Correll, S., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, *112*, 1297–1338.
- Craig, L., & Mullan, K. (2013). Parental leisure time: A gender comparison in five countries. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *20*, 329–357.
- Damaske, S. (2011). *For the family?*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Edin, K., & Kefalas, M. (2011). *Promises I Can Keep*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Edin, K., & Nelson, T. (2013). *Doing the Best I Can*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. (2002). *Global woman*. NY: Henry Holt.
- Elliott, S., Powell, R., & Brenton, J. (2015). Being a good mom: Low-income, black single mothers negotiate intensive mothering. *Journal of Family Issues*, *36*, 351–370.
- England, P., Budig, M., & Folbre, N. (2002). Wages of virtue: The relative pay of carework. *Social Problems*, *49*, 455–474.
- Enos, S. (2001). *Mothering from the inside*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Fox, B. (2009). *When couples become parents: The creation of gender in the transition to parenthood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Frederick, A. (2017). Risky mothers and the normalcy project. *Gender & Society*, *31*, 74–95.
- Gerson, K. (2010). *The unfinished revolution*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Glauber, R. (2007). Marriage and the motherhood wage penalty among African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *69*, 951–961.
- Haney, L. A. (2010). *Offending women*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hansen, K. (2004). *Not-so-nuclear families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hays, S. (2004). *Flat broke with children*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hegewisch, A., & DuMonthier, A. (2016). *The gender wage gap: 2015*. www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/gender-wage-gap2015. Accessed October 30, 2016.
- Hertz, R. (2008). *Single by chance, mothers by choice*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. (2011). Breadwinning wives and “left-behind” husbands: Men and masculinities in the Vietnamese transnational family. *Gender & Society*, *25*, 717–739.
- Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift*. New York: Viking.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Domestica*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kane, E. W. (2012). *The gender trap*. NY: New York University Press.
- Kane, E. W. (2014). The social construction of parental gender preferences. In H. Montgomery (Ed.), *Oxford bibliographies in childhood studies*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kaufman, G. (2013). *Superdad*. NY: New York University Press.
- MacDonald, C. (2010). *Shadow mothers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McLanahan, S., & Percheski, C. (2008). Family structure and the reproduction of inequalities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *34*, 257–276.
- Messner, M. (2009). *It's all for the kids*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Moen, P., & Roehling, P. (2005). *The career mystique*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Moore, M. (2011). *Invisible families*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Natalier, K., & Hewitt, B. (2014). Separated parents reproducing and undoing gender through defining legitimate uses of child support. *Gender & Society*, *28*, 904–925.
- Offer, S., & Schneider, B. (2011). Revisiting the gender gap in time-use patterns. *American Sociological Review*, *76*, 809–833.
- Orloff, A. S. (2009). Gender the comparative analysis of welfare states. *Sociological Theory*, *27*, 317–343.
- Parreñas, R. (2002). *Servants of globalization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pfeffer, C. (2012). Normative resistance and inventive pragmatism. *Gender & Society*, *26*, 574–602.
- Raley, S., & Bianchi, S. (2006). Sons, daughters, and family processes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *32*, 401–421.
- Randles, J. M. (2013). Repackaging the package deal. *Gender & Society*, *27*, 864–888.
- Ray, R., Gornick, J. C., & Schmitt, J. (2010). Who cares? Assessing generosity and gender equality in parental leave policy designs in 21 countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *20*, 196–216.
- Rehel, E. M. (2014). When dad stays home too. *Gender & Society*, *28*, 110–132.
- Reich, J. (2005). *Fixing families*. NY: Routledge.
- Reich, J. A. (2014). Neoliberal mothering and vaccine refusal. *Gender & Society*, *28*, 679–704.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure. *Gender & Society*, *18*, 429–450.
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2013). Penalizing men who request a family leave. *Journal of Social Issues*, *69*, 322–340.

- Ryan, M., & Berkowitz, D. (2009). Constructing gay and lesbian parent families 'beyond the closet'. *Qualitative Sociology, 32*, 153–172.
- Sanchez, L., & Thompson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers. *Gender & Society, 11*, 747–772.
- Sayer, L. (2015). *The complexities of interpreting changing household patterns*. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/complexities-brief-report/>. Accessed July 22, 2016.
- Scott, E. K. (2010). I Feel As If I Am the One Who Is Disabled. *Gender & Society, 24*, 672–696.
- Shows, C., & Gerstel, N. (2009). Fathering, class, and gender. *Gender & Society, 23*, 161–187.
- Singley, S. G., & Hynes, K. (2005). Transitions to parenthood. *Gender & Society, 19*, 376–397.
- Stacey, J. (1990). *Brave new families*. NY: Basic Books.
- Stone, P. (2008). *Opting out*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sullivan, M. (2004). *The family of woman*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Walzer, S. (1998). *Thinking about the baby*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Yavorsky, J. E., Kamp Dush, C. M., & Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J. (2015). The production of inequality: The gender division of labor across the transition to parenthood. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 77*, 662–679.

Emily W. Kane is Professor of Sociology, and a member of the Program in Gender and Sexuality Studies, at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Her teaching, research, and public engagement focus on inequalities of race, class, gender, and sexuality, with particular attention to family and childhood. She received her B.A. from Oberlin College and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, all in sociology.



Jennifer Randles

Abstract

This chapter summarizes the state of research and theory on how social policies related to family life in the United States reflect and reinforce the gender structure. First, I discuss how feminist theories of social policy explain how gender ideologies and inequalities influence the policy-making process and policy implementation. I then summarize theorizing on dominant gender paradigms of policy and how they have shaped family members' abilities to utilize and benefit from social provisions. Contemporary U.S. family policies reinforce the gender structure largely through legislation that still assumes a married male breadwinner/female caregiver family model. I offer critiques of each paradigm and discuss how gendered assumptions of family life embedded in social policies limit our political abilities to help family members balance their care and paid work responsibilities. This discussion highlights how policies perpetuate the gender structure by not accounting for women's and men's overall different socioeconomic and political positions, especially as they intersect with class

and race inequalities. This pretext of gender neutrality is a policy problem that points to necessary directions for future research by gender scholars, particularly empirical and theoretical work on the gendered and heteronormative effects of social policies.

In 1996, Congress overhauled United States welfare policy and claimed that: "Marriage is the foundation of a successful society," and that the "Promotion of responsible fatherhood and motherhood is integral to successful child rearing and the well-being of children" (U.S. Congress, 1996). Based on the assumption that welfare encouraged single parenthood by financially enabling women to raise children without men who deliberately avoid their parenting obligations (Hays, 2003), Congress earmarked federal funding for programs promoting heterosexual marriage and "responsible" fatherhood. As part of these provisions, the law required single custodial parents, who are mostly women, to work in exchange for benefits after two years of aid; it required noncustodial parents, mostly men, to financially support their children through mandatory paternity establishment and child support payments.

Twenty years later, these gendered provisions of welfare reform remain in effect. What has changed dramatically in the past two decades is the size of welfare rolls. By turning welfare into a state block grant program, states have significant

J. Randles (✉)
California State University, Fresno, 5340 N. Campus
Drive M/S SS97, Fresno, CA 93740, USA
e-mail: Jrandles81@gmail.com

discretion in the use of funds and can even opt to deny cash assistance to eligible families and instead fund activities such as marriage education programs. Consequently, welfare rolls nationwide are down 75% since 1996, but not because poverty rates and the need for welfare have declined; rather, it is because most states have severely restricted their cash assistance programs. More families, disproportionately single mother-headed families of color, live in deep poverty (Edin & Shafer, 2015).

The work, marriage, and fatherhood provisions of welfare reform reflected and reinforced racialized gendered stereotypes of parents in poverty, especially those about “promiscuous” and “lazy” single mothers who purposely have children outside of marriage and deliberately avoid employment (Hays, 2003) and “deadbeat” dads who evade child support payments they can afford (Gavanas, 2004). Despite policy attempts to prevent poverty by promoting work and marriage, single mothers’ employment rates have not continuously increased (Cohen, 2016), and government-funded relationship programs have had no impact on marriage or poverty rates (Wood, Moore, Clarkwest, & Killewald, 2014). Yet, these provisions continue a long history of U.S. policies that assume a single-wage earner/two-parent family, stigmatize single parenthood, and make it prohibitively difficult for one parent to combine paid work and care responsibilities (Abramovitz, 1996; Reese, 2005). Welfare reform is thus a primary example of the reciprocal relationship between the gender structure and social policies.

Gendered expectations of women’s and men’s responsibilities as family members strongly influence policies and how much people utilize and benefit from them. Presumptions that men are heads of households and primary wage earners and that women are economic dependents, wives, and caregiving mothers have been central to social policies in the United States (Cott, 2000). Likewise, policies such as the 1996 welfare reform law shape gender ideologies of family responsibility, specifically what it means to be a good partner and parent and which relationships count as family. According to Barbara Risman (1998), policies are

a key part of the gender structure that exists at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels of social life. By creating a structure of institutionalized opportunities and constraints, policies influence how individuals interact with one another as family members, shape gendered identities of partners, parents, caregivers, and workers, and justify sexual stratification (Lorber, 1994). Policies, especially those governing family, are therefore a primary “gender factory” (Berk, 1985) that (re)produces gender in modern social life (Ridgeway, 2011; Risman, 1998).

This chapter provides an overview of empirical research and theories explaining how family policies in the United States reflect and reinforce the gender structure. I begin by describing how family responsibilities have been defined and contested based on gender in the policy arena. Next, I summarize dominant gender paradigms that shape social policy and the implications of different models of family life for addressing gender inequality. I conclude with a discussion of how these approaches to understanding the gendered consequences of policy point to much-needed reforms in U.S. social policy and recommendations for how future research by gender scholars should inform these changes.

1 Gender Ideologies and Family Policies

Feminist theories of social policy attend to how ideologies, discourses, and the gender structure influence the policy-making process, use of policies, and policy outcomes (Orloff & Palier, 2009). Given its role in structuring sex, procreation, childrearing, care, and provisioning, family structures many of the material conditions and cultural beliefs that perpetuate contemporary gender inequality (Ridgeway, 2011). Social policies legislate certain definitions of “proper” families and norms of appropriate behaviors among women and men as partners, spouses, and parents. Law and policy have often specifically

codified caregiving expectations for women and heteronormative assumptions of family, despite the lack of empirical evidence that biological or sex-based capacities render women better-suited for caregiving and heterosexual couples best-suited for parenting (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Risman 1998).

Many family policies are informed by an ideology of heteronormative gender difference premised on the notion of separate spheres and heterosexual gender complementarity. As Judith Lorber (1994) theorized, though the roles that female and male bodies play in human sexual reproduction are nearly universal, the unequal gender statuses of women and men as mothers and fathers are not. Procreative and parenting statuses are largely rooted in policy, not biology. That female bodies get pregnant and lactate does not create gender inequality in families. “Mother” as a socially and economically devalued parenting status is politically constructed vis-à-vis policies that cast women primarily as caregivers while simultaneously limiting their access to contraception and abortion (Luker, 1984), paid parental leave (Albiston, 2010), and affordable childcare (Palakow, 2007). Similarly, the stigma attached to non-heterosexual parents is rooted in laws, such as restrictions against adoption by gay men, lesbians, and same-sex couples and the now unconstitutional 1996 Defense of Marriage Act that defined marriage as only between one man and one woman. These policies are products of the gender structure that support ideologies of sex-based parental responsibilities and assumptions that all families need both a mother and a father who will provide the right “parenting equation” for children (Gavanas, 2004).

These ideologies have prevented family law and policy from keeping pace with evolving definitions of family and changes in family-formation trends, especially the growing number of non-married and same-sex families, working mothers, and caregiving fathers (Cherlin, 2009). Many policies support the heterosexual nuclear family by creating a structure of opportunities that primarily benefit two-parent, married families in which one parent is a primary

caregiver and the other is a primary wage-earner. Despite an official commitment to gender equality, many current family policies maintain gender and sex inequalities because they ignore how most adult family members of all genders must juggle paid work and unpaid care in a political context that does not equally recognize all family relationships.

The gendered division of family labor fundamentally shifted throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. While the public imagination idealized heterosexual, two-parent “traditional” families epitomized in television shows such as *Leave it to Beaver*, in reality many women of color and poor and working-class white women were already in the paid labor force (Coontz, 1992). For the white middle-class, the 1950s nuclear family with a stay-at-home mother was a historical anomaly enabled by unprecedented economic prosperity of the post-war period and class and racial privilege. As Stephanie Coontz (2005) has shown, shifting economic trends had a profound impact on marital experiences and gender arrangements within families. Fewer men were able to earn a family wage sufficient to support an entire family; women, especially middle-class whites, entered the paid labor force in record numbers (Hochschild, [1989] 2012). Now mothers, even those with very young children, are significantly more likely than those of previous generations to work outside the home for pay to compensate for men’s falling wages as the cost of living rises (Hochschild, [1989] 2012). Policy has failed to adequately respond to these changes in family life in the U.S. Social commentators often decry a “family crisis” that policy seeks to address by promoting, either explicitly or implicitly, the heterosexual, married, two-parent family form. But many of the social problems attributed to family structure are actually a result of inequality and poverty, social problems that policies often ignore or exacerbate by legislating anachronistic understandings of how families work and who comprises them.

Private solutions—such as working more hours and outsourcing childcare—are inadequate to address the gendered work-family conflicts

generated by policies and workplaces that emphasize long, inflexible hours and assume that all paid workers have a full-time caregiver at home. Joan Williams (2000) theorized how this “ideal worker” norm contributes to gender inequality primarily through the economic marginalization of women. Now that most families have all their adult members in the paid labor force, two-parent families must perform three jobs—two paid jobs and the “second shift” of unpaid childcare and housework (Hochschild, [1989] 2012)—with little public support. Single parents must do it all alone.

Arlie Russell Hochschild ([1989] 2012) described how the “stalled revolution” in gender norms at home, work, and in the policy arena presents many problems for the growing number of single-parent and dual-earner families. Despite incremental change in the gendered division of family labor, men’s contributions have not kept pace with those of women who still perform most of the second shift (Sullivan, 2004). Workplaces and social policies are still based on a family model that assumes the “ideal worker”—and that the worker is a man. Family and reproductive policies reflect how, as Joan Acker (1990) argued, men’s bodies and emotions shape work and organizational processes. This is evidenced by how women’s greater biological role in procreation is treated as a disability in state and employer policies regarding maternity leave (Albiston, 2010). Despite greater gender convergence in family responsibilities, there is still no concerted national policy agenda intended to help family members balance care and paid work. The United States lacks a national childcare system, and existing federal and state childcare policies are woefully insufficient. The federal Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) Act, most recently reauthorized in 2014, was intended to improve the quality and offset the enormous cost of care for working families. Yet, though the national cost of care for one child averages over \$10,000 annually, the average annual CCDBG subsidy is only \$4,900 (United States DHHS, 2014). Moreover, only about one in ten children who meet the federal requirements for childcare subsidies receives

them, due primarily to long waiting lists, inadequate federal and state funding, and restrictive state eligibility policies (United States GAO, 2016). Childcare shortcomings disproportionately disadvantage women who are expected to prioritize childrearing and are more likely to be lone parents and raise children on low wages. By failing to account for these real needs of families, social policies perpetuate the gender structure.

Gender ideologies also intersect with political ideologies of individual parental responsibility and nuclear family self-sufficiency. Individuals are tasked with meeting all their families’ practical and emotional needs with little public support. The federal Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993, for example, provides some employees up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave for qualified family and medical reasons, including the birth or adoption of a child or to care for a sick parent or spouse. However, because it is unpaid and only available to workers with at least a year of employment at workplaces with 50 or more employees, not all are eligible or financially able to utilize it. Those who do are typically women who have higher-earning men as partners whose wages enable them to take leave (Albiston, 2010; Prohaska & Zipp, 2011). This law has also prohibited those not legally defined as “spouse” from taking leave to care for a non-married partner, which disqualified same-sex partners who were not recognized as “family” by the FMLA until 2015. Equalizing access to such policies has significant benefits for families and the economy. Families in the few individual states that offer paid family leave have experienced greater use of maternity leave, increased work hours, and higher wages for mothers of young children (Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, & Waldfogel, 2013). Though still rare in the United States, some jurisdictions, including Vermont and San Francisco, have “right to request” laws that allow employees to request flexible work arrangements to accommodate personal and care responsibilities. In countries that have right to request laws as part of a larger package of family-supportive policies, such as paid leave and publicly funded childcare, women’s labor force participation is

greater than that of women in the United States, most of whom do not have access to paid leave or flexible schedules (Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011).

Normative views of the “ideal worker” intersect with gender ideologies of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) to prevent men from using family leave and requesting family-supportive work schedules (Berdahl & Moon, 2013). How men feel about work-family policies depends on their views of normative masculinity and how they think other men will judge their decision to use them (Thébaud & Pedulla, 2016). This is a case of how policies intended to support families and gender equality often fall short of both goals because gender is rarely viewed as central to the policy-making process (MacKinnon, 1989; Orloff, 1993).

When policies do directly address gender, they typically reinforce how gender and family statuses intersect to create advantages for men and disadvantages for women. Women suffer from a “motherhood penalty” in earnings and occupational advancement (Budig & England, 2001; Correll, Bernard, & Paik, 2007), especially if they are single, while married fathers tend to benefit from a marital wage premium (Killewald, 2013) and “daddy bonus” in earnings (Hodges & Budig, 2010). Marriage promotion and responsible fatherhood programs try to capitalize on these advantages for men by teaching couples that marriage is good for families because married men earn more (Randles, 2017). This reinforces the gendered ideology of the ideal worker norm that underlies wage discrimination benefiting married fathers.

Policies that instead focus on helping families balance care and work responsibilities, such as subsidized education and childcare, promote higher labor force participation rates among women and a more egalitarian division of unpaid household labor (Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011; Noonan, 2013). Even when partners share egalitarian ideas, they often find it prohibitively difficult to put them into practice in the absence of supportive policies. To promote gender equality,

policies must account for the growing number of families that do not conform to the married male breadwinner/female caregiver model. This will necessitate a rethinking of political definitions of good parenting founded on hegemonic and essentialist understandings of femininity, masculinity, and heterosexuality. For example, government-funded responsible fatherhood programming promotes the idea that children need an involved mother and father, preferably married, to avoid negative social outcomes such as poverty and incarceration (Randles, 2017). Basing family policies on assumptions that men and women parent in fundamentally different ways due to sex-based differences and that children need access to parents with both essential male and female qualities erroneously attributes problems of socioeconomic inequality to gender and sexuality. Teaching men that they are valuable as caring parents is a worthy policy goal and challenges the political and economic devaluation of carework. Teaching them that they are valuable as men who role model masculinity as part of a heterosexual couple merely reinforces empirically unsupported ideologies that parents’ gender and sexual orientation matter more than their abilities to nurture and provide for children (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010).

Young adults in the United States desire to have egalitarian marriages and committed partnerships in which they and their partners equally share paid work and unpaid family labor (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). Ideological and political stagnation make it difficult to realize these goals. The unfinished revolution at home and work will require a restructuring of paid work and caregiving (Gerson, 2010) and will involve what Barbara Risman (1998) calls *gender vertigo*, a reconceptualization of families that does not depend on gender as a central organizing framework. Gender scholars who study social policies have described how particular family models infuse policy paradigms and reinforce the gender structure. This work points to how more equitable models of gender and family are necessary to create a political context

in which individuals and families can realize these egalitarian aspirations.

2 Gender and Family Policy Paradigms

Feminist scholars of the welfare state have theorized how gendered policy regimes shape outcomes of social provision, including who can make demands on the state to increase their power, opportunity, and autonomy (O'Connor, Orloff, & Shaver, 1999). These regimes differ in how they codify models of family life and to whom they assign responsibility for meeting family members' needs. Three primary gendered policy regimes that have shaped family policy in the United States are: the patriarchal paradigm, the individual responsibility paradigm, and the social responsibility paradigm.

2.1 Patriarchal Paradigm

The patriarchal policy paradigm (Eichler, 1997) envisions the family as an administrative unit founded in legal marriage between a husband as the undisputed legal, social, and economic head of household and a wife who has caregiving obligations for children and elders. Family members in non-legal unions are not recognized as having social, legal, or economic obligations to one another. Historically, based on this patriarchal model, responsibility for an individual's well-being was assigned to their family, and under the subsidiary principle, families with an able-bodied man could not receive economic support from the state (Eichler, 1997). Many U.S. laws and policies regulating marriage and family life have reflected this paradigm, including coverture laws that rendered women the economic dependents and legal subordinates of their husbands. Throughout most of U.S. history, family law codified marriage as an economic and social contract through which wives consented to serve and obey their husbands, and husbands accepted a legal obligation to protect and support wives and their children (Cott,

2000). As a form of gendered governance, marriage converted a woman's property, legal personhood, and identity into those of her husband. Marriage laws also constructed social understandings and experiences of racial difference and hierarchy. Slaves were not allowed to enter into marital contracts, and individuals from different racial groups could not legally marry one another in all U.S. states until 1967 (Cott, 2000).

The patriarchal paradigm assumes gender complementarity, that is, that women and men should perform complementary gendered "roles" within families (Johnson, Duerst-Lahti, & Norton, 2007). According to Mary Blair-Loy (2003), the hegemonic cultural schema of motherhood is that of family devotion, an ideology that construes a good mother as one whose commitment to family care is her deepest moral obligation and practical responsibility. The parallel masculine cultural schema is that of the father as financial provider. These gender schemas anchor expectations of parents' behaviors and assume heterosexual complementarity of family roles based on essentialist beliefs that children thrive most when they have access to a caregiving mother and a wage-earning father. Even if individual women and men desire more egalitarian relationships, their behaviors are still held accountable to these larger gendered cultural referents (Ridgeway, 2011). U.S. policies reveal a consistent pattern of legislation enacted to provide incentives to marry and conform to the male breadwinner/female caretaker family form (Abramovitz, 1996). Despite significant changes in understandings of fatherhood that recognize men's equal abilities to care for their children (LaRossa, 1997), some contemporary family policies, such as responsible fatherhood policy, are still based on this idea of gender complementarity in parenting. By stressing that fathers are essential for children's well-being, especially due to their unique ability to be male role models, such policies ideologically devalue any family that does not fit the married, two-parent, heterosexual model (Randles, 2017).

By using public policy to influence family-formation patterns, the welfare state regulated the lives of poor, single mothers and

sought to reinstitutionalize marriage as the legal and economic foundation of patriarchal families. These attempts to “strengthen” the heterosexual married family have mostly served to strengthen the gender structure and the racialization and feminization of poverty (Hays, 2003; Reese, 2005; Roberts, 1998). Welfare reform in the 1990s, for example, focused more on reducing welfare rolls, promoting heterosexual marriage, and increasing fathers’ financial contributions than it did on improving low-income mothers’ labor market position and ability to combine care and paid work (Hays, 2003; Randles, 2017). It assumed a single-wage earner/two-parent family form and that poverty is the direct result of wage-earner joblessness. Yet, most single mothers already worked in low-wage jobs without access to adequate childcare, healthcare, or job security. Poor, single mothers of color comprise a large share of adult recipients, have lower earning potential in the paid labor market, and are more likely to have sole custodial responsibility for children. These factors combine to perpetuate the gender structure and how it intersects with racial inequalities. In 2015, white women earned only \$.82 for each \$1 earned by white men (Hegewisch & DuMontier, 2016); Black women and Latinas fared even worse with respective earnings of \$.65 and \$.58 for every \$1 white men earned (Patten, 2016). Requiring work in exchange for meager assistance in the absence of affordable childcare has exacerbated women’s and children’s economic hardship, especially as the economy declined with the 2008 recession (Cohen, 2016; Edin & Shaefer, 2015). By legislating a family model that failed to account for these effects of the gender structure, welfare reform encouraged women’s financial dependence on men, particularly through marriage (Abramovitz, 1996). This increased the deep poverty of many mother-headed families, particularly those of color, as what was once a government entitlement became a time-limited discretionary program that has been all but dismantled by many states (Edin & Shaefer, 2015).

2.2 Individual Responsibility Paradigm

Officially known as the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, U.S. welfare reform also reflected the individual responsibility (Eichler, 1997) or individuality paradigm (Johnson et al., 2007) by codifying the idea that, after a limited period of time, parents alone are responsible for meeting children’s needs. Though it presents a model of family life that is gender equal in theory, it has paradoxical implications for efforts to reduce gender inequality. As Margrit Eichler (1997) argued, since both men and women are presumed capable of providing care and money under this paradigm, it follows that both mothers and fathers can do either and that single parents should be able to do both. “The ideological ground is therefore prepared for an erosion of public entitlements for substantial numbers of families, particularly lone-parent families, because of the lack of recognition that one parent needs extra support in the absence of the second parent” (Eichler, 1997, 13). The earliest U.S. welfare programs, Mothers’ Pensions, were created as subsidies to allow white women without husbands, primarily widows, to care for their children, reflecting the idea that raising children was a public service worthy of state support (Reese, 2005). However, as never-married and non-white women started to comprise a larger share of welfare recipients, calls to reform welfare to encourage paid work as a form of individual responsibility followed; a major provision of welfare reform in 1996 was thus to require work in exchange for benefits after two years of aid (Hays, 2003). With few exceptions, in U.S. social policy, the care of one’s own children, an activity disproportionately performed by women, is no longer politically defined as work. Even the exceptions are not universally available; though the Comprehensive Assistance for Family Caregivers for veterans wounded after 9/11 is a federal program available in all states, the Medicaid Cash and Counseling Program for children with chronic

illnesses and disabilities is state specific and only accessible to some caregivers.

Many policies, such as those related to unemployment, welfare, and family leave, involve treating both women and men mainly as workers based on a male breadwinner model (O'Connor, Orloff, & Shaver, 1999). This denies how state-market and state-family linkages shape how one's family status affects their market status. O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver (1999) argued that the gendered family status of mother as caregiver, to the extent that it is politically recognized at all, is often conceptualized in social policy as a temporary barrier to labor market participation. This barrier is construed as an individual problem, a personal market failure for which the government can only offer market-based solutions, such as tax credits to purchase childcare or employer incentives to provide on-site care facilities. These policies reflect a logic of gender sameness based on income maintenance and labor market participation. By failing to recognize or remunerate parenting as both a political and economic activity, these limited policy interventions fail to account for how the unpaid work of caregiving is necessary to produce future workers that sustain the economy. This undermines public support for those with care responsibilities that might interfere with work. As Catherine MacKinnon (1989, 169) claimed, sexual and family politics "institutionalize male power over women through institutionalizing the male point of view in law." The guise of gender neutrality in social policy ultimately results in legislated discrimination by disregarding how individual responsibility for unpaid care falls mostly on women.

The individual responsibility paradigm thus perpetuates gender inequalities because it assumes that the goal of social policy is to create self-sufficient, hard-working citizens who are not dependent on the state. This codifies the "atomistic man as the standard" in policy and obscures how family members' individual choices and autonomy are constrained or enhanced by family relationships and the needs of dependents (Johnson et al., 2007, 24). Though such policies may not compel women and men to

assume particular family responsibilities because of biological sex, it prioritizes autonomy as a political ideology within a socio-political context where men are still more economically and socially autonomous and therefore have greater opportunities for self-sufficiency. For example, work and marriage programs created in the wake of welfare reform similarly focused on promoting economic self-sufficiency for poor parents by teaching skills for self-regulation, such as time management, stress-reduction, and budgeting; these strategies obscure how gender and racial inequalities sustain poverty and the need for welfare (Randles & Woodward, 2018).

Even if they avoid assumptions of patriarchy and gender complementarity, seemingly gender-neutral policies based on the individuality paradigm rarely have gender-equal effects. Catherine MacKinnon (2005, 1) argued that gender inequality is built into "sex equality law's oscillation between denying the sexes are human equals and pretending that they are social equals." That is, social policies often further codify gender inequality by ignoring that the gender structure exists. For example, Prohaska and Zipp (2011) found that discussions of gender equality and the policy's effects on women played a minor role in the formative stages of the bill that would eventually become the FLMA in 1993. Debates over the policy's potential impacts on families were couched in the language of personal choice and parents' rights to decide which partner would "choose" to use leave. The Act reinforced gender inequality by emphasizing individual choice without accounting for cultural schemas that favor women as caretakers and women's greater tendency to work in lower-paying jobs. Policies need not explicitly promote patriarchy or gender complementarity to perpetuate women's subordination; they need only to ignore women's devalued statuses as low-paid workers, unpaid caregivers, and emotional nurturers in families.

Like the FMLA, policies typically assume that solutions to family problems result from interpersonal negotiation and choice based on the personal motivation, preferences, and skills of the individuals involved. When these solutions

fail, they are attributed to individual deficiencies or interpersonal incompatibilities, not how the gender structure and other axes of inequality, including race and class, create differential positions from which people negotiate family- and work-related challenges. Relationship education programs funded via the marriage promotion provisions of welfare reform, for example, focused on teaching interpersonal strategies for communication and conflict-resolution. This approach obscures how gender differences in marital power rooted in social, economic, and political inequalities between wives and husbands restrain individuals' abilities to develop agency and pursue interests within marriage, even if couples share gender egalitarian beliefs (Randles, 2016). Gender inequality will persist as long as policies, despite being gender-neutral on their face, value reproductive labor within the family less than "productive" work outside it (Lorber, 1994). This reinforces women's economic dependence on men, men's greater economic position relative to women, and ultimately men's increased bargaining power within marriages and families.

2.3 Social Responsibility Paradigm

Policies informed by a third paradigm focus on social responsibility for meeting families' needs and help create a structure where care is more highly valued and equitably distributed among family members (Eichler, 1997; Johnson et al., 2007). This model recognizes that the public should share the costs of care and promotes gender equality in the workplace, household, and political arena. By focusing on inequality, including the gender structure, and not just individual autonomy and personal responsibility, the social responsibility paradigm prioritizes equal opportunities for women and men across family types and challenges gendered and heteronormative models of family life. This paradigm encourages us to consider how policies that seem to recognize care as a gender-neutral responsibility can perpetuate gender and other forms of inequality, especially when policies link

economic support for care directly to employment.

The FMLA granting access to unpaid leave for qualifying employees is officially gender neutral and seems to be a governmental endorsement of the value of care; however, utilizing it is dependent on individual and household resources, especially employment, rather than universally available public supports, which has gendered effects. During the past two decades, despite overall rapid economic growth and a rise in women's paid employment, the number of women taking parental leave has stalled. Moreover, fewer than half of parents were paid at all during leave, and those who did receive some compensation were significantly more likely to be men. Those who took leave were also relatively privileged; mothers who were white, married, and college educated were the most likely group to utilize leave policies (Zagorsky, 2017). Fathers' use of parental leave tripled during this time, but still lagged significantly behind that of mothers; in 2015, for every 10 women who took leave, only one man did (Zagorsky, 2017). Tax-payer supported paid leave, especially policies that offer incentives for use by caregivers of all genders, would enable more families to utilize both public and private leave policies.

Tax credits for families in the United States are also primarily tied to employment rather than unpaid caregiving. The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), a refundable tax credit for low- and moderate-income working families, allows both individuals and couples to increase their annual income by claiming qualifying children on their federal taxes. As more families time out on cash assistance under 60-month lifetime limits on welfare receipt passed as part of welfare reform, the EITC has become an important part of poor families' new work-based safety net (Halpern-Meekin, Edin, Tach, & Sykes, 2015). Though the maximum 2016 annual credit of \$3,373 for a single child represents a significant increase in income for many U.S. families, it is still often not enough to promote upward mobility for women and children. Instead of policies that offer tax credits in the form of child

subsidies that are solely dependent on raising residential children, such as those in other countries, the EITC is directly tied to paid work in the absence of living wage laws and affordable childcare for all qualifying families.

Policies informed by the social responsibility paradigm would decouple public support for care from paid work. They could include direct child subsidies for parents and guardians that are not tied to income-based tax credits, childcare subsidies for all eligible families, and paid family leave for any caregiver, not just those in legally recognized family relationships. Most importantly, they would need to be universally available and tax funded. Such policies would codify the idea that women and men can have interchangeable family responsibilities but not the superhuman ability to meet all their family members' needs alone.

The main problem with this paradigm is that, by recognizing care as a fundamental political practice and economic activity (Tronto, 1993), it directly conflicts with dominant U.S. political ideologies that only paid workers are deserving of public provisions. Given its focus on the social redistribution of resources, the social responsibility model has historically encountered the most resistance in the U.S. (Johnson et al., 2007). The U.S. economy benefits greatly from caregivers' economically valuable, yet unremunerated, reproductive labor. This puts caregivers, especially mothers—who disproportionately make investments that allow children to become future workers whose earnings will be taxed—in a precarious situation. They are expected to care intensively for children and other dependents whom our economic system and social policies assign no market value (Folbre, 2008). Making care central to social provision will therefore be necessary to dismantle the gender structure and to empower women, especially low-income women and women of color, who have been socially and economically marginalized because of their association with carework. This will require making gender central to policy-making and the study of policy implementation, specifically by accounting for how women and men are

differentially affected due to their distinct positions in the gender structure.

3 Directions for Future Research

Future research should address how social policies are informed by these distinct paradigms and how policy interventions can dismantle the gender structure. Empirical work will need to analyze how policy is translated into practice and the impacts, both intended and unintended, on family members' experiences, gender ideologies, and abilities to meet responsibilities. Specifically, research must explore how social policies reinforce or challenge the gender structure and to what extent they allow family members to make decisions in accordance with egalitarian ideas given gendered differences in power, autonomy, and opportunities. Social scientific research is especially well-suited for understanding to what extent legislators' intentions are realized in policy implementation and why policy efforts often fail to produce intended results, such as with the marriage promotion provisions of welfare reform.

There is also a need for theoretical work that enhances our understandings of how policies legislate different models of family life. This work should focus on how these models limit or enhance our abilities to create policies that meet the diverse needs of individuals and families, including the majority who do not fit the heterosexual, married two-parent family form and who, therefore, face different opportunities and constraints than those reflected in existing policies. Under what conditions do social policies—or their absence—strengthen gendered schemas of family life? Which policies have been most successful in undermining them? We need to push our empirical and theoretical work as gender scholars to inform how family policies can create interventions and social supports that reflect a political ethic of care and collective responsibility for those in need. This agenda would especially benefit from additional comparative cross-national analyses of countries that

support families through policy and social provision much more effectively than we do in the United States.

References

- Abramovitz, M. (1996). *Regulating the lives of women: Social welfare from Colonial times to the present*. Boston: South End Press.
- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), 139–158.
- Albiston, C. R. (2010). *Institutional inequality and the mobilization of the Family and Medical Leave Act: Rights on leave*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moon, S. H. (2013). Workplace mistreatment of middle class workers based on sex, parenthood, and caregiving. *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), 341–366.
- Berk, S. F. (1985). *The gender factory*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the gender of parents matter? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(1), 3–22.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2003). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Budig, M. J., & England, P. (2001). The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review*, 66(2), 204–225.
- Cherlin, A. J. (2009). *The marriage-go-round: The state of marriage and the family in America today*. New York: Knopf.
- Cohen, P. (2016). *Welfare reform attitudes and single mothers' employment after 20 years*. Council for Contemporary Families Briefing Paper. <https://contemporaryfamilies.org/tanf-attitudes-at-20/>. Accessed January 23, 2017.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Coontz, S. (1992). *The way we never were: American families and the nostalgia trap*. New York: Basic Books.
- Coontz, S. (2005). *Marriage, a history: From obedience to intimacy, or how love conquered marriage*. New York: Viking Press.
- Correll, S., Bernard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(5), 1297–1338.
- Cott, N. (2000). *Public vows: A history of marriage and the nation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Edin, K. J., & Shaefer, H. L. (2015). *\$2.00 a day: Living on almost nothing in America*. Boston: Mariner.
- Eichler, M. (1997). *Family shifts: Families, policies, and gender equality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Folbre, N. (2008). *Valuing children: Rethinking the economics of the family*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gavanas, A. (2004). *Fatherhood politics in the United States: Masculinity, sexuality, race, and marriage*. Urbana, IL: Illinois University Press.
- Gerson, K. (2010). *The unfinished revolution: Coming of age in a new era of gender, work, and family*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Halpern-Meekin, S., Edin, K., Tach, L., & Sykes, J. (2015). *It's not like I'm poor: How working families make ends meet in a post-welfare world*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hays, S. (2003). *Flat broke with children: Women in the age of welfare reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hegewisch, A., & DuMonthier, A. (2016). *The gender wage gap 2015: Annual earnings differences by gender, race, and ethnicity*. Institute for Women's Policy Research. <http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/the-gender-wage-gap-2015-annual-earnings-differences-by-gender-race-and-ethnicity>. Accessed November 6, 2016.
- Hegewisch, A., & Gornick, J. C. (2011). The impact of work-family policies on women's employment: A review of research from OECD countries. *Community, Work, and Family*, 14(2), 119–138.
- Hochschild, A. R., with Machung, A. ([1989] 2012). *The second shift: Working families and the revolution at home* (Revised ed.). New York: Penguin.
- Hodges, M. J., & Budig, M. J. (2010). Who gets the daddy bonus? Organizational hegemonic masculinity and the impact of fatherhood on earnings. *Gender & Society*, 24(6), 717–745.
- Johnson, C. M., Duerst-Lahti, G., & Norton, N. H. (2007). *Creating gender: The sexual politics of welfare policy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Killewald, A. (2013). A reconsideration of the fatherhood premium: Marriage, residence, biology, and the wages of fathers. *American Sociological Review*, 78(1), 96–116.
- LaRossa, R. (1997). *The modernization of fatherhood: A social and political history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Luker, K. (1984). *Abortion and the politics of motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (2005). *Women's lives, men's laws*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Noonan, M. (2013). The impact of social policy on the gendered division of housework. *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, 5(2), 124–134.

- O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (1999). *States, markets, families: Gender, liberalism and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and the welfare state. *American Sociological Review*, 58(3), 303–328.
- Orloff, A. S., & Palier, B. (2009). The power of gender perspectives: Feminist influence on policy paradigms, social science, and social politics. *Social Politics*, 16(4), 405–412.
- Palakow, V. (2007). *Who cares for our children?: The child care crisis in the other America*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Patten, E. (2016). *Racial, gender wage gaps persist in U.S. despite some progress*. Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/>. Accessed January 25, 2017.
- Pedulla, D. S., & Thébaud, S. (2015). Can we finish the revolution?: Gender, work-family ideals, and institutional constraint. *American Sociological Review*, 80(1), 116–139.
- Prohaska, A., & Zipp, J. F. (2011). Gender inequality and the Family and Medical Leave Act. *Journal of Family Issues*, 32(11), 1425–1448.
- Randles, J. M. (2016). Redefining the marital power struggle through relationship skills: How United States marriage education programs challenge and reinforce gender inequality. *Gender & Society*, 30(2), 240–264.
- Randles, J. M. (2017). *Proposing prosperity?: Marriage education policy and inequality in America*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Randles, J., & Woodward, K. (2018). Learning to labor, love, and live: Shaping the “good neoliberal citizen” in state work and marriage programs. *Sociological Perspectives*, 61(1), 39–56.
- Reese, E. (2005). *Backlash against welfare mothers: Past and present*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Roberts, D. (1998). *Killing the Black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. New York: Vintage.
- Rossin-Slater, M., Ruhm, C., & Waldfogel, J. (2013). The effects of California’s paid family leave program on mothers’ leave-taking and subsequent labor market outcomes. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 32(2), 224–245.
- Sullivan, O. (2004). Changing gender practices within the household: A theoretical perspective. *Gender & Society*, 18(2), 207–222.
- Thébaud, S., & Pedulla, D. S. (2016). Masculinity and the stalled revolution: How gender ideologies and norms shape young men’s responses to work-family policies. *Gender & Society*, 30(4), 590–617.
- Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care*. New York: Routledge.
- United States Congress. (1996). *The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act*. (Public Law 104-193). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- United States Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). (2014). *Average monthly subsidy paid to provider by age group and care type*. Office of Child Care. <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/occ/resource/fy-2013-ccdf-data-tables-preliminary-table-15>. Accessed January 24, 2017.
- United States Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2016). *Child care: Access to subsidies and strategies to manage demand vary across states*. GAO-17-60 Report to Congressional Committees. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/690/681652.pdf>. Accessed January 24, 2017.
- Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, R. G., Moore, Q., Clarkwest, A., & Killewald, A. (2014). The long-term effects of Building Strong Families: A program for unmarried parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(2), 446–463.
- Zagorsky, J. L. (2017). Divergent trends in US maternity and paternity leave, 1994–2015. *American Journal of Public Health*. <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303607>. Accessed January 26, 2017.

Jennifer Randles is an associate professor of sociology at California State University, Fresno. She studies low-income parenthood, gender, and family policies. Her previous research focused on government marriage education and fatherhood programs, and her current work is an qualitative study of diaper need and policy responses. In each of these projects, Randles analyzes how family policies and social programming shape poor parents’ abilities to meet their partnering and parenting goals in the context of social and economic constraints.



Carissa Froyum

Abstract

Arlie Hochschild's work shifted sociological attention to how emotions are not just felt but *managed*. She argued we cultivate emotional experiences in ourselves and others, what she termed "emotion work," in gendered and classed ways. Critical to emotion work are the "feeling rules" or the social scripts for what we should feel, how we should express our feelings, how much feeling to express, and for how long in a given social context. This chapter examines how we gender emotions through the socialization of gendered feeling rules and performing and policing gendered emotion work. It also examines the institutionalization of feeling rules and emotion work within families, schools, and workplaces. In each case, emotions are not just a byproduct and constituent of the gender social structure but also race, class, and sexuality. The chapter ends with a call for more research on the intersection of gendered emotions with disabilities and a thorough accounting of the role of the beneficiaries of emotion work in policing feeling rules.

1 Introduction

Since Arlie Hochschild's (1983) ground breaking study on emotional labor, research on emotions in general and the gendering of emotions in particular has experienced a surge within sociology. Hochschild's study examined how women airline attendants and men debt collectors cultivate emotional experiences in others as a condition of their employment, in order to help their employers be profitable, in gendered ways. By extending the work of Goffman (1961), Hochschild showed that we engage in emotion work, or managing our own and others emotions in interaction. Her work also turned a critical eye to the power dynamics around emotion work: demonstrating how employers convey emotion-based interaction scripts to employees and the gendered expectations of those scripts. Since then, Hochschild's framework has been applied, extended, and challenged in studies in an assortment of social settings and among a variety of workplaces: from the NICU to the salon to fast food restaurants (Barber, 2016; Kang, 2003; Leidner, 1999; Lewis, 2005).

Risman's gender structure theory (2018) provides an especially powerful framework for understanding how emotion work is gendered across dimensions of social life. As Risman points out, gender is organized throughout the social world along three dimensions: the individual, interactional, and institutional. Here, I

C. Froyum (✉)
University of Northern Iowa, Iowa, USA
e-mail: carissa.froyum@uni.edu

approach emotions through the cultural lens of each dimension, focusing on how we socialize, manage, and institutionalize emotions in gendered ways that build off and uphold gender inequality.

In this chapter, specifically, I argue that emotion work is gendered in three ways, which draw on Hochschild's original insights and apply them within the gender structure framework. First, we learn and reinforce racialized- and classed-gendered feeling rules so that girls/women and boys/men learn to suppress and express particular feelings. While we learn these rules from our families in childhood, schools reinforce them as a form of emotional capital. Second, organizational contexts are gendered and produce gendered expectations for managing feelings. I look explicitly at workplaces and families as critical sites. Third, gendered oppression creates unique emotional burdens for women to manage. Together, these processes recreate inequality across the gender structure. I begin the chapter by more fully explaining Hochschild's theory and end by calling for more research on gendered emotions as they intersect with other social structures of inequality and are policed in interaction.

2 Emotion Management

Hochschild (1979, 561) defines emotion work as "the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling." Emotion work comes in two forms: "'getting in touch with' feeling" and "'trying to' feel" by evoking desired emotions or suppressing undesired ones (Hochschild, 1983, 17). How people are supposed to feel in a given situation, and how long and deeply those feelings should be felt, are dictated by collectively held "feeling rules." Feeling rules are scripts or moral stances toward feeling (Hochschild, 1983). They specify the appropriate extent, direction, and duration of a feeling in a given social setting (Hochschild, 1979), and they "guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges" (Hochschild, 1983, 56).

Broad gendered cultural beliefs stereotype emotions as the purview of girls/women but rationality as the purview of boys/men (Ridgeway, Stets, & Turner, 2006; Simon & Nath, 2004). Gender scholars have tied the management of emotions to the ways we do femininity and masculinity. Sattel argued that we learn gendered ways to express feelings which provide boys/men with power, while diminishing that of girls/women (Sattel, 1976). Men, for example, can display their manhood by controlling emotions which denote weakness—fear, sadness—while expressing those which demonstrate their control and power over others—anger at subordinates, disgust at losing—or within other cultural contexts which bolster manhood, like on the ball field or Mixed Martial Arts cage (Schwalbe, 2015; Vaccaro, Schrock, & McCabe, 2011). Girls and women, on the other hand, Hochschild argued (1983, 163), "are more likely to be presented with the task of mastering anger and aggression in the service of 'being nice.'" Cultural beliefs dictate that nurturing, caretaking, and emotional deference are the purviews of girls and women: they are to monitor other people's emotional states and place their emotional needs above their own (Froyum, 2010a, b).

People make gendered feeling rules stick by holding each other accountable for them in interaction. Jocelyn Hollander (2013, 2018, Chap. 13 in this volume) argues there are three dimensions to accountability: orientation, assessment, and enforcement. Orientation is when we redirect our attention to a particular way of thinking and acting. People assess us when they determine how closely we follow an interaction order. They enforce scripts when they judge us according to our compliance, tell us to do things differently, or criticize or hurt us into changing our ways. Hochschild identified "rule reminders," which make people account for their emotions, as one way that people police feeling rules. In Froyum (2010a, b) and Cox (2016), teachers, mentors and after-school workers policed black and Latino girls' expressions of "attitudes" so that girls signified their competence and willingness to achieve in school by being silent, responsive to demands, and still. Another common form of

accountability is to associate boys'/men's caring and caretaking with femininity and being gay (Cottingham, Johnson, & Taylor, 2016; Froyum, 2007; Pascoe, 2011). Even common sayings such as "nice guys finish last" act as a form of accountability (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Over time, we may come to orient, assess, and enforce ourselves simply by imagining how others would react to us. These forms of accountability, thus, transform loose gendered feeling rules into social standards which reinforce gendered emotion work and expressions (Rogers, Schröder, & Scholl, 2013). Accountability further genders an interaction when people police the expressions of an emotion by one group but not another.

3 Gendered Socialization of Feeling Rules and Emotional Capital

Children learn the gendered rules of emotion management early. Hochschild argued that families train children to feel and manage emotions in ways which matter throughout their lives. Hochschild's theory focused on the classed nature of primary emotional socialization and its connection to power: while adults control working-class children through rules, they control middle-class children through *feeling* rules. Middle-class children learn that feelings, including their own, are important and ought to be controlled and managed in order to get ahead. Through this socialization, children develop emotional capital (Andrew, 2015; Cottingham, 2016; Froyum, 2010b; Reay, 2004), or the emotional "skills and habits that people translate into social advantages" (Froyum, 2010a, b, 39). Cottingham (2016, 454) emphasizes that emotional capital includes "emotion-based knowledge, emotion management skills, and feeling capacities" (p. 454), which are "trans-situationally available regardless of its use in practice" (p. 460).

Research demonstrates that parents and other adults socialize children in gendered feeling rules, and these processes are infused with power. Parents foster niceness among girls by restricting or dismissing girls' expressions of

anger but rewarding their expressions of sadness, fear, anxiety, and distress (Chaplin, Cole, & Zahn-Waxler, 2005; Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002; Root & Rubin, 2010), including for neuro-diverse girls (Blum, 2015). Additionally, adults teach girls to be emotionally deferent to others in order to gain the acceptance of higher status individuals. They socialize girls to be sensitive to other people's emotional needs and to accommodate them.

Schools reinforce deferent, pleasing emotional capital among girls. Brown (2005, 155) finds girls' emotional accommodation to be a central component of niceness within schools: "Nice girls are kind, caring; they listen; they do not hurt others, get in trouble, or cause scenes; they do not express anger openly or say what they want directly; they do not brag or call attention to themselves." Teachers, parents, and other adults focus on teaching girls to "be nice" or submissive "ladies" (Bettie, 2000; Hill, 2005; Luttrell, 2003; Morris, 2005b, 2007; Tyson, 2003). Nice girls, in turn, are easier to manage. Teachers better evaluate girls who are quiet rather than questioning, accommodating rather than obstinate (Gansen & Martin, 2018, Chap. 6 in this volume), teaching girls to suppress anger and frustration.

On the flip side, masculinity dictates that emotional control, especially of emotions which make boys vulnerable, is a central part of displaying manhood (Schwalbe, 2014). In turn, parents expect boys to feel and express less anxiety, fear, and sadness and more anger (Root & Rubin, 2010), although research shows that parents problematize and punish boys' expressions of anger (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007; Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, 2012). Some research suggests a broadening of emotional socialization for boys. In a diverse sample of 42 parents of preschool children in Kane (Kane, 2006), parents responded positively to play which fostered nurturing and empathy among boys. Parents, especially mothers, wanted boys to be able to care for their children and viewed boys playing at domesticity as training to do so. Nonetheless, some parents, especially fathers, fretted over their son's crying and excessive emotionality.

Emotional control and independence is so strongly associated with manhood that many men practice stoicism and staying strong in the face of stressful life events (Schwab, Addis, Reigeluth, & Berger, 2016) and consider help seeking even in the face of cancer to be feminine and uncomfortable (Wenger, 2013).

3.1 Intersections with Racism and Class

The gendering of emotional socialization intersects with race, ethnicity, and social class. Recent research, for example, emphasizes the racialized and classed nature of gendered cultural beliefs (Collins, 2004; Penner & Saperstein, 2013; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013), some of which relate to feeling rules and emotional capital. Deeply entrenched racial stereotypes frame black men and Latino men as criminals and troublemakers, who are angry and emotionally out of control, while Asian men are stereotyped as submissive, asexual model minorities (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Black women face stereotypes that they are sexually loose and angry (Collins, 2004), while Latinas and Asian women contend with images of themselves as docile and compliant (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). These stereotypes influence not only gendered feeling rules but how others hold each other accountable for feeling expressions in interaction.

Thus, what research often presents as racially or ethnically neutral gendered feeling rules are actually based on white cultural standards. Whether black and Latino men can establish manhood through emotional control, suppression of emotions and expression of anger, for instance, depends on the class context in which interactions happen. On the one hand, controlling emotions and minimizing vulnerability are essential pieces of the “code of the street” which establish respect for low-income black boys and Latinos in certain urban contexts (Anderson, 1999; Carter, 2005).

On the other hand, upwardly-mobile and middle-class boys/men of color or those in white

social contexts face controlling images which lead to feeling rules based in the suppression of anger, which more closely resembles the gendered feeling rules for girls/women. Adults who raise and teach youth and young men of color contend with these stereotypes when they socialize feeling rules. They recognize that many white gatekeepers fear and resent assertive black children and young adults, who are perceived as disrespectful and belligerent. Teachers, for example, often punish emotional willfulness among boys of color (Carter, 2003; Dance, 2002; Ferguson, 2000; Lewis, 2003; MacLeod, 1995; Morris, 2005a, 2007; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008; Tolman, 1996). In Morris (2005b), teachers were especially concerned with Latino boys taking on gang-affiliated cultural capital. Adults of color also worry about preparing black youth, especially boys, for encounters with police (Dow, 2016).

In these instances adults foster a deferential, respectability-based form of emotional capital so to demonstrate respect for positions of authority and to protect children from discrimination (Froyum, 2013b). Black parents and class-conscious teachers and mentors try to teach black youth to distance themselves from stereotypes of black boys as dangerous, angry, or “full of attitude” (Cox, 2016; Dow, 2016; Froyum, 2010a; Froyum, 2013b). Black mothers, for example, are less likely to view the expression of anger, fear, and sadness in public as appropriate for children than their white counterparts do, and they view the displaying of these emotions as having negative consequences for boys (Nelson et al., 2012). Nelson et al. also found that black mothers actively encouraged less expression of anger, fear, and sadness than white parents. They were also more punitive and minimizing of them, especially for boys. Cox (2016) studied the feeling rules at Launch, a program which prepares high achieving low- and moderate-income Latino and black students for boarding school. She found that mentors and administrators socialized students to follow two feeling rules: “a mildly pleasant demeanor and the self-disciplined acquiescence to authority” (p. 493). Mentors checked their behavior with either

“Room for Repair” or “Boxed In” “rule reminders.” Room for Repair reminders allowed students to correct their emotion display and continue their interaction without embarrassing them, while Boxed In reminders demanded students immediately comply in front of their peers. When students responded to Boxed In reminders with reluctance or frustration, gatekeepers determined they were ready for boarding school. An after-school program taught black boys to distance themselves from street manhood by controlling emotional reactions and making rationalistic, instrumental decisions in their place (Froyum, 2013b). Additionally in Froyum (2013b), after-school workers, especially men, emphasized boys’ entitlement to have fun and taught boys that being tough brings authority and respect from others. Dow (2016) found black middle- and upper-class mothers were particularly concerned with images that their sons were “thugs.” They taught boys how to navigate this thug controlling image through emotional control.

The lessons of emotional control and suppression of anger continue into adulthood, as men of color attend college, strive to become upwardly mobile, and work in white-dominated spaces. Jackson and Wingfield (2013), for instance, studied how black men in a student organization on a predominantly white campus taught other black men to be calm, emotionally restrained, and humble in public, in order to distance themselves from racial stereotypes and display brotherhood with each other. Ironically, they policed each other *through* anger. Other research on black men demonstrates that they do in fact develop emotional restraint, especially of anger, as a way to protect themselves in white-dominated spaces (Wilkins, 2012; Wingfield, 2010).

For status-seeking black and Latino men in particular, then, feeling rules more closely resemble those for girls and women: they are based in emotional deference and accommodation. The feeling rules in Cox’s (2016) study applied equally to blacks, Latinos, different classes, boys and girls. In Morris (2005a, 2007), teachers viewed black girls as assertive

“loudies,” even when they were strong academically. They disciplined them to become more deferential “ladies.” Froyum (2010a, 2010b) found that staff at an after-school program taught black girls to be “good girls” who suppressed their supposedly bad “attitudes” and exercised emotional self-restraint. In each of these cases, feeling rules for girls tie emotional suppression to displaying femininity and gendered respectability. Research on Latinas, additionally, highlights sexual restraint as a way to emphasize ethnic heritage and distancing from white cultural norms (Bettie, 2000; Le Espiritu, 2001).

The connection to cultural heritage is evident among Latino boys, too. While Latino boys are subject to many of the same stereotypes as troublemakers and thus the same control of anger and demeanor as black boys (Cox, 2016), they also engage in emotional socialization in order to maintain ethnic ties. Vasquez (2015) found, for example, that Latino families and peers passed on “disciplined preferences” for Latinos to marry within their ethnic group by surveilling their dating, advising them to date Latinos, and threatening them if they dated non-Latinos. Because Latino men face harsh discipline when dating white women, they especially developed an in-group dating preference.

Thus, research demonstrates the continued association of anger, aggression, and emotional control with manhood and emotional caretaking and deference with womanhood. Families pass along gendered feeling rules in childhood, and schools reinforce them as a form of emotional capital. Research also demonstrates that gendered feeling rules are deeply entrenched in racial inequality, including cultural stereotypes about blacks being overly emotional and expressive of anger.

4 Gendered Institutions of Emotions

Emotion management is also gendered in that feeling rules are embedded within gendered institutional contexts. Above, we saw, for example, how teachers in schools often reinforce

racialized and classed gendered feeling rules among students. Even more research has been conducted on workplaces, the original contexts of Hochschild's work. Hochschild criticized that companies provide feeling rules, which are oppressive for workers who have to fabricate emotions and repress their true emotions. The feelings rules for Hochschild's women flight attendants were extensive: they were to represent the company in public, to treat work like home, to refer to customers as "guests," to appear sincere, to use passive voice when confronting passengers. The purpose was to inflate fliers' sense of importance as a form of customer service. Men bill collectors, on the other hand, deflated their clients' status in order to more readily collect money. When emotions are displayed according to employers' prescriptions and for employers' benefits, Hochschild argued, workers are prevented from acting on their own emotions and interests. They struggle to distinguish between their self and their role as worker. Workers experience "emotive dissonance" because feeling scripts conflict with their own authentic feelings so that they feel phony or robotic.

In fulfilling jobs where workers feel congruence between their authentic feelings and those required by their employers, *employees* control the form, content, and use of their own emotional labor, not employers. They act on their emotions as they see fit so there is little conflict between what employees are *supposed* to feel and what they actually *do* feel, as Hochschild theorized. The worker, rather than a supervisor, monitors emotion work so that the worker role is an extension of the authentic self. Bolton (2000) recognizes this difference when differentiating between prescriptive emotional labor, dictated by employers, and philanthropic emotional labor, where workers themselves define helping others as part of a valued identity.

Workplace feeling rules are gendered when occupational statuses overlap with gender (Collett & Lizardo, 2010; Husso & Hirvonen, 2012; Ragins & Winkel, 2011; Simon & Nath, 2004; Sloan, 2004). Workplaces which promote employee control over feeling rules are often

white male-dominated or male-identified (Johnson, 1997), such as for physicians, attorneys, police, professors, athletes, or the military (Harlow, 2003; Harris, 2002; Martin, 1999; Matthews, 2016; Monaghan, 2002; Persson, 2012; Smith, 2008; Vaccaro et al., 2011). While these mostly male workers perform emotional labor in the course of their work within the "male preserve" (Matthews, 2016), they rather than clients control the interactions and they have more flexibility to express emotions which lead to control, such as anger and frustration. Even in male-dominated professions which require lots of interactions with others, these workers often have authority *over* the client or public—reinforced by a title or badge—and the client/patient and lower-status coworkers are usually deferent to them. So while workers within masculine workplaces may suppress their own emotions (outside of anger) as part of their work, they are not deferent to others. In fact, their emotion work often serves the purpose of garnering power and control over others. Insofar as these occupations continue to be dominated by men and associate emotional control with manhood, emotion work continues to be gendered.

When women do work in male-dominated positions, coworkers, bosses, clients, and customers evaluate their expressions of male-identified emotions (e.g., anger) more negatively. Women are often evaluated as cold when they perform masculinized emotional detachment, even when it is regarded as "professional" behavior. In Pierce (1995), supervisors considered these women "uncooperative" (Wharton, 1999; Wharton & Erickson, 1995). More recent research (Tufail & Polletta, 2015) demonstrates that women's expressions of anger are better received when sandwiched between positive, more traditionally feminine emotions.

Philanthropic emotional labor, on the other hand, is especially common in female-dominated helping professions and largely regarded as the purview of women. The vast majority of research on emotional labor has focused on female- and minority-dominated service professions with lots of interactive labor, such as nursing, fast food, paralegal work, childcare, salon work, modeling,

victims advocacy, teaching, and retail work (Barber, 2016; Froyum, 2013a; Gruys, 2012; Kang, 2003; Kolb, 2011; Kosny & MacEachen, 2010; Lewis, 2005; Mears & Finlay, 2005). Employers consider providing comfort, friendliness, and emotional availability essential in helping or low-status service work, although they are often not part of the formal review process by employers and so remain invisible and uncompensated. Some research finds emotional labor gives workers, usually women, feelings of accomplishment and importance. Abortion clinic workers in Wolkomir and Powers (2007), for example, chose their employment because of their desire to “help others.” Their emotional labor resulted from and reaffirmed the self they were committed to rather than detracting from it. These workers were able to develop authentic senses of self—and, in fact, their work was central to it. It is not unusual either for women workers to frame worker-client/public relationships as “like family” (Dodson & Zinavage, 2007; Froyum, 2013a; Erickson, 2004). Familial-like emotional cultures become problematic for women workers when the emotional labor is unreciprocated or used to exploit workers by juxtaposing “working for love” to “working for money” (Froyum, 2013a). In Romero’s (2002) research on Latino domestics, for instance, white employers hired domestics who reaffirmed their view of themselves as nonracist. They considered friendly and accommodating domestics to be “one of the family” when they loved their children (even when they were away from their own), provided companionship to employers, and cooked ethnic food for them. Being part of the family, in turn, fostered a sense of loyalty so that Latinas would be willing to engage in underpaid work.

Thus, emotion work reinforces the (racialized and classed) gender structure not just based on the gender-differentiated feeling rules but when bosses and clients require women workers or femininized work cultures in support and service roles to perform unreciprocated emotional deference. That is, when the boss or customer is “always right,” as it so often is in female-dominated work. In a classic study by

Pierce (1995), female paralegals did deferent and caretaking emotional labor for male attorneys who pushed them to pay special attention to them and be “cheerful” and “nice” (see also, Lively, 2000). Even though they did much the same work as attorneys and male paralegals, on top of being paid less, female paralegals often felt devalued and forced to mother others.

4.1 Families and Intimate Relationships

Families and intimate relationships are sites where women perform a disproportionate share of emotion work for the benefit of others (Minnotte, Stevens, Minnotte, & Kiger, 2007), including in same sex families (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010) and transgender families (Pfeffer, 2010). While people continue to expect women to be caretakers in relationships (see Armenia 2018, Chap. 34 in this volume; Kane 2018, Chap. 28 in this volume) in general, women are especially responsible for emotion work with children and family members with medical needs (Bianchi, 2011; Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Blum, 2015; Hays, 1998). Mothers, for example, are subject to expectations that they be self-sacrificing and intensively focused on rearing their children at nearly all costs (Hays, 1998). Despite the increasing contributions of fathers to childcare and changing standards for “involved fathers,” mothers still disproportionately manage emotions within families (Bianchi, 2011; Minnotte, Pedersen, Mannon, & Kiger, 2010). Denham, Bassett, and Wyatt (2010), for example, described mothers as the “emotional gatekeepers and fathers as loving playmate” (45).

The expectation that women be self-sacrificing in their care for others, including putting their own emotional needs aside, creates a unique emotional burden, especially in single-parent-headed families and families with children with disabilities, aging parents, or physical separation (Bianchi, 2011; Blum, 2015; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). Mothers of children with disabilities, for example, advocate for children through complicated bureaucratic mazes to fulfill their children’s school and medical needs,

shielding their children from harm and giving them access to resources (Blum, 2015). Stacey and Ayers' (2012) studied caregivers using California's In Home Supportive Services (IHSS). IHSS pays a meager wage to family members who care for their sick, disabled, or elderly family members via Medicaid Waiver programs. In their sample of mostly female, racially diverse, poor care providers, women family care workers felt "shame, discomfort, and embarrassment" (p. 57) about being paid for their work because people expected them to care for family members out of love rather than for money. Many women even hid from others that they were paid.

Migration, deployment, and imprisonment separate families, creating unique emotional burdens shouldered by women (Green, Ensminger, Robertson, & Juon, 2006; Ryan, 2008; Wildeman, Schnittker, & Turney, 2012). Mothers of children whose fathers were recently incarcerated, for example, have an increased risk of depression and dissatisfaction with life (Wildeman et al., 2012). For Mexican parents who are separated from their children in order to migrate, the emotional role of the mother and financial role of fathers remain intact (Drbey, 2006). Mothers performed emotional care work from a distance and experienced guilt over leaving their children, while fathers did not (Dreby, 2006). When migrant or deported fathers were unable to financially support their children, their emotional ties also faded, while mothers faced the resentment of children who felt abandoned by them (Dreby, 2006, 2012).

Some of emotional burdens of separation are lessened by strong support systems or extended families. Research on Vietnamese migrants found fathers and not just mothers maintained an emotional connection to children, while kinship networks alleviated some of the emotional burden on children left behind (Hoang & Yeoh, 2012). Spatial separation may even diminish some of the emotion work demands on some women. Carework is part of daughter-in-laws' duties in India, but distance prevented migrating women from caring for their in laws' physical and emotional needs, which some women found freeing (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010).

Emotion work in relationships is not restricted to parenting (Fahs & Swank, 2016). In a study of sexual experiences with a diverse (across age, sexual identity, and race and ethnicity) sample, women performed two types of emotion work during sexual encounters: around desiring sex and satisfaction during sex (Fahs & Swank, 2016). In encounters with men, women, for example, tolerated sexual pain and faked orgasm so that men felt sexually skilled and powerful. In encounters with women, women reported performing emotion work around giving and receiving orgasms (Fahs & Swank, 2016, 61).

Thus, the research on workplaces and families reveals that emotions are deeply entrenched within the cultural expectations of actors, with women bearing the emotional brunt and benefits of responsibility for others both at work and at home.

5 Unique Emotional Toll of Oppression

Finally, emotion work is gendered because being oppressed brings unique emotional experiences and burdens, which require additional management. Survey research consistently finds that women experience more anger and depression than men (Simon & Lively, 2010). In the previous section, we saw how such family separation due to migration or imprisonment strains women. Rape, sexual harassment, "forcible interaction" (Dunn, 2014), and microaggressions provide additional examples of interactions which are grounded in the gender structure and exact a toll on women (Boyle & McKinzie, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Kolb, 2011; McCabe, 2009; McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). In Williams' (2003) study of flight attendants, for example, women encountered "demanding publics" who sexually harassed or degraded them, which required additional emotion management to fulfill professional expectations. In Froyum (2013a), women after-school program workers did substantially more emotional labor than their male counterparts because of the microaggressions they experienced at the hands of administrators

and board members and yet were paid less. Other studies have pointed out the emotional toll caretaking takes (Lewis, 2005). Indeed, perceptions of inequity are closely tied to emotions (Kemper, 1978). Within families, individuals who perceive themselves as doing more than their fair share of housework, for instance, experience more distress, anger, and rage and less excitement than those who do not have that perspective (Lively, Steelman, & Powell, 2010).

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how emotions are part of the gender structure of our lives. Not only do gender stereotypes about emotions continue but they are deeply entrenched in our socialization of children, our interactions with others, and important social institutions, such as school, work, and family. Arlie Hochschild's research spurred numerous studies on the gendered nature of feeling rules and emotion work, while later studies focused on policing emotions as a capital resource. Together, these bodies of research illustrate three ways in which emotions are gendered and fundamental to reproducing gender inequality. First, women and men are taught and held accountable to different feeling rules. These racialized- and classed gendered feeling rules make anger and frustration the purview of men, especially white, middle-class men. Alternatively, women and some men of color face interactional expectations that they be emotional caretaking, deferent, and available to people with authority. Families teach children these feeling rules, which are reinforced in interactions and in schools so to produce gender-based emotional capital.

Second, the emotional contexts of prominent institutions are gendered and people within them face gendered expectations for managing their own and other people's feelings. Male-dominated workplaces and those with masculine-typed cultures foster and reward the free expression of anger and frustration, while policing emotional vulnerability among men. For women in them, expression of anger brings risks, which they minimize by expressing more

traditionally feminized emotions before and after. In helping work, dominated by women and feminine cultures, employers and publics expect mostly women and minority workers to foster positive emotional experiences and preference the emotional needs of others over their own. These findings are echoed in research on families, where women still face expectations that they be primary caretakers and place the needs of others above their own. Emotion management at work and home is often fulfilling to women and tied to their identities as good workers and mothers. However, emotion work continues to be invisible and unpaid and can lead to burnout and resentment.

Finally, research shows that experiences rooted in the gender structure—such as sexual harassment or microaggressions—lead to negative emotional experiences that women must manage. Thus, navigating the world with the unique risks of being victimized and harassed by others creates an additional layer of emotion work for women.

6.1 Future Research

Despite the research attention that gendered emotions have garnered over the last several decades, several areas of study need further elaboration. Several additional intersections of inequality need examination, particularly for people with disabilities and Asians. We know, for example, that women disproportionately care for family members with disabilities, but we know less about how feeling rules themselves intersect with disabilities. Linda Blum (2015), for example, links the vulnerability of boys with emotional-behavioral disorders to gender policing. How does this work? To what consequence for the gender structure? How do disabilities create uniquely gendered feeling rules? Similarly, racialized gender stereotypes for Asians differ from those of other racial minority groups. How do the expectations for docility, for example, play out in classrooms?

Additionally, we need more research demonstrating the accountability processes around

emotions. Recent research has emphasized thinking of emotion work comprehensively and as shifting during the same interactions. Andrew (2015), for example, emphasizes that importance of emotional resiliency and flexibility. How people translate these into social advantages deserves more inquiry. Feeling-rule violations (in Hochschild as well as Cox, 2016) and Goffman's (1959) concept of "saving face" offer examples of ways people might enforce or deal with being held accountable to feeling rules. But we need much more research to understand *how* we enforce gendered feeling rules in order to understand how to change them.

Finally, little research examines the effect of emotion management on the interactant/benefactor in interactions. How do customers or patients think about and respond to various forms of emotion work? What do they expect? What happens when their expectations are not met? And how do they respond to feeling rules directed *at them*? Only by examining interactions in their totality will we better understand the gendered nature of emotion work and its consequences.

References

- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the streets: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Andrew, Y. (2015). 'I'm strong within myself': Gender, class and emotional capital in childcare. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36(5), 651–668.
- Barber, K. (2016). "Men wanted": Heterosexual aesthetic labor in the masculinization of the hair salon. *Gender & Society*, 30(4), 618–642. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243216637827>.
- Bettie, J. (2000). Women without class: Chicas, cholas, trash, and the presence/absence of class identity. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 26(1), 1–35.
- Bianchi, S. M. (2011). Family change and time allocation in American families. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 638(1), 21–44.
- Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the gender of parents matter? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(1), 3–22.
- Blum, L. M. (2015). *Raising generation Rx: Mothering kids with invisible disabilities in an age of inequality*. New York City: New York University Press.
- Bolton, S. C. (2000). Emotion here, emotion there, emotional organisations everywhere. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 11, 155–171.
- Boyle, K. M., & McKinzie, A. E. (2015). Resolving negative affect and restoring meaning: Responses to deflection produced by unwanted sexual experiences. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 78(2), 151–172. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272514564073>.
- Brown, L. M. (2005). In the bad or good of girlhood: Social class, schooling, and white femininities. In L. Weis & M. Fine (Eds.), *Beyond silenced voices: Class, race, and gender in United States schools* (pp. 147–162). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Carter, P. L. (2003). 'Black' cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social Problems*, 50(1), 136–155.
- Carter, P. L. (2005). "Black" cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social Problems*, 50(1), 136–155.
- Chaplin, T. M., Cole, P., & Zahn-Waxler, C. (2005). Parental socialization of emotion expression: Gender differences and relations to child adjustment. *Emotion*, 5(1), 80–88.
- Collett, J. L., & Lizardo, O. (2010). Occupational status and the experience of anger. *Social Forces*, 88(5), 2079–2104.
- Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black sexual politics: African Americans, gender, and the new racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Cottingham, M. D. (2016). Theorizing emotional capital. *Theory and Society*, 45(5), 451–470. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-016-9278-7>.
- Cottingham, M. D., Johnson, A. H., & Taylor, T. (2016). Heteronormative labour: Conflicting accountability structures among men in nursing. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(6), 535–550. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12140>.
- Cox, A. B. (2016). Correcting behaviors and policing emotions: How behavioral infractions become feeling-rule violations. *Symbolic Interaction*, 39(3), 484–503.
- Dance, L. J. (2002). *Tough fronts: The impact of street culture on schooling*. New York: Routledge.
- Denham, S. A., Bassett, H. H., & Wyatt, T. M. (2010). Gender differences in the socialization of preschoolers' emotional competence. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2010(128), 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.267>.
- Dodson, L., & Zincavage, R. M. (2007). "It's like a family" caring labor, exploitation, and race in nursing homes. *Gender & Society*, 21(6), 905–928.
- Dow, D. M. (2016). The deadly challenges of raising African American boys: Navigating the controlling image of the "thug". *Gender & Society*, 30(2), 161–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243216629928>.
- Dreby, J. (2006). Honor and virtue: Mexican parenting in the transnational context. *Gender & Society*, 20(1), 32–59.

- Dreby, J. (2012). The burden of deportation on children in Mexican immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(4), 829–845.
- Dunn, J. L. (2014). What love has to do with it: The cultural construction of emotion and sorority women's responses to forcible interaction*. *Social Problems*, 46(3), 440–459. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3097109>.
- Erickson, K. (2004). To invest or detach? Coping strategies and workplace culture in service work. *Symbolic Interaction*, 27(4), 549–572.
- Le Espiritu, Y. (2001). 'We don't sleep around like white girls do': Family, culture, and gender in Filipina American lives. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 26(2), 415–440.
- Fahs, B., & Swank, E. (2016). The other third shift? Women's emotion work in their sexual relationships. *Feminist Formations*, 28(3), 46–69.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2000). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Froyum, C. M. (2007). 'At least i'm not gay': Heterosexual identity making among poor black teens. *Sexualities*, 10(5), 603–622.
- Froyum, C. M. (2010a). Making 'good girls': Sexual agency in the sexuality education of low-income black girls. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 12(1), 59–72.
- Froyum, C. M. (2010b). The reproduction of inequalities through emotional capital: The case of socializing low-income black girls. *Qualitative Sociology*, 3(1), 37–54.
- Froyum, C. M. (2013a). 'For the betterment of kids who look like me': Professional emotional labour as a racial project. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 1070–1089. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.644309>.
- Froyum, C. M. (2013b). Leaving the street alone: Contesting street manhood as a gender project. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 22(1), 38–53.
- Garside, R. B., & Klimes-Dougan, B. (2002). Socialization of discrete negative emotions: Gender differences and links with psychological distress. *Sex Roles*, 47(3/4), 115–128.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, AT: Doubleday.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.
- Green, K. M., Ensminger, M. E., Robertson, J. A., & Juon, H.-S. (2006). Impact of adult sons' incarceration on African American mothers' psychological distress. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(2), 430–441.
- Gruys, K. (2012). Does this make me look fat? Aesthetic labor and fat talk as emotional labor in a women's plus-size clothing store. *Social Problems*, 59(4), 481–500. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2012.59.4.481>.
- Harlow, R. (2003). "Race doesn't matter, but ...": The effect of race on professors' experiences and emotion management in the undergraduate college classroom. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 348–363.
- Harris, L. C. (2002). The emotional labour of barristers: An exploration of emotional labour by status professionals. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(4), 553–584.
- Hays, S. (1998). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. Yale University Press.
- Hill, S. A. (2005). *Black intimacies: A gender perspective on families and relationships*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2012). Sustaining families across transnational spaces: Vietnamese migrant parents and their left-behind children. *Asian Studies Review*, 36(3), 307–325.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 551–575.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hollander, J. A. (2013). I demand more of people: Accountability, interaction, and gender change. *Gender & Society*, 27(1), 5–29.
- Husso, M., & Hirvonen, H. (2012). Gendered agency and emotions in the field of care work. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 19(1), 29–51.
- Jackson, B. A., & Wingfield, A. H. (2013). Getting angry to get ahead: Black college men, emotional performance, and encouraging respectable masculinity. *Symbolic Interaction*.
- Johnson, A. G. (1997). *The gender knot: Unraveling our patriarchal legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kane, E. W. (2006). "No way my boys are going to be like that!": Parents' responses to children's gender nonconformity. *Gender & Society*, 20(2), 149–176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205284276>.
- Kang, M. (2003). The managed hand: The commercialization of bodies and emotions in Korean immigrant-owned nail salons. *Gender & Society*, 17(5), 820–839.
- Kemper, T. D. (1978). *A social interactional theory of emotion*. New York: Wiley.
- Klimes-Dougan, B., Brand, A. E., Zahn-Waxler, C., Usher, B., Hastings, P. D., Kendziora, K., et al. (2007). Parental emotion socialization in adolescence: Differences in sex. *Age and Problem Status. Social Development*, 16(2), 326–342. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00387.x>.
- Kolb, K. H. (2011). Sympathy work: Identity and emotion management among victim-advocates and counselors. *Qualitative Sociology*, 34(1), 101–119.
- Kosny, A., & MacEachen, E. (2010). Gendered, invisible work in non-profit social service organizations: Implications for worker health and safety. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 17(4), 359–380.
- Leidner, R. (1999). Emotional labor in service work. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 561, 81–95.
- Lewis, A. E. (2003). *Race in the Schoolyard: Negotiating the color line in classrooms and communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Lewis, P. (2005). Suppression or expression: An exploration of emotion management in a special care baby unit. *Work, Employment & Society, 19*(3), 565–581.
- Lively, K. J. (2000). Reciprocal emotion management. *Work and Occupations, 27*(1), 32–63.
- Lively, K. J., Steelman, L. C., & Powell, Brian. (2010). Equity, emotion, and household division of labor. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 73*(4), 358–379. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272510389012>.
- Luttrell, W. (2003). *Pregnant bodies, fertile minds: Gender, race, and the schooling of pregnant teens*. New York: Routledge.
- MacLeod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it*. Boulder, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Martin, S. E. (1999). Police force or police service? Gender and emotional labor. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 561*(1), 111–126.
- Matthews, C. R. (2016). The tyranny of the male preserve. *Gender & Society, 30*(2), 312–333.
- McCabe, J. (2009). Racial and gender microaggressions on a predominantly-white campus: Experiences of black, latina/o and white undergraduates. *Race, Gender & Class, 133*–151.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2012). Sexual harassment, workplace authority, and the paradox of power. *American Sociological Review, 77* (4), 625–647.
- Mears, A., & Finlay, W. (2005). Not just a paper doll: How models manage bodily capital and why they perform emotional labor. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 34*(3), 317–343.
- Mehrotra, M., & Calasanti, T. M. (2010). The family as a site for gendered ethnic identity work among Asian Indian immigrants. *Journal of Family Issues, 31*(6), 778–807.
- Minnotte, K. L., Pedersen, D. E., Mannon, S. E., & Kiger, G. (2010). Tending to the emotions of children: Predicting parental performance of emotion work with children. *Marriage & Family Review, 46*(3), 224–241.
- Minnotte, K. L., Stevens, D. P., Minnotte, M. C., & Kiger, G. (2007). Emotion-work performance among dual-earner couples: Testing four theoretical perspectives. *Journal of Family Issues, 28*(6), 773–793.
- Monaghan, L. (2002). Hard men, shop boys and others: Embodying competence in a masculinised occupation. *Sociological Review, 50*(3), 334–355.
- Morris, E. W. (2005a). “Tuck in that shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *sociological perspectives, 48*(1), 25–48.
- Morris, E. W. (2005b). “Tuck in that shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives, 48*(1), 25–48. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2005.48.1.25>.
- Morris, E. W. (2007). ‘Ladies’ or ‘loudies’? Perceptions and experiences of black girls in classrooms. *Youth & Society, 38*(4), 490–515.
- Nelson, J. A., Leerkes, E. M., O’Brien, M., Calkins, S. D., & Marcovitch, S. (2012). African American and European American mothers’ beliefs about negative emotions and emotion socialization practices. *Parenting, 12*(1), 22–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295192.2012.638871>.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2011). *Dude, you’re a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school, with a new preface*. Univ of California Press.
- Penner, A. M., & Saperstein, A. (2013). Engendering racial perceptions: An intersectional analysis of how social status shapes race. *Gender & Society, 27*(3), 319–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213480262>.
- Persson, A. (2012). An unintended side effect of pepper spray: Gender trouble and “repair work” in an armed forces unit. *Men and Masculinities, 15*(2), 132–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x11429596>.
- Pfeffer, C. A. (2010). “Women’s work”? Women partners of transgender men doing housework and emotion work. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*(1), 165–183. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00690.x>.
- Pierce, J. L. (1995). *Gender trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms*. Berkeley, CA: University of Berkeley Press.
- Ragins, B. R., & Winkel, D. E. (2011). Gender, emotion and power in work relationships. *Human Resource Management Review, 21*(4), 377–393.
- Reay, D. (2004). Gendering bourdieu’s concept of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class. In *Feminism after Bourdieu* (pp. 57–74). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender & Society, 27*(3), 294–318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213479445>.
- Ridgeway, C. L., Stets, J. E., & Turner, J. H. (2006). Expectation states theory and emotion. In *Handbook of the sociology of emotions* (pp. 347–367). Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research: Springer US.
- Rogers, K. B., Schröder, T., & Scholl, W. (2013). The affective structure of stereotype content: Behavior and emotion in intergroup context. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 76*(2), 125–150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272513480191>.
- Romero, M. (2002). *Maid in the U.S.A.* New York: Routledge (Second Aufl).
- Root, A. K., & Rubin, K. H. (2010). Gender and parents’ reactions to children’s emotion during the preschool years. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2010*(128), 51–64. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.268>.
- Ryan, L. (2008). Navigating the emotional terrain of families “here” and “there”: Women, migration and the management of emotions. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 29*(3), 299–313.
- Sattel, J. W. (1976). The inexpressive male: Tragedy or sexual politics? *Social Problems, 23*(4), 469–477.
- Schwab, J. R., Addis, M. E., Reigeluth, C. S., & Berger, J. L. (2016). Silence and (in)visibility in men’s accounts of coping with stressful life events. *Gender & Society, 30*(2), 289–311. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243215602923>.

- Schwalbe, M. (2014). *Manhood acts: Gender and the practices of domination*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Schwalbe, M. (2015). *Manhood acts: Gender and the practices of domination*. Routledge.
- Simon, R. W., & Lively, K. (2010). Sex, anger and depression. *Social Forces*, 88(4), 1543–1568.
- Simon, R. W., & Nath, L. E. (2004). Gender and emotion in the united states: Do men and women differ in self-reports of feelings and expressive behavior? 1. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(5), 1137–1176.
- Sloan, M. M. (2004). The effects of occupational characteristics on the experience and expression of anger in the workplace. *Work and Occupations*, 31(1), 38–72.
- Smith, A. T. (2008). Passion work: The joint production of emotional labor in professional wrestling. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 71(2), 157–176.
- Stacey, C. L., & Ayers, L. L. (2012). Caught between love and money: The experiences of paid family caregivers. *Qualitative Sociology*, 35(1), 47–64.
- Suizzo, M.-A., Robinson, C., & Pahlke, E. (2008). African American Mothers' socialization beliefs and goals with young children: Themes of history, education, and collective independence. *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(3), 287–316.
- Talbot, K., & Quayle, M. (2010). The perils of being a nice guy: Contextual variation in five young women's constructions of acceptable hegemonic and alternative masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*.
- Tolman, D. L. (1996). Adolescent girls' sexuality: Debunking the myth of the urban girl. In B. J. R Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities* (pp. 255–271). New York: New York University Press.
- Tufail, Z., & Polletta, F. (2015). The gendering of emotional flexibility why angry women are both admired and devalued in debt settlement firms. *Gender & Society*: 0891243215569050.
- Tyson, K. (2003). Notes from the back of the room: Problems and paradoxes in the schooling of young black students. *Sociology of Education*, 76(4), 326–343.
- Vaccaro, C. A., Schrock, D. P., & McCabe, J. M. (2011). Managing emotional manhood: Fighting and fostering fear in mixed martial arts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 74(4), 414–437.
- Vasquez, J. M. (2015). Disciplined preferences: Explaining the (re) production of latino endogamy. *Social Problems*, 62(3), 455–475.
- Wenger, L. M. (2013). Moving through Illness with strong backs and soft fronts: A substantive theory of men's help-seeking during cancer. *Men and Masculinities*, 16(5), 517–539. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x13501177>.
- Wharton, A. S. (1999). The psychosocial consequences of emotional labor. *The annals of the american academy of political and social science*, 561(1), 158–176.
- Wharton, A. S., & Erickson, R. J. (1995). The consequences of caring: Exploring the links between women's job and family emotion work. *Sociological Quarterly*, 36, 273–296.
- Wildeman, C., Schnittker, J., & Turney, K. (2012). Despair by association? The mental health of mothers with children by recently incarcerated fathers. *American Sociological Review*, 77(2), 216–243.
- Wilkins, A. (2012). "Not out to start a revolution" race, gender, and emotional restraint among black university men. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 41(1), 34–65.
- Williams, C. (2003). Sky service: The demands of emotional labour in the airline industry. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(5), 513–550.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2010). Are some emotions marked 'whites only'? Racialized feeling rules in professional workplaces. *Social Problems*, 57(2), 251–268.
- Wolkomir, M., & Powers, J. (2007). Helping women and protecting the self: The challenge of emotional labor in an abortion clinic. *Qualitative Sociology*, 30, 153–169.

Carissa Froyum is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Northern Iowa. She is a former deputy editor of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, and co-editor of *Inside Social Life*, 7th edition, and *Creating and Contesting Social Inequalities*, both with Oxford University Press. Her research appears in *Qualitative Sociology*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Sexualities* among other places. Her work focuses on how emotions and identities reproduce inequalities.

Part VII
**Gendered Contexts in Social
Institutions**

Contemporary Approaches to Gender and Religion

31

Jennifer McMorris and Jennifer Glass

Abstract

Religious messages, mores, and laws profoundly shape the gendered lives of men and women. Religious engagement has been found to influence sexual practices, family formation, workforce engagement, and a host of other life domains. The influence of institutional religion on these elements of lived experiences is often treated as detrimental to women and religious institutions regarded as inherently patriarchal. However, women are often substantially more engaged in religious institutions and invested in religious identities than men. In this chapter we begin by reviewing theories explaining women's high rates of religious engagement and belief. We then evaluate common religious ideologies about gendered behaviors and examine the effects of such ideologies on the political, societal, economic, and familial experiences of men and women. We conclude by

summarizing the state of current research into the intersection of religion and gender and providing recommendations for future approaches.

A seeming paradox lies at the heart of research into the intersection of religion and gender. While religions often impose restrictive gender ideologies on congregants and have been criticized as inherently patriarchal or anti-female by many feminist thinkers, they often simultaneously have more female than male congregants and women within religious communities are often the most active and engaged worshippers. Explaining this apparent contradiction lies at the heart of much of the theoretical research conducted into the relationship between gender and religion. We begin by discussing the research attempting to explain women's greater religiosity overall, then turn to the perplexing question of how they reconcile their spiritual needs with the often negative depictions of women or restrictive behavioral codes applied to them by religious authorities. We move next to contemporary trends in religious observance, which show increasing bifurcation of the population in industrialized countries into observant or fundamentalist believers on the one hand and those who have disaffiliated from any formal religion on the other. How this impacts men and women's lives, especially given the entanglement of religious conservatives in politics and law-making, is an understudied area within the sociology of religion.

This research was supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Award (#5R24 HD042849) to the Population Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors. Please do not cite without permission of the author. Direct correspondence to Jennifer Glass, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712. E-mail: jennifer-glass@utexas.edu.

J. McMorris · J. Glass (✉)
University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA
e-mail: jennifer-glass@utexas.edu

1 Gender Differences in Religious Affiliation and Participation

One major theory explaining the gendered gap in religious involvement relies in part on the philosophical concept of ‘Pascal’s Wager’ (Miller & Hoffmann, 1995). Pascal’s Wager contends that, given the unknowable existence of a God, individuals are presented with two possible choices: believe in God and risk having wasted some time, or chose not to believe in God and risk eternal consequences. Thus the safest choice appears to be belief in God. Supporters of this theory argue that women are, on average, more risk-averse men and thus more likely to ‘hedge’ their spiritual bets. Some theorists supporting this risk-aversion explanation have argued that socialization encourages risk-aversion in women. Collett and Lizardo (2009) suggest a renewed focus on power-control theory (PCT). They argue that the differential power structures of patriarchal households, with their strong impact on daughters, socialize girls to greater levels of risk aversion than boys and, consequently, greater levels of religiosity. Many have critiqued this usage of PCT to explain gender differences in religiosity, arguing that both PCT and the risk aversion hypothesis often conflate biological sex with gender characteristics (Cornwall, 2009; Freese & Montgomery, 2007; Hoffmann, 2009). These authors, among others, call for greater engagement with such issues as intersectionality and a more nuanced understanding of gender theory.

Some proponents of this theory suggest that women are biologically predisposed to be more averse to risk, saying that only sex-specific biology could explain the cross-cultural and historical prevalence of female piety (Miller & Stark, 2002; Stark, 2002). Stark (2002) specifically linked testosterone, a hormone present in greater concentration in men, to this proposed biological sex difference in religiosity. Ellison and Bradshaw (2009) suggest something of a middle ground, contending that, as is evidenced in many other areas of scholarship, biology and socialization likely interact to influence the complex association between gender and religious engagement. In

this way, they tie the phenomenon of high rates of female religiosity into a larger body of literature evaluating the interplay of environment and genetics.

Critics have pointed to limitations of this risk-aversion explanation for the gendered gap in religiosity. Carroll (2004) critiqued the premise that women were universally more religious than men across time and culture. He points to evidence of the “feminization of piety” beginning around the 19th century in both Catholic and Protestant European and American traditions. He cites multiple scholarly attempts to explain this process, including evidence that European and American women began to see churches as a place to address and challenge the gendered norms of the era. Some suggest not only that the claim that women have always been more religious than men contentious, but that women in the United States in the modern era are not uniformly more religious than men. Schnabel (2015), analyzing the GSS, found instead that female piety was neither dominant across all religious traditions nor all religious measures. Sullins (2006) used the World Values Survey to also question the universality of feminine piety, finding that women were no more religious than men in a third of surveyed countries. Likewise, Ellis, Hoskins, and Ratnasigam (2016), in a study of both American and Malaysian college students found that, while women in both nations did report higher rates of religiosity on many measures, these higher rates were not consistent or statistically significant in all cases.

While the risk-aversion explanation for female religiosity has absorbed a great deal of academic attention and theoretical debate, many other explanations for high rates of female religiosity have also been proposed. Iannaccone (1990) proposed a structural explanation, arguing that women were often socialized to be religious in the same way that they were socialized to take on most responsibilities within the home. He tied religious engagement to this set of familial responsibilities and argued that, as consequence of this association, women are better at obtaining ‘religious rewards’ for themselves and the members of their household.

Many others have likewise focused on family roles as key forces shaping women's religious engagement (Becker & Hofmeister, 2001; Roozen, McKinney, & Thompson, 1990; Vaus & David, 1984). These theories are often explicitly or implicitly tied to Bahr's Family Life Cycle which argues that religious service attendance follows a distinctive life-cycle pattern, increasing after marriage and after parenthood of elementary school-aged children before declining when children leave home (Bahr, 1970; Chaves, 1991). This theory does not itself offer explanations for the gender gap in religious service attendance, but others have expanded upon it to argue that the primacy women place on roles as mothers may be a key force in shaping their heightened religious engagement (Becker & Hofmeister, 2001; Stolzenberg, Blair-Loy, & Waite, 1995).

Finally, a growing body of research suggests that gender characteristics, rather than biological sex may be a key force shaping differences in religious involvement. Many studies have found that men with personality traits or worldviews generally defined as 'feminine' were more likely to be religious than their counterparts and that similar within-gender effects held for women as well (Frances & Wilcox, 1998; Thompson, 1991; Thompson & Remmes, 2002). These studies use multiple different measures of gender identity including the Bem Sex Role Inventory to find correlations between such feminine characteristics and heightened religious engagement. Proponents of this theory often assume such characteristics to arise as a consequence of socialization rather than hormones or biology. However, such studies have generally been cross-sectional and incapable of speculating on causation.

Much of the research into the gendered gap in religiosity focuses on women or feminine characteristics as the drivers of higher participation; but in a sense this presupposes that women are 'more' religious rather than that men are 'less' religious. While some work, like Stark's testosterone theory, makes arguments which focus on both genders, the majority of theories, which appear to operate on the presupposition that women, rather than men, are the outliers, focus on various aspects of women's lives,

personalities, and experiences in order to explain the gendered gap in religiosity.

This plethora of contradictory theories coupled with a lack of standardization in the measurement of multiple variables, including risk-aversion and religiosity among others, points to the importance of conducting more empirical and theoretical work to explicate these complex relationships. The lack of attention to gender theory in this area is particularly noticeable, and could be remedied with a deeper elucidation of the role of biological (including hormonal), psychological, and social structural aspects of gender in women's greater religious participation. For example, smaller physical stature or strength (biological), bullying at school or home (social psychological), and responsibility for young children's care (social structural) may all predispose women to greater religious affiliation and participation. But these all represent different elements of a particular gender system common in many societies but not ubiquitous in all of them. Gender scholars have spent a great deal of time unpacking the distinctions between biological sex, psychological gender identity, and social structural position in a gendered division of labor, all of which could be fruitfully used to improve our understanding of the relationship between gender and religiosity. Moreover, scholars have done little to unpack the specific elements of religiosity that attract female congregants—is it social support for a shared moral order, practical help and support with childrearing or other tasks of daily life, psychological comfort and solace, or desire to identify with a larger purpose? Do women accept restrictive ideologies and social roles within their religious tradition because they believe in their virtue, or because they accept them in order to obtain other spiritual rewards?

2 Religious Ideologies About Gender

We turn now to the ideologies about gender, sexuality, and procreation within various religious traditions themselves, and their impact on

the women and men who affiliate with those traditions. Although social influences on individuals' gender ideology may come from a variety of sources, religious institutions serve as important transmitters of information about how to organize and conduct family life and child-rearing. Conservative religious groups, in particular, promote a family structure in which married women concentrate on homemaking rather than paid work, especially when their children are young (Bartkowski, 1999; Sherkat, 2001; Smith, 2000), and reify husbands' patriarchal "headship" and moral authority in the household. These groups have been growing in size and influence (Brooks, 2002; Hout, Greeley & Wilde, 2001), both in the U.S. and abroad (Chong 2008; Hawley, 1994; Jeffery & Basu, 2012; Mahmood, 2005). This emphasis on male authority extends to the religious organization itself, where women are denied access to religious leadership or the right to be ordained as religious leaders.

Importantly, while Christianity within the U.S. and Latin America has experienced a growing renaissance of conservative and evangelical Protestants, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and even Buddhism all have their particular fundamentalist versions expanding in other regions of the world as well (Almond, Appleby, & Sivan, 2003; Emerson & Hartman, 2006; Hawley, 1994; Lehman, 1998; Sen & Wagner, 2009). This rise in fundamentalisms often occurs as a rebellion against modernity and secular moral systems. Many scholars believe it flows from the economic and family upheavals wrought by global capitalist incorporation of nations into a world economy where entire groups (of mostly men) lose their traditional sources of security, support, and authority. As consequence, they focus particularly strongly on ideologies of gender and family behavior. Despite the many theological differences among these religious traditions, fundamentalism within each is often defined by a consistent set of characteristics (Almond et al., 2003; Bruce, 2000; Emerson & Hartman, 2006; Lawrence, 1989; Riesebrodt, 2000). Across the world's major religions, fundamentalist groups

emphasize heterosexuality, the procreative purpose of sex, sexual purity before marriage and modesty of dress and behavior (particularly for women), rigid gender differentiation of roles and responsibilities, and patriarchal household structures (Almond et al., 2003; Chong, 2008; Emerson & Hartman, 2006; Koopmans, 2015; Mahmood, 2005). Both the global spread of religious fundamentalisms and religious intolerance, as well as the similarity in gender ideologies across these otherwise disparate theological movements, suggest that their origins lie in similar processes of social dislocation and rest on similar fears of moral disorder that place unusually burdensome restrictions on women because of their role in procreation and family care.

Given this primacy of family obligations, fundamentalist groups often have higher fertility rates than other religious groups. Among fundamentalist Christians, this focus on fertility is best embodied in the Quiverfull Movement, with its rejection of all forms of birth control and emphasis on children as gifts from God. In practice, many fundamentalist groups, regardless of which broader religious traditions they adhere to, vocally reject various methods of birth control as interfering with divine plans. Women's fertility, in particular, thus becomes deeply bound to their religious devotion and sense of personal worth.

Given this focus on gendered household roles, male headship, and fertility, it is not surprising that many fundamentalist groups are particularly discouraging of and in some cases openly hostile toward the LGBT population (Barton, 2010; Emerson & Hartman, 2006; Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999; Lalic & McLaren, 2010; Ross & Anderson, 2014; Wong & Angela, 2013). Same-sex attraction is regarded as inherently sinful and to be overcome or ignored. In American Protestantism, this discouragement of homosexuality may be most visible in the rise of so called 'conversion therapy' programs designed to uncover and correct the psychological 'illness' of same-sex attraction (Erzen, 2006; Robinson & Spivey, 2007) Such programs often include an emphasis on rigid gender hierarchies

in which 'healthy' men must assert their authority over submissive 'healthy' women. This focus on heteronormative sexuality can have devastating consequences for both men and women. Those who participate in 'conversion' or 'reparative' therapy often experience bouts with depression and stress (Erzen, 2006). Gay Conservative Protestant men who chose to marry women, perhaps in response to pressure to conform to religious norms, can later experience family unrest when they act out their sexual preferences through extramarital affairs (Wolkomir, 2004). Conservative Protestant wives of gay men often report focusing on their own lack of 'femininity' or failures as wives as explanations for their husband's sexual preferences (Wolkomir, 2004). Many Conservative Protestants have held firm to this treatment of homosexuality as a psychological or spiritual disorder even as a growing number of western countries and states within the US have prohibited the practice of conversion or 'ex-gay' therapies. This legal rejection of conversion therapy is a reflection of consensus of mental health practitioners who have come to regard such treatments as unethical and ascientific. The American Psychological Association and the American Pediatric Association along with many other medical groups oppose conversion therapy and, in response, many insurance companies refuse to subsidize such religion-based treatment programs.

While fundamentalist traditions often encourage purity for both men and women, the emphasis on female sexual purity is stronger. In much fundamentalist theology, female desire is stigmatized as inappropriate, and opportunities for men and women to spend time alone together are carefully restricted to preserve this idealization of female virginity. Such focus on female sexuality often includes an implicit assumption about male sexuality, namely that men are vulnerable to sexual temptation, and unable to control their impulses, so the responsibility of regulating male desire falls heavily on women. As consequence, many fundamentalist organizations rely on either codified or implicit rules about appropriate female dress. Women are discouraged from displaying various parts of their

anatomy because doing so might bring on male desire and male attention, which should be restricted to a husband within marriage. Women who violate such dress codes are thus seen as inviting male sexual aggression. The Muslim hijab is often the focus of Western academic and popular discourse on religious dress codes for women, but it is far from anomalous. Multiple Protestant groups including the Mormons, Amish, and Mennonites dictate modest dress for women. Religious schools also institute strict dress codes for students in their halls. Other Orthodox, conservative or fundamentalist groups in a host of faith traditions impose similar restrictions. Such dress codes are often markedly similar, focusing on the length of skirts and sleeves and some form of head covering.

This rise of fundamentalism has not occurred without pushback from secular society. Legislation in many European countries has banned or restricted the wearing of burkas and niqabs in public venues. This legislation is often framed as a protection of women's rights and a symbolic rejection of the conservative gender ideologies associated with fundamentalist religions (Billaud & Castro, 2013; Burchardt, Grier, & García-Romer, 2015a, 2015b; Spohn, 2013). However, many feminist thinkers contend that such laws are themselves deeply problematic, hearkening back to the worst of colonialist racist arguments (Billaud & Castro, 2013; Spohn, 2013). Others argue that such laws, with their focus on female dress are just as problematic for their restriction of 'excessive' clothing as they would be if they required modest dress (Spohn, 2013). Men in fundamentalist groups often also have dress codes tied to their devotion, but failure to adhere to such requirements does not bring the same assumptions of sexual promiscuity or immorality.

Fundamentalist groups across multiple religious traditions often also adhere to codes regarding the physical separation of unmarried men and women. Such codes may apply only to worship services, or they may prohibit unmarried non-related men and women from interacting without chaperones in any environment. For example, as an evangelical Conservative Protestant. Vice President Mike Pence refuses to have

dinner alone with women who are not his wife, or to attend events where alcohol will be served without his wife. These sorts of behavioral codes, much like the dress-codes discussed above, are based on the notion that women are inherently a form of sexual temptation. Because women are an ever-present source of sexual temptation within the fundamentalist community, their bodies and behaviors must be regulated.

Conservative and fundamentalist religious groups are not representative of all religious groups' approach to modernity and reaction to changing social norms, however. Mainline and liberal groups across religious traditions often emphasize strong but more forgiving sexual ethics, accept family planning, reject patriarchal, authoritative households in favor of egalitarianism and an equitable division of household labor, and make space in religious organizations for women's and other disenfranchised groups' participation. The seminary for many mainline and liberal Protestant Christian traditions is often a socially engaged and politically liberal institution. This may be why in the last few decades, we have seen many prominent instances of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist religious leaders defying official rules of their denominations in order to appoint gay leaders or officiate at same-sex marriage ceremonies, as well as anoint women leaders, until denominational rules themselves sometimes change towards greater inclusion. Similar processes have occurred in Reform Judaism and "liberation theology" within Catholicism.

Such liberal and mainline leaders do not have free rein in their efforts to reinterpret their faiths in a modern era. Western Protestant leaders in international denominations have had difficulty changing religious rules and teachings on issues of female leadership or homosexuality because they cannot reach consensus with the large proportion of Protestant leaders from more politically and socially conservative nations. Some denominational leaders have also been afraid to push liberal Western religious ethics too aggressively for fear of denominational fracturing both on the international and national levels. This desire to keep peace has led some

denominations to heavily control international organizational meetings in order to keep discussions over such controversial issues from happening. Such caution is likely exacerbated by the shifting demographics of religious adherents with mainline and liberal religious groups shrinking and greater proportions of worshipers globally being born in gender-conservative cultures (Hout et al., 2001; Norris & Inglehart, 2004).

In addition to demographic and organizational challenges, more socially liberal mainline and liberal Protestant leaders have expressed concerns about preaching to the political left of their congregations. There is often something of a political divide between religious leaders and the average congregation member, particularly in southern, rural, or low SES communities (Olson & Cadge, 2002; Cadge et al., 2007; Cadge, Olson, & Wildeman, 2008). For some mainline Protestant leaders this concern about within-congregation difference leads them to conceal not only their religio-political leanings but aspects of their identity as well. Gay and lesbian religious leaders in mainline or liberal churches likewise express deep concerns about discussing their sexuality with congregation members for fear that they will not be accepted (Comstock, 2002).

In open and affirming mainline and liberal denominations where religious leaders and congregants are in concordance in their acceptance of LGBT congregants, religious mores and expectations about gender and relationships are still often both visible and 'traditional' (Adler, 2012; Anderson, 1997; Buzzell, 2001; McQueeney, 2009; Rodriguez and Ouellette, 2000; Scheitle, Merino, & Moore, 2010; Whitehead, 2013). Congregations often implicitly and explicitly discourage sex outside of committed relationships, emphasize the importance of religiously sanctioned marriage, and encourage child-rearing.

Discomfort with the perceived restrictions of life in open and affirming congregations and the rise of the internet as a medium to connect previously isolated individuals or communities has led to the rise of specifically gay and lesbian churches and congregations (Luckenbill, 1998; Anderson, 1997). Because such groups do not

adhere to one particular denominational affiliation and because little research has been done specifically examining such congregations it is difficult to make affirmative statements about their structures, doctrines, or sexual ethics and mores. Greater, perhaps qualitative, research into these groups might produce a rich literature on how stigmatized individuals within a community seek to simultaneously reject such stigma and embrace the broader ideology of the community itself.

3 Contemporary Trends in Religious Observance: Bifurcation and Its Consequences for Gender Systems

While the global rise of religious fundamentalisms has been the most important contemporary religious trend, a simultaneously decline in religious observance in most Western industrialized countries has tempered the impact of resurgent fundamentalism in modernized societies. Indeed, some evidence suggests the growth of secularism in developed countries may be in part a reaction to the rightward movement in the world's major religions (Lugo et al., 2012). Young adults, who are on average more political and socially liberal, are also substantially less likely to affiliate with evangelical Christianity than older generations (Lugo et al., 2012). Whether a cause or an effect of religious fundamentalism, secularism has clearly been ascendant in Western Europe for several generations (Norris & Inglehart, 2004). More noteworthy is the recent spread of secularism in the United States, an environment in which religiosity has traditionally been strong and linked with national identity. Perhaps as a result, secularism in the U. S. has taken the form of identification with a generic "spiritual" label rather than a complete rejection of religious belief (Lugo et al., 2012). But these disaffiliators nevertheless reject the theology and behavioral dictates of organized religion in favor of a more personal and diffuse relationship with the divine that comports more closely with their personal morality.

This group of unaffiliated, many of whom identify as "spiritual but not religious" now represent almost 20% of all Americans and an astounding 32% of Millennials and younger adults (Lugo et al., 2012). The majority of the unaffiliated report objections to religious institutions, including the belief that religious institutions are corrupt or hypocritical as their primary reason for disaffiliation. The unaffiliated are also significantly more politically liberal than their counterparts, suggesting that this rejection of religion in the United States may partially be driven by a symbolic rejection of the conservative values of the Religious Right (Hout & Fischer, 2002). Recent immigration trends have also encouraged the spread of secularism and religious pluralism, with streams increasingly coming from non-Judeo-Christian countries such as China, Korea, and India.

While many secularists will remain so over the life course, the concentration of the "spiritual but not religious" among young people suggests that at least some may return to the religion of their youth as they form their own families (Glass, Sutton, & Fitzgerald, 2015). Additionally, those who remain irreligious throughout their lives tend to have lower fertility rates than fundamentalists or others, suggesting a theoretical peak of unaffiliation (Skirbekk, Kaufmann, & Goujon, 2010). None of this suggests a resurgence of the religious marketplace however, as all western faith traditions find themselves facing increasing obstacles in transmitting religious affiliation across generations (Smith & Sikkink, 2003). Instead, fertility and migration patterns have become key forces shaping a religious landscape that is increasingly bifurcated in religious belief with religious conservatives on one side and the disaffiliated "spiritual but not religious" on the other.

We turn now to the impact of this religious bifurcation on gendered family and labor market behavior, remembering that religious fundamentalisms promote particularly tight linkages between sexuality, reproduction, and marriage. Evidence suggests this bifurcation in religious affiliation closely corresponds to differences in family formation behavior that impact overall

gender equality and women's empowerment. Cahn and Carbone (2010) label this religiously-based coupling of sexual morality and family obligation a "red family" system in contrast to the "blue family" system promoted by the disaffiliated "spiritual but not religious." These models structure the transition to adulthood for young people, especially young women, by shutting off or opening up avenues of achievement and the development of human capital.

In the red family system of religious conservatives, premarital sexual relations, cohabitation, and nonmarital childbearing are eschewed (as are all homoerotic attachments). This strong moral code governing sexual activity and the reification of childbearing as the goal of sexual partnering also lead to strong ideological views about birth control and abortion. Planning for sexual relations when unmarried by visiting doctors or purchasing contraceptives is inappropriate because it suggests that any subsequent sin of promiscuity was both premeditated and intentional (Regnerus, 2007). In addition, some highly effective contraceptives (certain pills and IUD's, for example) are avoided among religious conservatives even after marriage because they are believed to be abortifacents. Abortion is viewed as an attempt to escape the natural consequences of sexual activity through the killing of human life. Not surprisingly given these constraints and the powerful lure of adolescent sexual attraction, red family logic produces either an incredibly strict system of sexual segregation and surveillance as seen in some Middle Eastern societies or a substantial number of nonmarital pregnancies that result in live birth as seen in the U.S. and Latin America, though many are subsequently "legitimated" by engagement or marriage (Pearce & Davis, 2006). Avoiding children in the pursuit of material gain is viewed as both selfish and ungodly, as is the general acquisitiveness of contemporary life.

The blue family system more widely espoused by the disaffiliated "spiritual but not religious", by contrast, does not vilify early sexual involvements and treats adolescent sexual behavior as something to monitor and control for reasons of personal well-being and public health.

Marriage is seen as unsuitable for young people until they have acquired the maturity, life experience, and financial stability to sustain a lifelong commitment and the costs of parenthood. Childbearing and rearing are viewed as serious tasks better eschewed by young people still learning about intimate relationships and still developing their human capital and marketable skills. Within blue family logic, nonmarital coupling is unremarkable as long as protection is used, and nonmarital childbearing is nonproblematic unless it is unplanned by youth who are not yet capable of becoming good parents. The pursuit of human capital and the development of solid interpersonal and relational skills are considered the major tasks of young adulthood, while early family formation is considered a tragedy for both parents and children, leading to more tolerant views of both birth control and abortion to control the timing and spacing of children. Abstinence is neither praised nor condemned, and sexual learning is presumed to occur through early experiences before adult commitments are formed.

It is easy enough to see how the red family system encourages early transitions to adulthood while the blue family system discourages them. If sexual expression is limited to marriage, and educational attainment and the pursuit of material wealth are not to stand in the way of moral commitments to self and others through marriage, then early school leaving, marriage, and parenthood are not only permissible but perhaps preferred. If sexual impulses and attractions are dangerous and sinful outside of the context of marriage, early marriage can be the most parsimonious solution to the threat of promiscuity, nonmarital childbearing, and sexually transmitted diseases. Moral failure is defined most strongly as the refusal to accept children as the natural consequence of sexual partnering—nonmarital births are far less shameful than abortion and can always be neutralized through marriage. Within blue family logic, however, the most important criteria for marriage and parenthood are emotional maturity and financial stability, which are very difficult to develop early in the life course in a modern postindustrial economy. Many,

especially young men, will not achieve these milestones until their late 20's or even early 30's. Within blue family logic, it is unreasonable to expect abstinence from sexual activity for so many years following puberty, and thus sexual partnering and cohabitation before marriage must be tolerated, if not actively encouraged, as the means to keep young people engaged in higher education and early career investments. Moral responsibility is instead lodged in protecting oneself and one's partner from sexual disease and pregnancy through effective contraception, including abortion when necessary. Moral failure includes bringing a child into the world without two functioning parents in a stable middle-class environment.

But religious fundamentalism does more than structure early school leaving and family formation; it also supports a particular household division of labor after children arrive. The idea that men and women have different intrinsic natures and sensibilities that lead to separate but complementary roles in family life comes directly from scriptural authority believed to be inerrant on the subject. This impacts gender inequality in powerful ways. Not only are women discouraged from acquiring human capital in their own right, they are actively encouraged to prioritize family care and avoid labor force participation when children are young, leaving them with few resources to bargain for autonomy or respectful treatment within their household.

How powerful are these ideological forces in women's lives? Empirical research on youth raised in conservative Protestant households in the U.S. suggests that these forces are significant and impactful, even after controlling for region and class background. Conservative religious affiliation accelerates childbearing by several years and shortens schooling by over a year among young white and Hispanic women, and subsequently hinders their capacity to maximize their income and their children's development (Chandler, Kamo, & Werbel, 1994; Glass & Jacobs, 2005). The large and significant effects of childhood religious conservatism on later gender role ideology and paid work also indicate that

religious conservatism helps produce a familial division of labor that discourages women's labor market attainment (Glass & Kanellakos, 2006).

While women bear the brunt of these negative effects on the transition to adulthood, young men raised in conservative Protestant households also find themselves with about a year's less education and lower wages controlling for their human capital (though not the earlier age at reported first birth). Young people who experience accelerated transitions to adulthood, especially women, find themselves with higher total fertility and fewer resources for caring for those children through their own diminished earnings and their inability to stably partner with high-earning spouses. They are limited to job opportunities available to workers with low levels of education and job experience, rely more on kin and extended family for support, have less geographic mobility to take advantage of opportunities outside their immediate county or state of residence, and develop "accumulated disadvantage" over the life course in both financial and physical well-being. While religious participation can and often does help ameliorate some of the disadvantages of early transitions to adulthood, conservative churches themselves do little to support the young families created through "red family logic" (Regnerus, 2007). Not surprisingly, the divorce rate is paradoxically higher in areas of concentrated religious conservatism (Glass & Levchak, 2014).

Perhaps the most visible symbol of 'red state' logic within the United States has been the recent rise of hyperfertility movements among fundamentalist Protestants. These movements, begun in the 1980s, are often broadly referred to as "Quiverfull" though not all practitioners of hyperfertility explicitly associate with the label. The Quiverfull movement, taking its name from a biblical verse likening children to arrows within a quiver, regards hyperfertility as a religious obligation. Movement practitioners explicitly reject the ideologies of feminism as an evil inversion of godly order and instead glorify male household headship (Harrison & Rowley, 2011). This emphasis on patriarchal leadership, with husbands making all final decisions and taking responsibility for earning all funds to support

large families, can be tremendously stressful for both partners.

Members of hyperfertility movements eschew not only abortion or birth control but any form of ‘interference’ with the power of god to determine life, including fertility treatments (Harrison & Rowley, 2011). Adherents to hyperfertility movements often engage in homeschooling and build tightly knit communities of believers through online media and in-person meetings (Kunzman, 2010). It is not clear, despite the stated goals of practitioners of hyperfertility and public fascination with adherents, that such groups are destined to become a large proportion of the western religious landscape. They have not thus far demonstrated high degrees of success in recruiting outsiders into their belief communities, and not all children born into such movements will have either the interest or ability to find spouses interested in participating in such practices.

If this particular form of religious fundamentalism is often treated as both benign and entertaining, the sexual mores preached by fundamentalists more broadly can often erupt into serious violence. Among a subset of American fundamentalist Protestants and Catholics, adherence to a sexual and religious ethic which regards life as inherently sacred (and the provision of abortion as an act of murder) has been used to justify the bombing of abortion-providing clinics, and the murder of clinic staff and doctors on numerous occasions (Jacobson and Royer, Jacobsen & Royer, 2011; Juergensmeyer, 1998). These attacks have led to widespread fear among health professionals and caused many medical practitioners to refuse to train in or offer abortion services, reducing access across the board.

Religious violence justified through restrictive sexual mores is not limited to attacks on medical personnel, of course, but often targets individual men and women themselves accused of violating these restrictive codes. This violence often takes the form of homicide against women accused of having lost their virginity outside of wedlock or having engaged in adultery, and of men accused of homosexuality (Awwad, 2001; Chesler, 2009; Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2013). These men and

women are often regarded as having acted in a ‘modern’ or ‘western’ fashion and having brought shame to their entire families. Male heads of household are then frequently pressured by the community at large and other family members to commit violence against perceived offenders to restore familial honor and reaffirm sexual mores (Awwad, 2001; Odeh, 2010).

While honor killings have some legal protection in parts of the Middle East and North Africa, it would be a mistake to assume they occur only within that region. Honor killings of men and women accused of sexual misconduct occur throughout the world, though many western nations have failed to recognize the existence of such acts within their own communities or engaged in any form of tracking instances of such violence (Chesler, 2009). While honor killing is often tied to fundamentalist Islam and is generally supported via religious arguments, it is also a cultural phenomenon, an implicit rejection of the perceived attack of Western secular values and practices on local cultural norms. But honor killings are not restricted to Islam or the Middle East—violent acts against gays and lesbians within the United States are often motivated by religiously based intolerance and justified by scriptural authority, as well as lesser acts of discrimination and exclusion (such as refusals of service for gay weddings).

4 Conclusions and Recommendations for Research

More and better research on gender and religion is necessary to understand the overlooked role of religious institutions and religious ideologies in two crucial arenas: (1) the role of personal religious belief in the life choices and family behaviors of women and men that may advantage or disadvantage them and their children, and (2) the shaping of social institutions (schools, governments, health care organizations, and workplaces) in ways that support and extend patriarchal control of women’s lives. Some of our recommendations benefit research in both

areas. For instance, it's time to cast off religious typologies that center on denominational label or irrelevant religious dogma, rather than the measurable characteristics of religious belief such as the level of religious embeddedness in everyday life, social conservatism, and gender/ethnic exclusionary beliefs or practices. These are likely to be the characteristics that directly affect behavioral choices. Precise theological differences in dogma may matter less than the ways in which those differences are embedded or not into everyday practices and social institutions.

For this reason, we urge researchers to stop the balkanized study of religious groups (i.e. isolated studies of Islam, Christianity, or any other faith tradition), and pay more attention to the varieties of religious experience within each major faith group. One could easily argue, for example, that faith traditions based on literalist interpretations of ancient texts (fundamentalisms) are more similar to each other across major religions (Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, etc.) than they are to the moderate or liberal branches of their own faith, for reasons like those underlined above. Indeed, it is the striking theological similarities in the treatment of women and religious/ethnic minorities across the fundamentalist branches of major world religions that requires explanation, not their differences with respect to worship and sources of divine power. By closely theorizing the dimensions of religious experience or participation that affect individual and institutional behavior, we will be better poised to understand when and why religion matters in the explanation of social behaviors, inequalities, and life chances. It may not be holy texts that impact behavior as much as the different implications for the organization of the social world that flow from those texts.

We are not arguing that theological differences do not impact gender attitudes and behaviors; indeed, religious beliefs directly dictate courses of action in some cases. But it behooves researchers to carefully clarify which beliefs matter and why, and to explore similarities of belief across major religions rather than assuming that religious typologies capture these similarities and differences accurately. Thus we

urge greater precision in theorizing and measuring linkages between religious affiliation and gendered behaviors, by directly specifying and measuring the beliefs (e.g. "women require moral guidance from men") that lead to behavioral choices no matter which religion they come from.

With respect to research on personal affiliation, demographers and social psychologists would benefit from a better theorized connection between affiliation and individual agency that focuses on the dimensions of religiosity that matter—level of theological liberalism (especially around gender and sexuality), salience of religion in personal identity formation, and ability to enact or resist religious dictates within household structures. In particular, we lack strong theories explaining how religious affiliations become integrated into gender and personal identities that motivate personal and political behavior. A crucial first step is to create a more useful theoretical frame to explain why women overall are more religious than men; one that explains both the intensity and selectivity of women's religious behavior (e.g. fewer women than men are prone to religious violence or religious repression). Too often, women are treated as a biological category rather than a socially disempowered group whose recourse to the divine might be motivated by that powerlessness. Like African-Americans in the United States, women have used religion as a tool to organize, get practical help and support, articulate legitimate grievances, and seek redress for moral wrongs.

With regard to the religious shaping of social institutions, we advocate greater attention to the rise of religious fundamentalisms during periods of rapid social change and dislocation. In particular, the appropriation of religion in dictatorial regimes whose goals are to preserve an otherwise changing social order needs better articulation, since the repression of women and sexual minorities is often central to this goal. What purpose does the suppression of women's rights serve, and which social groups' allegiance will be solidified by supporting extreme gender differentiation in rights and responsibilities?

How do women (and men) respond to these radical reinterpretations of scripture, especially when they identify as religious themselves? In addition, we recommend scholars recognize the central role of religious fundamentalism in political polarizations both in the U.S. and abroad. These political polarizations, and the policies promoted by fundamentalist ideologies, can result in the radical transformation of existing institutions.

We conclude by advocating for more attention to the central issue of *how* religious ideologies become embedded in the operation of social institutions (schools, governments, health care organizations, workplaces, etc.). Are there differences in the ways that fundamentalist versus moderate or “symbolic” theologies get incorporated into social institutions? What community and political processes lead to the incorporation of religious rules into institutional operations, especially in ways that solidify women’s disempowerment and loss of control over their lives? And finally, what happens to those women and men who do not themselves adhere to any particular religious philosophy, but live in a community whose institutions are strongly oriented around a religious paradigm? We hope that renewed emphasis on these questions will help us understand both the repressive and liberatory potential of religious belief systems and institutions on gendered inequalities.

References

- Adler, G. (2012). An opening in the congregational closet? Boundary-bridging culture and membership privileges for gays and lesbians in Christian religious congregations. *Social Problems*, 59(2), 177–206.
- Almond, G. A., Scott Appleby, R., & Sivan, E. (2003). *Strong religion: The rise of fundamentalisms around the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, J. D. (1997). The lesbian and gay liberation movement in the Presbyterian Church (USA), 1974–1996. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 34(2), 37–65.
- Awwad, A. M. (2001). Gossip, scandal, shame and honor killing: A case for social constructionism and hegemonic discourse. *Social Thought and Research*, 24(1/2), 39–52.
- Barton, B. (2010). “Abomination”—Life as a Bible belt gay. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 57(4), 465–484.
- Bartkowski, J. P. (1999). One step forward, one step back: “Progressive traditionalism” and the negotiation of domestic labor in evangelical families. *Gender Issues*, 17(4), 37–61.
- Bahr, H. M. (1970). Aging and religious disaffiliation. *Social Forces*, 49, 59–71.
- Becker, P. E., & Hofmeister, H. (2001). Work, family, and religious involvement for men and women. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 40(4), 707–722.
- Bradshaw, Matt, & Ellison, C. G. (2009). The nature-nurture debate is over, and both sides lost! Implications for understanding gender differences in religiosity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(2), 241–251.
- Brooks, C. (2002). Religious influence and the politics of family decline concern: Trends, sources, and US political behavior. *American Sociological Review*, 191–211.
- Bruce, S. (2000). *Fundamentalism*. Maiden, MA: Blackwell.
- Burchardt, M., Griera, M., & García-Romeral, G. (2015a). Narrating liberal rights and culture: Muslim face veiling, urban coexistence and contention in Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(7), 1068–1087.
- Billaud, J., & Castro, J. (2013). Whores and Niqabées: The sexual boundaries of French nationalism. *French Politics, Culture, and Society*, 31(2), 81–101.
- Burchardt, M., Griera, M., & García-Romeral, G. (2015b). Narrating liberal rights and culture: Muslim face veiling, urban coexistence and contention in Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(7), 1068–1087.
- Buzzell, T. (2001). Gay and lesbian activism in American protestant churches: Religion, homosexuality, and the politics of inclusion. *The Politics of Social Inequality*, 9, 83–114.
- Cadge, W., Day, H., & Wildeman, C. (2007). Bridging the denomination-congregation divide: Evangelical lutheran church in america congregations respond to homosexuality. *Review of Religious Research*, 48(3), 245–259.
- Cadge, W., Olson, L. R., & Wildeman, C. (2008). How denominational resources influence debate about homosexuality in mainline Protestant congregations. *Sociology of Religion*, 69(2), 187–207.
- Carroll, M. P. (2004). Give me that ol’time hormonal religion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 43(2), 275–278.
- Collett, J. L., & Lizardo, O. (2009). A power-control theory of gender and religiosity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(2), 213–231.
- Comstock, G. D. (2002). *Unrepentant, self-affirming, practicing: Lesbian/bisexual/gay people within organized religion*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company.

- Cornwall, M. (2009). Reifying sex difference isn't the answer: Gendering processes, risk, and religiosity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(2), 252–255.
- Erzen, T. (2006). *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and christian conversions in the ex-gay movement*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Ellis, L., Hoskin, A. W., & Ratnasingam, M. (2016). Testosterone, risk taking, and religiosity: Evidence from two cultures. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 55(1), 153–173.
- Cahn, N., & Carbone, J. (2010). *Red families v. blue families: Legal polarization and the creation of culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chandler, T. D., Kamo, Y., & Werbel, J. D. (1994). Do delays in marriage and childbirth affect earnings? *Social Science Quarterly*, 75(4), 838–853.
- Chaves, M. (1991). Family structure and protestant church attendance: The sociological basis of cohort and age effects. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 30(4), 501–514.
- Chesler, P. (2009). Are honor killings simply domestic violence? *The Middle East Quarterly*, 16(2), 61–69.
- Chong, K. H. (2008). *Deliverance and submission: Evangelical women and the negotiation of patriarchy in South Korea* (Vol. 309). Harvard East Asia Monographs.
- Vaus, D., & David, A. (1984). Workforce participation and sex differences in church attendance. *Review of Religious Research*, 25(3), 247–256.
- Emerson, M. O., & Hartman, D. (2006). The rise of religious fundamentalism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 32, 127–144.
- Freese, J., & Montgomery, J. D. (2007). The devil made her do it? Evaluating risk preference as an explanation of sex differences in religiosity. *Social Psychology of Gender*, 187–229.
- Frances and Wilcox. (1998). Religiosity and femininity: Do women really hold a more positive attitude toward Christianity? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37, 462–469.
- Fulton, A. S., Gorsuch, R. L., & Maynard, E. A. (1999). Religious orientation, antihomosexual sentiment, and fundamentalism among Christians. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 14–22.
- Glass, J., & Jacobs, J. (2005). Childhood religious conservatism and adult attainment among black and white women. *Social Forces*, 84, 555.
- Glass, J., & Kanellakos, L. (2006). Religious conservatism and women's market behavior following marriage and childbirth. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 68(3), 611–629.
- Glass, J., & Levchak, P. (2014). Red states, blue states, and divorce—Understanding the impact of conservative protestantism on regional variation in divorce rates. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119, 1–44.
- Glass, J. L., Sutton, A., & Fitzgerald, S. T. (2015). Leaving the faith: How religious switching changes pathways to adulthood among conservative Protestant youth. *Social Currents*, 2(2), 126–143.
- Harrison, L., & Rowley, S. B. (2011). Babies by the bundle: gender, backlash, and the quiverfull movement. *Feminist Formations*, 23(1), 47–69.
- Hawley, J. S. (1994). *Fundamentalism and gender*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffmann, J. P. (2009). Gender, risk, and religiousness: Can power control provide the theory? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(2), 232–240.
- Hout, M., & Fischer, C. S. (2002). Why more Americans have no religious preference: Politics and generations. *American Sociological Review*, 165–190.
- Hout, M., Greeley, A., & Wilde, M. J. (2001). The demographic imperative in religious change in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(2), 468–500.
- Iannaccone, L. R. (1990). Religious practice: A human capital approach. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 29, 297–314.
- Jacobsen, M., & Royer, H. (2011). Aftershocks: The impact of clinic violence on abortion services. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(1), 189–223.
- Jeffery, P., & Basu, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Appropriating gender: Women's activism and politicized religion in South Asia*. New York and Great Britain: Routledge.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (1998). Christian violence in America. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 558(1), 88–100.
- Koopmans, R. (2015). Religious fundamentalism and hostility against out-groups: A comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(1), 33–57.
- Robert, K. (2010). Homeschooling and religious fundamentalism. *International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education*, 2(1).
- Lalich, J., & McLaren, K. (2010). Inside and outcast: Multifaceted stigma and redemption in the lives of gay and lesbian Jehovah's witnesses. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 57(10), 1303–1333.
- Lawrence, B. B. (1989). *Defenders of god: The fundamentalist revolt against the modern age*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Lehman, E. C., Jr. (1998). Ordaining women: Culture and conflict in religious organizations. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37(4), 757–758.
- Lukenbill, W. B. (1998). Observations on the corporate culture of a gay and lesbian congregation. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37(3), 440–452.
- Lugo, L., Cooperman, A., Funk, C., Smith, G., O'Connell, E., & Stencell, S. (2012). *Nones' on the rise*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise>.

- Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of piety: The islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McQueeney, K. (2009). We are god's children, y'all: Race, gender, and sexuality in lesbian-and gay-affirming congregations. *Social Problems, 56*(1), 151–173.
- Miller, A. S., & Hoffmann, J. P. (1995). Risk and religion: An explanation of gender differences in religiosity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 34*(1), 63–75.
- Miller, A. S., & Stark, R. (2002). Gender and religiousness: Can Socialization explanations be saved? 1. *American Journal of Sociology, 107*(6), 1399–1423.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2004). *Sacred and secular: Religion and politics worldwide*. Cambridge University Press.
- Odeh, L. A. (2010). Honor killings and the construction of gender in Arab societies. *The American Journal of Comparative Law, 58*(4), 911–952.
- Olson, L. R., & Cadge, W. (2002). Talking about homosexuality: The views of mainline Protestant clergy. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*(1), 153–167.
- Pearce, L. D., & Davis, S. N. (2006). Religion work-family gender ideology and fertility. [Unpublished] 2006. Presented at the population association of America 2006 annual meeting Los Angeles California March 30–April 1.
- Regnerus, M. (2007). *Forbidden fruit: Sex and religion in the lives of American teenagers*. Oxford University Press.
- Riesebrödt, M. (2000). Fundamentalism and the resurgence of religion. *Numen, 47*(3), 266–287.
- Robinson, C. M., & Spivey, S. E. (2007). The politics of masculinity and the ex-gay movement. *Gender and Society, 21*(5), 650–675.
- Rodriguez, E. M., & Ouellette, S. C. (2000). Gay and lesbian christians: Homosexual and religious identity integration in the members and participants of a gay-positive church. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 39*(3), 333–347.
- Roozen, D. A., McKinney, W., & Thompson, W. (1990). The "big chill" generation warms to worship: A research note. *Review of Religious Research, 31*(3), 314–322.
- Ross, M., & Anderson, A. M. (2014). Relationships between importance of religious belief, response to anti-gay violence, and mental health in men who have sex with men in East Africa. *Research in the Social Scientific Study of Religion, 25*, 160–172.
- Scheitle, C. P., Merino, S. M., & Moore, A. (2010). On the varying meaning of "open and affirming". *Journal of Homosexuality, 57*(10), 1223–1236.
- Schnabel, L. (2015). How religious are American women and men? Gender differences and similarities. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 54*(3), 616–622.
- Sen, R., & Wagner, W. (2009). Cultural mechanics of fundamentalism: Religion as ideology, divided identities and violence in post-Gandhi India. *Culture and Psychology, 15*(3), 299–326.
- Sherkat, D. E. (2001). Tracking the restructuring of American religion: Religious affiliation and patterns of religious mobility, 1973–1998. *Social Forces, 79*(4), 1459–1493.
- Skirbekk, V., Kaufmann, E., & Goujon, A. (2010). Secularism, fundamentalism, or Catholicism? The religious composition of the United States to 2043. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 49*(2), 293–310.
- Smith, C. (2000). *Christian America? What evangelicals really want*. University of California Press.
- Smith, C., & Sikkink, D. (2003). Social predictors of retention in and switching from the religious faith of family of origin: Another look using religious tradition self-identification. *Review of Religious Research, 45*(2), 188–206.
- Spohn, U. (2013). Sisters in disagreement: The dispute among French feminists about the "Burqa Ban" and the causes of their disunity. *Journal of Human Rights, 12*(2), 145–164.
- Stark, R. (2002). Physiology and faith: Addressing the "universal" gender difference in religious commitment. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*(3), 495–507.
- Stolzenberg, R. M., Blair-Loy, M., & Waite, L. J. (1995). Religious participation in early adulthood: Age and family life cycle effects on church membership. *American Sociological Review, 60*, 84–103.
- Sullins, D. P. (2006). Gender and religion: Deconstructing universality, constructing complexity. *American Journal of Sociology, 112*(3), 838–880.
- Thompson, E. H., Jr., & Remmes, K. R. (2002). Does masculinity thwart being religious? An examination of older men's religiousness. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*(3), 521–532.
- Thompson, E. H. (1991). Beyond the sex difference: Gender variations in religiousness. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 30*, 381–394.

- Whitehead, A. L. (2013). Religious organizations and homosexuality: The acceptance of gays and lesbians in American congregations. *Review of Religious Research, 55*(2), 297–317.
- Wolkomir, M. (2004). “Giving it up to god” negotiating femininity in support groups for wives of ex-gay christian men. *Gender and society, 18*(6), 735–755.
- Wong, W. C. A. (2013). The politics of sexual morality and evangelical activism in Hong Kong. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, 14*(3), 340–360.
- Yurdakul, G., & Korteweg, A. C. (2013). Gender equality and immigrant integration: Honor killing and forced marriage debates in the Netherlands, Germany, and Britain. *Women’s Studies International Forum, 41*(3), 204–214.

Jennifer McMorris received her doctorate in Sociology from the University of Texas at Austin in 2016. Her areas of interest include the intersection of religion, gender, and education. She currently works as an instructor for the University of Texas extension office.

Jennifer Glass is the Barbara Bush Professor of Liberal Arts in the Department of Sociology and the Population Research Center of the University of Texas, Austin. She has published over 50 articles and books on work and family issues, gender stratification in the labor force, and the impact of religious conservatism on women’s economic attainment. She is currently the Executive Director of the Council on Contemporary Families.



Gender, Race, and Crime: The Evolution of a Feminist Research Agenda

32

Kenly Brown and Nikki Jones

Abstract

Over the last several decades, feminist scholars have advanced our understanding of the relationship between race, gender and crime. This body of work illustrates how gender inequality makes women more vulnerable to incarceration and punishment. Feminist criminologists who examine crime and victimization through the lens of intersectionality, especially women of color, have also worked to shift the scholarly focus from intersections of gender, race, and crime, which often focus on offending, to a consideration of the intersection of gender, race, and *justice*, which critically interrogates not only disparities in the distribution of justice, but also the ways that structural violence shapes the vulnerability of women of color to various forms of violence and punitive sanctions. New research and theorizations in this area, including Black feminist and intersectional research and writings, encourage us to move beyond gender binaries to examine the interrelationship between institutions (e.g., police, prisons,

etc.) and gendered vulnerabilities to punishment and violence.

1 Introduction

Since the start of the second wave of the feminist movement in the U.S., feminist scholars have worked to interrogate the relationship between gender and the criminal justice system (Chesney-Lind & Dalym, 1988). Some of the earliest scholarship developed by feminist criminologists critiqued overtly masculinist perspectives on crime and punishment and pushed for the need to develop gender-specific theoretical frameworks and empirical studies (Chesney-Lind & Daly, 1988; Bertrand, 1969; Heidensohn, 1968). This scholarship was a departure from early literature in criminology, which relied heavily on essentialist understandings to explain crime and deviance among women and girls; defined sexual deviance as a crime; and provided explanations for women and girls' participation in crime that were often inaccurate and oppressive (Chesney-Lind & Daly, 1988; Jones & Flores, 2012).

An organizing priority of the anti-violence against women movement aimed to produce research and push legislation to protect women and girls from violence (Brownmiller, 1975; MacKinnon, 1982). An eventual victory of these efforts included new laws that mandated the

K. Brown (✉) · N. Jones
University of California, Berkeley, USA
e-mail: kenly@berkeley.edu

N. Jones
e-mail: njones@berkeley.edu

arrest of perpetrators of domestic violence and abuse by police (Chesney-Lind & Daly, 1988). Feminist scholars also critiqued sentencing reforms that proposed equitable treatment in sentencing among men and women without consideration of the role that gender inequality plays in offending (Blumstein, Cohen, Martin, & Tonry, 1983; Chesney-Lind & Daly, 1988). Although feminist scholarship produced new empirical studies and theoretical frameworks within criminology that challenged sexist assumptions and reflected gender-specific concerns, it is also true that this wave of scholarship typically centered the experiences of (white) women, especially those who had survived intimate violence and rape.

As new legislative victories were won, Black, Latina, Native, and other feminist of color scholars illuminated the ways that experiences of women of color and issues of class, sexuality, nation/ethnicity, and many other defining identities of women, were overlooked in second wave feminism in general and the study of gender, race and crime in particular (Potter, 2015; Riche, 2012; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Burgess-Proctor, 2006). In the early and mid-20th century, feminist movements were both racist and classist in their failure to address the specific oppressive regimes Black women, poor women, and women of color faced (Davis, 1981; Richie, 2012). Issues of race, class, and gender were brought to the forefront of activism and scholarship in this area by “third wave” feminist scholars (Potter, 2015). As Hillary Potter writes, third wave feminism allowed for “a move away from *colorblind* feminism, and toward greater attention to anti-essentialism” (Potter, 2015, 62).

One of the most important concepts in third wave feminism, intersectionality, emerged as a theoretical framework that helped to illuminate the relationship between discrete and overlapping identities and the criminal justice system. Kimberlé Crenshaw’s foundational article, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” (1989), introduced the term intersectionality and built upon work in Black feminist

theory that spanned over a century (e.g. Ana Julia Cooper, Gloria Hull, and Angela Davis). In her analysis of anti-racist policies in anti-discrimination law (Crenshaw, 1989), Crenshaw illustrates how race and sex are often studied and applied as mutually exclusive categories, which results in the distortion of Black women’s experiences in the eyes of the law (1989). Crenshaw expands her discussion of intersectionality in “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,”¹ a major contribution to violence against women discourse (1991). Crenshaw critiques assumptions that naturalize violence among women from low income communities rather than look at how systemic oppression structures their vulnerability to violence (1991). Her argument illustrates how race and gender intersect in ways that make Black women and women of color uniquely vulnerable to violence in certain structural, political and representational contexts (Crenshaw, 1991).

Similar to the work of Crenshaw, Patricia Hill Collins’ *Black Feminist Thought* emphasized the power of intersectional identities in relation to power structures (1990). Hill Collins introduces the concept of a “matrix of domination” where “structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression” (Collins, 2000, 21). Essentially, the ways multiple identities intersect with structures of power create discrete conditions of oppression and suppression. Together, Crenshaw and Collins reconstructed how scholars imagined and understood the relationship between power, institutions, and intersectional identities. Their writings provide the theoretical foundation for a range of scholars who use intersectionality as theory, application, and praxis (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013).

In the following pages, we further examine how contemporary scholars in feminist criminology use intersectionality to discuss how

¹Kimberlé Crenshaw’s “Mapping the Margins” pioneered a critical and intersectional examination of race, gender, and violence against women. She argues how violence against women is racialized and gendered through structural, political, and representational contexts.

power, institutions, and social identities co-construct each other. We highlight important empirical works that apply an intersectional framework to analyses of victimization, criminalization, and offending. We then turn to studies that theorize gender, violence, and the carceral state in ways that illuminate the intimate relationship between institutions of punishment and social identities. We conclude with a call to go beyond gender binaries in order to theorize “intersectional vulnerabilities” as a way describe the relationship between state violence and interpersonal violence.

2 Intersectionality and Feminist Criminology

In *Intersectionality and Criminology*, Hillary Potter interrogates the purpose and utility of intersectionality as a theory, perspective, and methodology in criminological scholarship (2015). According to Potter, intersectionality can be classified as a perspective (e.g. multiply positioned women experience structures of power and interpersonal relationships that directly shape their positions) and theory (e.g. explain and test a phenomenon of interest in a systematic way) that can be used to demonstrate the ways that “individuals have multiple intertwined identities that are developed, organized, experienced, and responded to within the context of the social structure and its dis/advantaged ordering” (2015, 76). Intersectionality reveals how the social construction of multiple identities is mediated through dynamic power relations across the legal system, definitions of criminality, and the distortion of punishment (Potter, 2015). An intersectional perspective and theory seeks to rupture how we essentialize identities and generalize social positions of women, and aims to consider differences in power and oppression as a given when looking at the relationship between multiple identities, structures, and power (Potter, 2015; Cho et al., 2013).

Although intersectionality has gained prominence in scholarly and mainstream discussions, recent scholarship has also problematized the use

of intersectionality across disciplines. A common critique is that the concept is now used in ways that actually reproduce essentialist understandings of multiple identities. In one powerful critique, Alexander (2012) highlights how much of mainstream contemporary scholarship on intersectionalities continues to overlook Black women and women of color in their analysis of how power dynamics shape the lives of women differently based on race, gender, and class. Additionally, Alexander argues, some studies have reduced theoretical and empirical applications of intersectionalities to static characterizations of multiple identities and overlook structural forces of inequality (Alexander, 2012). Alexander makes the point that intersectional theory is not merely a way to talk about social identities. An intersectional analysis reveals how the dynamics of power, institutions, and constructions of social identities are simultaneously constructed and consequential for how individuals are perceived and treated by others and institutions. In the next section, we provide examples of important empirical studies that applied an intersectional analysis in this way.

3 Intersectional Analyses of Gender, Race, and Crime

Recent work that adopts an intersectional analysis helps to reveal the ways that victimization, offending, and institutional processes of legal criminalization along with hegemonic and local masculinities and femininities are socially constructed and situationally defined. Recent examples include Nikki Jones’ *Between Good and Ghetto: African American Girls and Inner-City Violence* (2010) and Victor Rios’ *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (2011). These works show how the construction of gender, race, and crime co-currently inform each other and position people differently in relationship to violence and the criminal justice system.

In *Between Good and Ghetto*, Jones draws on Sarah Fenstermaker and Candace West’s discussion of “Doing Difference” (1995), Elijah

Anderson's *Code of the Street* (1999) and Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Sexual Politics* (2004) to make sense of the ways that intersections of race, gender and class shape the strategies that girls use to navigate inner-city settings where threats of interpersonal violence are encountered regularly, and the consequences of these strategies for girls in their everyday lives (2009). In this work, Jones challenges stereotypical assumptions about Black girls, aggression and violence by illustrating how Black girls negotiate the constraints of "the code of the street" and the "controlling images" of Black femininity while negotiating interpersonal and gender-specific violence. In explaining how race and gender and class shift in significance in the lives of Black women and girls, moving toward or receding from the forefront, depending on the situation, Jones complicates discussions of the use of violence among Black girls.

As Jones writes, girls' accounts of how they navigate violence in their neighborhoods and negotiate conflict and violence in their interpersonal relationships, including, at times, by using violence, reveal that they "embrace, challenge, reinforce, reflect and contradict normative expectations of femininity and Black respectability as they work the code" (Jones, 2009, 11). This discussion of how Black girls navigate their social worlds is also consistent with the work of Joyce Ladner, who, in her study of over one hundred preadolescent, adolescent, and adult Black women in the city of St. Louis, pushed scholars to conceptualize social issues as a problem of the social structure, rather than of particular groups or types of people (1971). While Ladner did not use the term intersectionality, her work illustrates how the sociohistorical constructions of gender and race conditioned the life chances, coping mechanisms, and survival tactics among Black girls and women in the inner city.

In *Between Good and Ghetto* (2009) and Joyce Ladner's, *Tomorrow's Tomorrow*, we see how structural forms of violence shape the choices and actions of Black women and girls and how institutions and individuals respond to their actions. Jody Miller's *Getting Played: African American Girls, Urban Inequality, and*

Gendered Violence (2008) also illustrates how structural forces (e.g. concentrated poverty and lack of institutional support) make Black girls vulnerable to gender-specific violence at the hands of those in their community and informs how neighborhood residents and institutional actors respond to violence experienced by girls. Miller found that Black girls and women were subject to both public (e.g. street) and semi-private (e.g. house parties) forms of violence by men and boys in their lives. Further, Miller finds that the troubled relationship between young Black women and girls and the criminal justice system, including how law enforcement interacted with Black and Latino boys and men, often prevented them from calling upon law enforcement for assistance.

Victor Rios also brings an intersectional analysis to the study of Black and Latino boys and their relationship to the criminal justice system. In *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (2011), Victor Rios explains how the interaction between gender and crime defines and criminalizes boys and men of color. Expanding upon the work of Messerschmidt's *Masculinities and Crime* (1993) and Elijah Anderson's *Code of the Street*, Rios (2011) studies how a group of 40 boys are surveilled, criminalized, and controlled by the state through the criminal justice system. He describes how the adolescent lives of young people are constructed within "the youth control complex," systems that control and criminalize the everyday behaviors of young people of color including in schools, police departments, and community centers. Rios labels this experience *hypercriminalization* where behaviors are understood as criminal, violent, and risky (Rios, 2011). The perceptions of Black and Latino boys and young men as dangerous and criminal results in their behaviors (e.g. hanging out with friends in public spaces, dress, speech) taken up as crimes that need to be controlled, surveilled, and ultimately incarcerated. Access to mainstream constructions of masculinity such as full-time employment are not as available to them due to the lack of institutional support and resources found within communities where jobs are limited and social resources are

depleted. Rios' analysis is consistent with the work cited above in its understanding of the ways in which structural circumstances shape individual actions.

The works above show how gender, race and crime are co-constructed and inform how gendered roles, racialized stereotypes, and definitions of crime create the structural system of criminal justice. Intersections of gender, race, and crime complicate common understandings of crime. By focusing on the way crime is gendered and racially coded in its enforcement, we shed light on the way that the criminal justice system can reify gendered and racialized stereotypes of men and women of color as a way to justify their punishment and imprisonment. Scholars now describe the disproportionate number of people of color who are incarcerated, surveilled, and punished by the legal system as the *carceral state* (Simon, 2007; Wacquant, 2009). The following section reviews key works that explore the relationship between gender, violence, and the carceral state.

4 Theorizing Gender, Violence and the Carceral State

Recent scholarship examines the ways that violence is constructed and experienced within, and as a consequence of, the carceral state (e.g. prison, court, probation). Feminist scholars have also expanded our understanding of the ways that harsh forms of punishment have (and continue to) shape the lives of Black women and girls. The treatment of women of color in the criminal justice system and their vulnerability to imprisonment and punitive punishment is connected to the too-often silenced history of women in the penal system during the Jim Crow era. In *No Mercy Here* (2016), Sarah Haley interrogates the criminalization and sentencing of Black women to chain gangs in Georgia as a way to examine the intersectional relationship between gender, race and punishment. Haley interrogates how womanhood is defined through the antagonistic relationship between Black women and white

women. For example, the chain gang, specifically in Georgia, sustained this oppositional relationship by harshly and violently punishing Black women and girls while rehabilitating and lightly sentencing white women and girls for similar crimes (Haley, 2016). This work exemplifies how the carceral state does not distribute justice for all crimes equally. In fact, social identities are consequential to the type of punishment one receives at the hands of the state.

The work of Beth Richie also illustrates how Black women's outsider status from normative expectations of gender results in their increased vulnerability to arrests and incarceration. In *Compelled to Crime* (1996), Richie investigates how Black women from low-income neighborhoods are made more vulnerable to violence and punishment. Black women and girls who live within concentrated poverty and are exposed to interpersonal and institutional forms of violence are open to criminalization by the legal system (Richie, 1996), which, as was the case in the late 19th and early 20th century, punishes their survival (Haley, 2016). Richie calls this contradictory tension "gender entrapment." Informed by the legal term entrapment (e.g. someone who is compelled to engage in an illicit act), gender entrapment illustrates how, "gender, race/ethnicity, and violence can intersect to create a subtle yet profoundly effective system of organizing women's behaviors into patterns that leave women vulnerable to private and public subordination, to violence in their intimate relationships, and in turn, to participate in illegal activities" (4). Richie identifies six stigmatized identities that make Black women who live in poor neighborhoods more prone to this trap: being women, African American, low income, battered, criminals, and incarcerated. Gender entrapment shows how Black women's vulnerability to violence can lead to their incarceration and involvement in the criminal justice system. From this perspective, criminal offending is understood as a product of institutional abdication from low-income areas and the lack of resources and opportunities for Black women to turn to for support within their communities.

Intersections of race, gender and class also shape the ways that women are viewed and treated while incarcerated, including in rehabilitative programs. In *Breaking Women: Gender, Race, and the New Politics of Imprisonment* (2013), Jill McCorkel explores how a rehabilitative program in prison is used to surveil, harshly punish, and sustain racialized cultural tropes about drug addicted imprisoned women as perpetual social problems (e.g. “crack ho” and “dope fiend”). Racist and sexist rhetoric conditioned the alternative program and contributed to its 85% drop out rate (McCorkel, 2013). Even though this program was created to lower recidivism rates, it reduced problems of addiction to the actions of individuals rather than understanding how being structurally disenfranchised (e.g. coming from low-income neighborhoods with limited resources to offer including employment opportunities and safe housing) also impacted their addiction. The particular significance of McCorkel’s work is that it illuminates how prisons frame women, especially women who are most vulnerable to violence, addiction, and displacement from their homes, as problems that need fixing, which leads to individualized rather than structural interventions. Once released, “rehabilitated” women of color from low-income neighborhoods are often forced back into a cycle of incarceration, addiction, and poverty. In this way, structural systems of disadvantage (re)produce interlocking systems of oppression through penal institutions.

In the final section of this chapter, we turn to a discussion of how Black men and women experience discrete forms of violence that are enacted under a shared vulnerability to structural violence.

5 Beyond Gender Binaries: Theorizing Intersectional Vulnerabilities

The works highlighted in the previous section challenge commonsense and stereotypical representations of violence as individual problems that require punitive sanctions. Each scholar draws on

an intersectional framework in their representation of the relationship between structural circumstances and individual actions. Future work should continue to clarify our understandings of violence by highlighting the ways that structural forms of violence act on and move through people’s minds and bodies in ways that encourage violence and, in turn, legitimize the oppression of people of color, especially those who live in poverty. In this work, we encourage scholars to move beyond gender binaries to examine and represent the ways that “intersectional vulnerabilities”² co-construct gender, violence and punishment.

Kimberlé Crenshaw has used the term *intersectional vulnerability* to explain how men and women are made vulnerable to victimization within the criminal justice system, by law enforcement, and interpersonal violence. Intersectional vulnerability and power structures operate in tandem to systematically marginalize and oppress people of color occupying a diverse range of identities (e.g., race, gender, class, sexuality, nationality, religion, and various identities). Such a framework also encourages feminist scholars to examine the relationship between interpersonal violence and institutional violence, as well as the feminist movement’s relationship to the state.³ The need for the latter effort is argued for in Beth Richie’s *Arrested*

²At the American Sociological Association conference of 2016, a plenary session on Lives “Protesting Racism” was given on the ascension of the Black Matter Movement and public awareness on police brutality and racism. The panel included Kimberlé Crenshaw, Black feminist legal scholar, Charlene Carruthers, the national director of the Black Youth Project, and Mariam Kaba, founding director of Project Nia. The panel centered on their work to address, illuminate, and disrupt the violence inflicted by the state and suggested resolutions to alleviate the brutal and inhumane treatment of the Black community in the United States.

³Intersectional vulnerabilities speaks to what Dana Britton (2000) argued feminist criminology needs to rethink the significance of the state, “Finally, one of the most important issues facing activists in the discipline during the coming years will undoubtedly lie in rethinking feminist criminology’s relationship with the state. Those working on issues connected to women offenders have already recognized the perils of the liberal strategy of strict legal equality. Such policies, when imposed in an

Justice (2012), where she introduces the concept of the “violence matrix.”

In her work, Richie documents the ways that the feminist movement, especially second wave feminism, pushed for equitable legal treatment, council, and protection for women (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Richie, 2012). As Richie explains, the anti-violence movement made demands of the criminal justice system, to punish and protect women from men who perpetrated violence against them (Chesney-Lind, 2006; Richie, 2012). Once grassroots efforts were institutionalized, leadership shifted from women who experience(d) violence to professionals who were more interested in legal reforms that would protect women from violence. Ultimately, the relationship between the anti-violence movement and law and order rhetoric put women who fell outside of normative constructions of femininity in a precarious position (e.g. Black, working class and poor) (Richie, 2012). Richie defines this relationship as a *matrix of violence*, an intersectional formation between violence and ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality that makes Black women vulnerable to various kinds of abuses (2012). One of the examples she uses in her book is of a group of young Black lesbian women who were verbally and physically accosted by a Black man on the street in New York City’s Greenwich Village. The group of women defended themselves against their assailant, but they were charged with assault and found guilty of second-degree gang-assault (Richie, 2012). Richie argues that these six women could not access the protections of the state, protections that exist for some women, because they were framed in the media as a “gang of killer lesbians.” Their race, gender presentation, and sexuality were perceived as a threat; a threat that would presumably be contained by incarceration. The matrix of violence described by Richie not only makes Black women vulnerable to violence by limiting access to protection, it also structures the ways that

young men and boys of color are made vulnerable to violence, specifically state violence.

The work of Angela Harris encourages us to complicate our conceptualization of gender violence to include how men are also vulnerable to violence by other men (2000). She argues the construction of masculinity is mediated through violence: “some men routinely use violence or the threat of violence as a way of presenting themselves as masculine” (Harris, 2000, 788). Masculinity and violence are co-constructed and stratified in ways that reflect race, gender, and class hierarchies. For example, Harris argues, white men symbolize hegemonic masculinity because they can access institutional power; whereas, Black men are perceived as inferior and emasculated by white supremacy. As a consequence, white men are more likely to achieve mainstream masculinity through employment and normative expectations of success while some Black men may access a rebellious masculinity grounded in physical strength and violence (Harris, 2000). Masculinities also shape criminal justice actors such as law enforcement and the justification to use violence as a way to subdue violence. Harris (2000) states,

[P]olice brutality is not random. It follows the vectors of power established in the larger society in which white dominates nonwhite and rich dominates poor. Police often, and not without justification, understand their charge as the protection of “nice” neighborhoods and “decent” people against those perceived to be a threat. In practice, this often means that male power and state power converge on the black and Latino ‘underclass’. (797)

According to Harris, violence reinforces law and order because police work is defined as a masculine occupation and its job is to contain threats. Harris argues that the criminal justice system in particular shapes the relationship between masculinity and violence via social norms and institutional values and practices. To make gender violence an inclusive term means to simultaneously analyze violence against men *and* women as a way to understand intersectional vulnerability to violence, not only by individuals

already unequal and gendered context, have almost invariably disadvantaged women” (73).

but also institutions like law enforcement. The recent work of Nikki Jones further illuminates the relationship between gendered violence, shared vulnerability and the criminal justice system.

In “The Gender of Police Violence,” Jones argues, “the experiences of black women and girls with street harassment, and of black men and boys with police aggression, are both similar and interconnected” (2016, 26). Similar in structure in that both forms of gendered violence rely on physical dominance for control and interconnected in that increased police aggression holds the potential to “send ripples of aggression through a community” (Jones, 2016, 27) and onto the bodies of Black women (cis-gender, trans, and gender non-conforming). This articulation of violence complements the work of Harris, Richie and Crenshaw and complicates conventional literature and media sources where the issues that Black women, girls, and gendered outsiders face in relation to street harassment and police violence are often framed as distinct from discussions of violence that Black men and boys experience at the hands of the state. Building on the work of Patricia Hill Collins in *Black Sexual Politics*, Jones finds both types of violence operate under the same racialized and oppressive institutional power that renders both Black men and women powerless. In this way, Black men and women experience a “shared vulnerability to dominance and violence” (Jones, 2016, 27). Poor Black men are coerced into invasive bodily searches and similarly Black women are subjected to verbal assaults and unwanted touching in public streets; both bodies “can be accessed, penetrated, and controlled at will and without recourse” (Jones, 2016, 27). Intersectional vulnerability reveals how state violence and interpersonal violence are consequential for both Black men and women.

Understood in this way, the criminal justice system is a dubious solution to resolve neighborhood violence or violence against women. Systems of the carceral state have historically used violence to punish and incarcerate people of color, particularly Black youth, men, and women (Davis, 1981; Richie, 2012; Haley, 2016), as

scholarship within interdisciplinary fields (e.g. African American Studies) and Black scholarship in sociology has shown. The lack of consideration and dismissal of early Black researchers like Oliver Cromwell, W.E.B. Dubois, and St. Clair Drake in the study of mainstream sociology (Bhambra, 2014; Duneier, 2016) has resulted in a deficit of theoretical and empirical studies on crime, race, and violence. Mainstream scholars typically examine violence and crimes committed among racially different groups rather than looking at how the institution of criminal justice criminalizes and violently punishes groups of people who fall out of normative constructions of femininity, masculinity, sexuality, class, and race. For future feminist research, it is necessary to apply an interdisciplinary approach to the study of gender, race, and criminal justice as a way to incorporate the historical significance of crime and punishment. This will strengthen contemporary analyses of how violence, criminal justice, and identities operate in tandem at the interpersonal and state levels.

6 Conclusion

Theorizing intersections of race, gender and justice in the ways outlined above provides an analytical and organizing framework that does not privilege one group or set of identities over another. This approach also centers the ways in which various forms of structural violence—like the aggressive policing of Black men in poor neighborhoods—is consequential for other members of a community. Future feminist research should continue to explore the ways that state violence (co)constructs interpersonal violence, particularly among those who are most vulnerable to both forms of violence.

References

- Alexander-Floyd, N. G. (2012). Disappearing acts: Reclaiming intersectionality in the social sciences in a post-Black feminist era. *Feminist Formations*, 24, 1–25.

- Bertrand, M. A. (1969). Self-image and delinquency: A contribution to the study of female criminality and woman's image. *Acta Criminologica*, 2, 71–144.
- Bhambra, G. (2014). A sociological dilemma: Race, segregation and US sociology. *Current Sociology*, 62(4), 472–492.
- Blumstein, A., Cohen, J., Martin, S. E., & Tonry, M. H. (1983). *Research on sentencing: The search for reform*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Britton, D. M. (2000). Feminism in criminology: Engendering the outlaw. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 571, 57–76.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. New-York: Simon & Chuster.
- Burgess-Proctor, A. (2006). Intersections of race, class, gender, and crime future directions for feminist criminology. *Feminist criminology*, 1, 27–47.
- Chesney-Lind, M. (2006). Patriarchy, crime, and justice feminist criminology in an era of backlash. *Feminist criminology*, 1, 6–26.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs*, 38, 785–810.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *U Chi Legal F*, 1, 139–167.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford law review*, 1241–1299.
- Daly, K., & Chesney-Lind, M. (1988). Feminism and criminology. *Justice Quarterly*, 5, 497–538.
- Davis, A. Y. (1981). *Women, race, & class*. Vintage.
- Duneier, M. (2016). *Ghetto: The invention of a place, the history of an idea*. Macmillan.
- Haley, S. (2016). *No mercy here: Gender, punishment, and the making of jim crow modernity*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- Harris, A. P. (2000). Gender, violence, race, and criminal justice. *Stanford Law Review*, 777–807.
- Heidensohn, F. (1968). The deviance of women: A critique and an enquiry. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 19, 160–175.
- Jones, N. (2009). *Between good and ghetto: African American girls and inner-city violence*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Jones, N. (2016). The gender of police violence. *Tikkun*, 31, 25–28.
- Jones, N., & Flores, J. (2012). At the intersections: Race, gender and violence. *Routledge International Handbook of Crime and Gender*, 73–84.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1982). Feminism, marxism, method, and the state: An agenda for theory. *Signs*, 7, 515–544.
- McCorkel, J. A. (2013). *Breaking women: Gender, race, and the new politics of imprisonment*. New York: NYU Press.
- Potter, H. (2015). *Intersectionality and criminology: disrupting and revolutionizing studies of crime*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Richie, B. (1996). *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered black women*. Taylor: Psychology Press.
- Richie, B. (2012). *Arrested justice: Black women, violence, and America's prison nation*. New York: NYU Press.
- Rios, V. M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of Black and Latino boys*. New York: NYU Press.
- Simon, J. (2007). *Governing through crime: How the war on crime transformed American democracy and created a culture of fear*. Oxford University Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Duke University Press.

Kenly Brown is a Ph.D. candidate in African American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, with a designated emphasis in Women, Gender, and Sexuality. Her research examines the intersection of Black girlhood, institutional violence, and alternative schooling.

Nikki Jones is an Associate Professor of African American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. She is the author of *Between Good and Ghetto: African American Girls and Inner-City Violence* and a forthcoming book, *The Chosen Ones: Black Men and the Politics of Redemption*.



Cheryl Cooky

Abstract

Despite the seeming affinity between gender in sports contexts and the theoretical and methodological orientations of the field of sociology of gender, research studies of sport have, for the most part, been marginalized. With few exceptions, most edited collections and anthologies on sociology of gender do not include a chapter on sport (Malcolm in *Sport and Sociology*. Routledge, London, 2012). In this chapter, I offer insights into several factors that explains the marginalization of sport within the field of sociology of gender despite sport's relevance to gender scholars. Next, I provide a brief overview of key thematic trends in the research relevant to sociology of gender scholars, and offer a discussion and critique of the relevant approaches. I conclude with a few comments regarding future directions in the field of sociology of sport and gender.

1 Introduction

I began writing this chapter during a number of high-profile stories in the world of sports, each of which pertain to topics considered the “main-stay” of conventional feminist sociological inquiry: workplace discrimination, the wage gap, unequal media coverage, and sexual assault. In March of 2016, the United States national women's soccer team filed a wage discrimination suit with the Equal Opportunity Commission against U.S. Soccer (the governing body that oversees both the national men's and women's teams). The women's team claimed they were paid less than their male counterparts, despite having the same work requirements. In fact, as the American women won the 2015 World Cup and returned home to ticker tape parades, media appearances, and sold out crowds, the team struggled with low compensation and access to the resources they had so clearly earned and deserved. The U.S. women's team earned \$2 million from FIFA in their 2015 World Cup win while the U.S. men's team received \$9 million for their 2014 World Cup performance, despite being eliminated in a very early round of the tournament (Cooky, 2016a). A year later, the U.S. women's national hockey team threatened to boycott the International Ice Hockey Federation world championship games. The U.S. women's hockey team claimed USA Hockey (the governing body that oversees the men's and

C. Cooky (✉)
Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, USA
e-mail: ccooky@purdue.edu

women's national teams) unfairly treated the women's team, devoting higher wages and better resources to the men. Both the U.S. soccer and hockey teams were successful in settling their disputes out of court. While the terms of the settlements have not been publicized, in the case of the women's hockey team, USA Hockey has agreed to devote more resources to the talent development of the sport in the youth leagues, a key component to their success and longevity.

During the summer of 2016, at ESPN's annual ESPY (Excellence in Sport Performance Yearly) Awards ceremony former University of Connecticut (UConn) women's basketball center and 4-time National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) champion Breanna Stewart, received the "Best Female Athlete" award. During her acceptance speech, Stewart observed that while at UConn she "received an enormous amount of media attention," however now that she is playing in the Women's National Basketball Association (she was the number one draft pick in 2016 for the Seattle Storm) she is struck by how professional female athletes do not receive anywhere near the "amount of fame." Her statement, "This has to change!" was received by generous audience applause. She concluded her speech with the following declaration, "Equality for all, takes each of us." This was a loud and clear call for gender equality in the sport media coverage of men's and women's sports (Cooky, 2016b).

That summer was also the year of the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, Brazil. While female athletes and women's sports tend to receive more equitable coverage during Olympic years than non-Olympic years, and in some cases the media coverage of women's sports exceeds that of men's (Coche & Tuggle, 2016), the broadcast coverage of the 2016 Games was rife with overt sexism. For example the *Chicago Tribune* referred to the Olympic bronze medal trap shooter Corey Cogdell as "wife of Chicago Bears' lineman." World record breaker in a number of swimming events, Katie Ledecky, was referred to as "the next Michael Phelps" and her athletic dominance was attributed to the fact she "swims like a man." John Miller, the Director of

Marketing at NBC (the television network who purchased the rights to broadcast the Olympic games), explained the network's coverage of the Games, which focused less on the competitive events and more on the backstories of American athletes: "More women watch the Games than men, and for the women, they're less interested in the result and more interested in the journey" (for a discussion see: Cooky, 2017a, b). While sexism in sports media coverage is not a new phenomenon, indeed a longitudinal study attests to that fact (see: Cooky, Messner, & Musto, 2015), what was surprising and different about the 2016 Olympics, was the "call out" culture on social media. Moreover, it was not only alternative, progressive, and feminist media that presented a critique of sexism in the broadcast and news media coverage, but mainstream print and online news media incorporated this feminist critique into their own coverage of the 2016 Games. Headlines exclaimed, "Media around the world condemned for sexist coverage," "The most sexist moments from the Olympics, so far," and "How sexism is harming young girls." Surprisingly, a dominant framing of the Rio Olympics was sexism in the media coverage itself!

There has also been increased media attention to sexual assault in sports, including the high-profile case against Baylor University, where over the course of several years, members of the university's football team raped and assaulted a number of undergraduate students while the football coach and Baylor administrators, including the infamous Ken Starr, former special investigator in the Bill Clinton/Monica Lewinsky sex scandal and Baylor's now-former president, covered up the assaults and failed to comply with Title IX regulations. USA Gymnastics (the governing body for the USA Olympic teams) is also embroiled in a sexual abuse scandal. An investigative report by the *Indianapolis Star* published in August of 2016 found a pattern of silencing of victims whereby USA Gymnastics failed to report allegations of abuse by its coaches, often transferring suspected coaches to other gyms without informing athletes. The *IndyStar* investigation uncovered 368 gymnasts to alleged sexual abuse over the course

of twenty years. In March of 2017, sixteen U.S. senators introduced a bipartisan bill titled, “Protecting Young Victims from Sexual Abuse Act of 2017,” that would make it a federal crime for Olympic governing bodies to fail to promptly report child sexual abuse allegations to authorities. The bill has the support of well-respected Senators Diane Feinstein (D-California) and Marco Rubio (R-Florida).

These examples illustrate the relevance of sport as a fruitful site of inquiry in sociology of gender. Moreover, while these are contemporary examples, the broader concerns regarding workplace discrimination, unequal media coverage, and sexual violence in sports have historically plagued women’s sports; consider the activism in the 1970s of Billy Jean King, who, along with other women tennis players, protested their unequal treatment by the U.S. Tennis Association (USTA) creating their own tennis association, the Women’s Tennis Association (WTA) and tour, The Virginia Slims tour. Moreover, the unequal media coverage of women’s sports has been an ongoing concern among women’s sports advocacy groups and feminist academics (see: Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1993; Cooky, Messner, & Musto, 2015).

Yet, despite the seeming affinity between gender in sports contexts and the theoretical and methodological orientations in the field of sociology of gender, research studies of sport have, for the most part, been marginalized. A recent search in the journal *Gender & Society*, the top ranked peer-reviewed academic journal both in the disciplinary fields of sociology and women’s studies, produced only twelve research articles where sport is the focus. With few exceptions, most edited collections and anthologies on sociology of gender do not include a chapter on sport (Malcolm, 2012). This chapter provides a rationale for the study of sport in sociology of gender. I offer insights into several factors that explain the marginalization of sport within the field of sociology of gender. Next, I provide a brief overview of key thematic trends relevant to sociology of gender scholars and offer a discussion and critique of the relevant approaches. I conclude with a few comments regarding

possible future directions for research in the field of sociology of sport and gender.

2 Sport, Where for Art Thou?

Research on gender and sport, and many of the scholars who produce this research, reside along the disciplinary intersections of sociology, kinesiology, and women’s studies. As a self-described *feminist sports sociologist*, whose formal academic training includes degrees/academic certificates in each of the above disciplines, I find myself occupying liminal and intersectional spaces: within the field of sociology, sport is marginalized (consider there is no division within the American Sociological Association on sport); within the field of kinesiology, feminism and sociology are both marginalized (kinesiology tends to be dominated by the biomedical and natural sciences, and particularly as of late, the social sciences and humanities have been eliminated from many kinesiology departments in the USA, see: Andrews, 2008), and within women’s studies/feminism, sports have not been viewed as a central area of inquiry unlike other social institutions, such as workplace organizations, politics, the family, religion and so on (Cooky, 2017a, b). As M. Ann Hall, feminist sports scholar, noted in the early 1990s, “women’s studies programs in general have not embraced sports and leisure, nor have they been perceived as particularly inviting to physical education and sports studies students.” (Hall, 1993, p. 54). For Hall, “the problem ... is that those with either a background in cultural studies or just entering the field ... are not interested in sport, whereas those interested in sport have neither the theoretical preparation nor methodological expertise to do the work.” (1993, p. 58). Within the field of sociology of sports, many do not have formal academic training in sociology, rather they may have degrees in kinesiology, physical cultural studies, history, American Studies, sports management, communication, and so on. The obvious exception are those trained in the “Southern California School” by Michael Messner,

including Shari L. Dworkin, Faye L. Wachs, Sohaila Shakib, Jeff Montez de Oca, Nicole Willms, James McKeever, Jeff Sacha, Michela Musto, Chelsea Johnson, myself, and others. Moreover, research on sport, and specifically as it relates to gender, has typically been disseminated and published in the sociology of sport field (i.e. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* or in journals of other sub-disciplinary fields, such as *Journal of Sports History*, *Journal of Sport Management*, *Quest*, *Communication & Sport*, etc.). In addition, at the beginning of the development of the sub-field of the sociology of sport in the 1960s and 1970s, feminist inquiry and research on women's issues in sport was relatively obscure, in part due to the link between the empirical focus of the research (women/gender) and the theoretical framework (feminism), as well as institutional sexism (Malcolm, 2012; Messner & Sabo, 1990). It has been only the past 20–30 years that feminist scholarship in the sociology of sport has gained legitimacy. By the 1990s, Jay Coakley, one of the founders of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS), claimed that gender was the most popular topic in the field of sociology of sport (Malcolm, 2012). Yet, while Messner & Sabo raised doubts regarding the presence of feminist analyses of sports prior to the 1980s, Malcolm (2012) suggests one could argue little has changed. Indeed, despite the increased popularity of gender as an object of inquiry in the sociology of sport in the 1980s and 1990s, sport continues to remain at the margins in sociology of gender. Yet, some indicators suggest this trend may be changing. Nearly half of the articles on sport in *Gender & Society* (5 of 12) have been published between 2011 and 2016, signaling perhaps a recognition of sport as a central social institution among the journal editors and reviewers, as well as a recognition among feminist sports sociologists that *Gender & Society* is a “home” for their scholarship.

The field of gender and sport is quite diverse and includes not only the sociology of sport, which since the 1990s has been heavily dominated by feminist cultural studies of sports (Malcolm, 2012; Birrell & Cole, 1990/1994),

informed by postmodern and post-structuralist theories, but also other sub-fields in kinesiology such as sports psychology, sports management, sports communication, sports psychology, sports history, among others. Indeed, there have been discussions within the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport to consider a name change so as to better capture the multiple disciplinary perspectives that often fall under the umbrella of sociology of sport; not to mention the field includes studies on health, fitness, leisure, exercise, physical cultures such that “sport” fails to capture the diversity of scholarship presented at the conference and published in the journal, *Sociology of Sport Journal*. Moreover, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands of books, journal articles, book chapters, edited collections on “gender and sport.” As such, to make this task somewhat manageable and given the Handbook's focus and objective, I will focus on key thematic trends in gender and sport, articulated by sociologists or those drawing on a sociological perspective, to evaluate and assess what topics and theories have currency in this field. Given my positionality, located at the liminal spaces in between the disciplinary boundaries of kinesiology, sociology, and women's/gender studies in the USA, I hope to offer insights into how these trends may mirror topics and theories outside of the sociology of gender.

3 Key Thematic Trends in Sociology of Gender and Sport

3.1 Sports as a Site for Male Domination, Sports as the Last Male Preserve

One of the significant developments and contributions in the sociology of gender resides in the conceptualization of sports as a social institution and cultural practice that both constitutes and is constituted by gender. More importantly, similar to many social institutions, sports are not gender neutral. In fact, sports serve to maintain gendered power relations and hierarchies, and in particular masculine hegemony, in ways not possible in

other social institutions. This is because sports are one of the remaining if not the last social institution by which girls and boys, women and men are sex segregated. It is this sex segregation, in conjunction with the salience of the body and its attendant ideologies that situate sports as an important social and cultural site for the reproduction of masculine superiority and feminine inferiority. Some of the first sociological analyses of gender and sport were published in the 1980s. These analyses, discussed below, continue to resonate in the 21st century given the relevant insights regarding contemporary gender dynamics and institutional arrangements in sport, and the unevenness of social change in sports (see: Cooky & Messner, 2018).

One of the first articles written in the sociology of gender and sport was “Women, Sports and Ideology” by Paul Willis (1982/1994), author of the classic sociological theory text, *Learning to Labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. The article itself has been cited nearly 250 times according to CAB Direct.¹ In the opening statement, Willis offers the reader a caveat.

What follows is an essay in ideas. It is only a fragment towards the final critical mapping of sport within the social totality. It provides no proper empirical basis for analysis, provides no history of women in sport, and does not develop an inclusive theory of ideology. (...) My limited aim is to explore one of the crucial questions within the larger operation of ideological processes in the specific area of women in sport: how a set of ideas which bear a particular “guilty” relation to support and formation to dominant groups and dominant ideas nevertheless appear “freely” on the market place of ideas: unbiased, neutral and the property of any independent mind prepared to use “common sense” and “work things out for itself.” (Willis, 1982/1994; p. 31).

In this essay, Willis examines sports’ ideological function in reproducing and reaffirming masculine privilege. For Willis, sports are uniquely positioned to do this ideological work given the ways in which, “sport and biological

beliefs about gender difference combine into one of the few privileged areas where we seem to be dealing with unmediated ‘reality,’ where we know ‘what’s what’ without having to listen to the involved, self-serving analyses of theorists, analysts, political groups, etc.” (p. 31). Sports performances are physical, objective, and achieved in and through the body. Given the “natural” differences between men’s and women’s physical capabilities and capacities, any difference we observe in sports performances are thus presumably the result of these “natural” gender differences. As Willis observes, “The natural is one of the grounds of ideology because of its apparent autonomy from ‘biased’ interpretation (p. 32).”

Yet, even if researchers (often in the biomedical sciences) are able to empirically find gender differences in sport performances, according to Willis, this alone does not offer much insight. Instead, he wishes to articulate an approach to women in sport, an *analytic cultural criticism*. From this approach, the social and cultural factors by which these gender differences occur, and moreover, why these gender differences come to matter in the first place must be considered. The goal is “not to measure these differences precisely and explain them physically, but to ask *why* some differences, and not others, are taken as so important, become so exaggerated, are used to buttress social attitudes or prejudice” (pp. 33–340). Often defenders of the ideological framework of natural difference (what we may term today, gender essentialism) use sports to explain, justify, and legitimate gender inequalities, especially as they manifest in sports; for example, the lack of media coverage of women’s sports is not because of sexism, rather because women’s sports performances are less than men’s—women cannot run as fast, jump as high, etc.—and therefore less interesting to watch.

Willis outlines several basic characteristics on how sports are seen in our society and how patriarchal ideology informs our popular views on women in sport. These characteristics include how women’s achievements are compared to male achievement, which is the norm or referent,

¹CAB Direct is a database of bibliographic database for the social and life sciences. See <https://www.cabdirect.org/>.

how the female athlete is rendered a sex object—“a body which may excel in sport, but which is primarily an object of pleasure for man” (p. 35), and the linkages between physical achievement and masculinity. Moreover, what is critical here for Willis is that these ideologies become “common sense,” appearing as natural, inherent, and inevitable. In the conclusion, Willis offers a quite radical statement regarding the unmet potential regarding the purpose of sport ... “sport could be presented as a form of activity which emphasizes human similarity and not dissimilarity.” (p. 44). As we continue to see, particularly with issues regarding sex testing of athletes in women’s competitions or in debates regarding trans inclusion in sex segregated sports, sports in the 21st century certainly continue to emphasize human dissimilarity, particularly as it exists along sex/gender/sexuality.

In a highly influential article titled, “Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony,” Lois Bryson, an Australian sociologist (1987/1994) noted the lack of feminist inquiry of sports and encouraged women’s studies/sociology of gender scholars to consider sport as an important topic, one crucial to understanding women’s oppression. She wrote, “... if we are to understand the processes of our domination, we ignore sport at our peril.” (1994, p. 47). Writing at a time when girls and women’s sports were highly marginalized, Bryson centered sport in modern gender arrangements and argued sport is “basic to maintain masculine hegemony in that sport crucially privileges males and inferiorizes women” (ibid. p. 48). Drawing upon a diversity of examples, including the way sport is defined (in ways that engage boys/men, not girls/women) and the direct control of women’s sports by men (the lack of women in key decision making/leadership positions in sports organizations, governing bodies such as the International Olympic Committee, and in sports media), Bryson illustrated how the organization of sports is such that boys and men are encouraged in their participation (Bryson, 1987/1994). Bryson argued that even when women are able to successfully challenge male

definitions and male control of sport, the result is that women’s sport is either ignored or trivialized. Bryson explains,

...it does become clear that where women do achieve what men see as significant performances, these are likely to be ignored and forgotten. If threat is too great they may be excluded from the arena entirely. Only in this way can men maintain their power and sustain the view...that ‘virtually all women’s sport is second rate’.” (Clancy, 1985: 2; as cited in Bryson, 1994; p. 57). Thus, we must recognize the ignoring of women’s sport as not merely a passive and inadvertent act. It is a dynamic process and one which is invoked to protect hegemonic masculinity.

In other words, participation, whether it be as athletes, as coaches, as leaders, or as sports reporters/producers, itself alone does not challenge masculine domination; women’s sports talents and achievements become marginalized through these other mechanisms.

Michael A. Messner, an American sociologist and gender studies scholar (and founding scholar of what I refer to as the “Southern California School”) offers important insights into how sports developed in ways intricately tied to dominant articulations of masculinity. In his classic and influential essay (740 citations according to Human Kinetics publishing), “Sports and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested Ideological Terrain”² Messner (1988/1994) outlines the “crisis of masculinity and the rise of organized sports” to illustrate, “... gender relations, along with their concomitant images of masculinity and femininity, change and develop historically as a result of interactions between men and women within socially structured limits and constraints.” (1994, p. 76).

In the United States, modern sports emerged during the late 19th/early 20th century, a time characterized by massive social changes to key social structures, including the economy/work, family, education, among others, precipitated by urbanization and industrialization, coupled with shifting gendered power relations. Tracing the historical trajectory of sports in the U.S.,

²This discussion of Messner (1988) can be found in the forthcoming book, *Feminisms in Sport, Leisure and Education* (Palgrave).

Messner notes how the rise of organized sports during the 20th century corresponded with two crises of masculinity, the first occurred during the turn of the 20th century and the second, during the post-World War II era. During the first crisis, sport developed as a “male-created homosocial cultural sphere that provided men with psychological separation from the perceived feminization of society while also providing dramatic symbolic proof of the ‘natural superiority’ of men over women.” (Messner, 1988, 2007, p. 35). During the second crisis, Messner notes that the rise of mass spectator sports corresponded with an economic shift from entrepreneurial capitalism to corporate capitalism which produced the docile consumer. There was also a decline in the centrality of physical prowess in the labor market and military; a decline that was not accompanied by a similar decline in the psychological need for ideological gender difference. As such, spectator sports, which symbolically illustrated the strength, virility, dominance, and power of the male body, rose in prominence to culturally reassert and reaffirm “natural” gender differences and men’s dominance over women (Messner, 1988). Thus, “women’s movement into sport represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies and self-definitions, and as such it represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination. Yet, (...) this quest for equality is not without tension...” (Messner, 1988, 2007, p. 32). For Messner, the social meaning of the muscle/performance gap and the framing of female athletes by the sports media threaten to subvert any counterhegemonic potential posed by female athletes. Thus, the female athlete as “contested ideological terrain.”

Messner outlined the media’s role as more than just a conduit for gender ideologies; the media provide frameworks of meaning that offer interpretations of sports events, athletes, and sports controversies. Given that historically sport has served as a site for the ideological legitimization of male superiority and dominance, Messner argued it was imperative to examine the media frameworks for female athletes. In the context of American organized sports, those frameworks, as

noted above, are the marginalization of women’s sports by not covering women’s sports events or female athletes, the trivialization of women by sexualizing female athletes, or framing female athletes in gendered domestic roles of wives or mothers. Messner argued this type of framing of female athletes as sexual objects or sexual/gender deviants, thus explaining the prevalence of representations of female athletes as wives and mothers, was unsustainable if the sport media were to retain their legitimacy. Indeed, Messner (1988) suggested women’s sports were increasingly being covered by “objective” reporting that did not engage in trivialization and sexualization. Instead, the sport media were treating female athletes as “equal” to male athletes in their coverage while neglecting the reality of the historical and ideological development of sports wherein sports were organized to display and celebrate the extreme abilities and capabilities of the male body. Thus, the media’s treatment of female athletes “equal” to their male counterpart, in other words the same, and “objectively” reporting on the statistics regarding and outcomes of sports performances (such as finish times in a marathon, the distance of a tee shot in golf, the speed at which a tennis player serves the ball, the length by which a long jumper can travel or the distance a high jumper can jump, how much weight a weightlifter can lift, and so on), the sport media “provides support for the ideology of meritocracy while at the same time offers incontrovertible evidence of the ‘natural differences’ between males and females” (ibid. p. 42). Stated simply, gender ideologies are quite often simultaneously reaffirmed and challenged in sport media coverage of female athletes and women’s sports.

4 Southern California School

While these pivotal studies were published in the 1980s, the field of gender and sport, specifically feminist cultural studies of sports, would explode in the 1990s and 2000s, with much of this research published by scholars who resided in departments/disciplines outside of sociology of

gender (for a thorough summary of key developments in the broader field of gender and sport see: Malcolm, 2012). A key exception was the Southern California School. The School originated in the research by Michael A. Messner. The School would continue to gain prominence through Messner's mentorship of graduate students who would go on to produce influential and highly respected scholarship (winning book awards, journal article awards, and so on) in the field of sociology of gender and sport. As influenced by Messner, the roots which are evident in the "Female athlete as contested ideological terrain" essay discussed above, the Southern California School produced a body of scholarship that explored and examined the following thematic areas: hegemonic masculinity as it is reproduced and contested in sports contexts (Shari Dworkin & Faye Wachs would extend this analysis to fitness and health contexts); media coverage of women's sports/female athletes and symbolic/cultural representations of sports, and specifically how that coverage is gendered; and qualitative research (participant observations, interviews, ethnographies) on the experiences of sports participants, both in co-ed and single-sex sports contexts, and how participant experiences in sports are informed by gender as it manifests on the structural, cultural, and interactional levels, an important theoretical framework Messner (2002) articulated in his award winning book, *Taking the Field*.

5 Conclusion and Future Directions

Given both historical and contemporary dynamics, sports are understood as an important site for the reproduction of and challenge to gendered practices and interactions, structural/institutional arrangements, and ideologies. Scholars argue sports cannot be understood outside of an analysis of gender relations and gendered power dynamics. The historical foundation of modern sports in the Global North, along with organizational structure by which sports are sex segregated, positions sociological theories of gender

as particularly salient to explaining sports contexts. The key themes and perspectives discussed have been influential in shaping the scholarship, both within the field of sociology of gender and sport, as well as in gender and sport more broadly defined. Moreover, what is of particular interest is the way in which scholars today continue to find utility in the conceptual frameworks and arguments put forth by Willis, Bryson, and Messner (among others) over thirty years later. In our book, *No Slam Dunk*, (Cooky & Messner, 2018) we argue for the need to consider the unevenness of social change in sports and provide the reader with several theoretical and empirical insights to explain why we see progress in some areas and stagnation or even backlash in others. Future research should continue to explore the "both/and," the complexity and nuance of gender in sports, while taking care not to neglect the very real ways sports continues to reproduce the ideologies Willis, Bryson, and Messner outlined thirty years ago.

Moving forward, while intersectionality is a dominant theoretical perspective in the sociology of gender, it is less so in the realm of gender and sport. This may be due in part to the prevalence and influence of feminist cultural studies in the broader field of gender and sport, and the post-modern/post-structuralist approaches within feminist cultural studies. Since the 1990s, there is an increasing number of studies in gender and sport that consider multiple axes of difference in their work, and even examine "race, class, and gender (and/or sexuality/religion/disability, and so on)," we must also consider the other facets of intersectionality theory, as articulated by Patricia Hill Collins, including how "both/and perspectives," rather than "either/or perspectives," of social locations are used to understand the ways in which individuals (and social institutions) are situated within interlocking forms of privilege/dominance and oppression/subordination. This framework has been of particular utility in discussing diverse topics from the mainstream print news media coverage of women's sports (see: Cooky, Wachs, Messner, & Dworkin, 2010) as well as the

experience of cheerleaders at historically black colleges and universities (Johnson, 2015).

Rather than articulate specific topics or research questions sociologists of gender should consider in their future research, in conclusion I would like to issue a call for sociologists of gender to consider sports contexts as an important site for the exploration of gendered dynamics. Sports intersects with most if not all major social institutions and as such can be a ripe area for new research trajectories for scholars. Indeed, the inclusion of a chapter on sports in a Handbook on the sociology of gender speaks to the increased visibility and viability of inquiry into sports within the discipline, as well as the recognition among feminist scholars of the importance of sports as a site from which to examine and explain broader gender dynamics and inequalities.

References

- Andrews, D. L. (2008). Kinesiology's *Inconvenient Truth* and the Physical cultural studies imperative. *Quest, 1*, 45–62.
- Birrell, S., & Cole, C. L. (1990/1994). Double fault: Renee Richards and the construction and naturalization of difference. In S. Birrell & C. L. Cole (Eds.), *Women, sport, and culture* (pp. 373–397). USA: Human Kinetics Publishers.
- Bryson, L. (1987/1994). Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony. In S. Birrell & C. L. Cole (Eds.), *Women, sport, and culture* (pp. 47–64). USA: Human Kinetics Publishers.
- Coche, R., & Tuggle, C. A. (2016). The women's Olympics?: A gender analysis of NBC's coverage of the 2012 London Summer Games. *Electronic News, 10*(2), 121–138.
- Cooky, C. (forthcoming). Gender, sport, and media: Developments, trajectories, and transformations. In L. Mansfield, J. Caudwell, R. Watson, & B. Wheaton (Eds.), *Feminism in Sport, Leisure, and Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cooky, C. (2017). Women, sports, and activism. In H. McCammon, L. V. Yaylor, J. Reger & R. Einwohner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of US Women's Social Movement Activism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cooky, C. (2017). "We cannot stand idly by": A necessary call for a public sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1*–32.
- Cooky, C. (2016a). Striking goals for pay and prize parity in sport. *Gender & Society* blog. <https://gendersociety.wordpress.com/2016/06/29/striking-goals-for-pay-and-prize-parity-in-sport/>.
- Cooky, C. (2016b). "This has to change!": News media coverage of women's sports. *Contexts: Understanding People in their Social Worlds*. <https://contexts.org/articles/making-sports-more-sporting/#cooky>.
- Cooky, C., & Messner, M. A. (2018). *No slam dunk: Gender, sport and the unevenness of social change*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Cooky, C., Messner, M. A., & Musto, M. (2015). "It's dude time!: A quarter century of excluding women's sports in televised news and highlight shows. *Communication & Sport, 3*, 261–287.
- Cooky, C., Wachs, F. L., Messner, M. A., & Dworkin, S. L. (2010). It's not about the game: Don Imus, race, class, gender and sexuality in contemporary media. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 27*, 139–159.
- Hall, M. A. (1993). Gender and sport in the 1990s: Feminism, culture and politics. *Sport Science Review, 2*(1), 48–68.
- Johnson, C. M. E. (2015). "Just because I dance like a ho I'm not a ho": Cheerleading at the intersection of race, class, and gender. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 32*(4), 377–394.
- Malcolm, D. (2012). *Sport and Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Messner, M. A. (1988/1994). Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain. In S. Birrell & C. L. Cole (Eds.), *Women, sport, and culture* (pp. 65–80). USA: Human Kinetics Publishers.
- Messner, M. A. (2002). *Taking the field: Women, men and sports*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Messner, M. A. (2007). *Out of play: Critical essays on gender and sport*. USA: SUNY Press.
- Messner, M. A., & Sabo, D. F. (1990). *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers.
- Messner, M. A., Duncan, M. C., & Jensen, K. (1993). Separating the men from the girls: The gendered language of televised sports. *Gender & Society, 7*, 121–137.
- Willis, P. (1982/1994). Women in sport in ideology. In S. Birrell & C. L. Cole (Eds.), *Women, sport, and culture* (pp. 31–45). USA: Human Kinetics Publishers.

Cheryl Cooky is an associate professor in the American Studies program at Purdue University. She is co-author of the book, *No Slam Dunk: Gender, Sport, and the Unevenness of Social Change*.



Amy Armenia

Abstract

For all the attention paid to wage labor and the market, it is only in recent decades that scholars have begun to focus on care, the work that we do to nurture and support each other in our society. The study of care is a distinctively feminist endeavor, as it highlights a body of labor that is critically important to society, commonly devalued as “women’s work,” and considered a central mechanism in the reproduction of gender inequalities in our society. In this chapter, I review the background of carework theory and research, including the definition of care, social and economic impact of care, exploration of paid and unpaid care work, and global dimensions of care. I conclude with some attention to the limitations of current research, and directions for future work.

For all the attention paid to wage labor and the market, it is only in recent decades that we have begun to focus on care, the work that we do to nurture and support each other in our society. Care work precedes and follows market activity. It is done in the home and the market, paid and unpaid, for relations, friends, and strangers. Care

is ubiquitous and inevitable. Every member of our society needs care, due to age, illness or disability; every member also gives care. Care transcends all social divisions, and to study care is to challenge some of the most pervasive dichotomies in society: work and family, public and private, dependence and autonomy, skill and emotion.

The study of care is an interdisciplinary, and distinctively feminist, endeavor, as it highlights a body of labor that is critically important to society, commonly devalued as “women’s work,” and considered a central mechanism in the reproduction of gender inequalities in our society. Research on care stretches across numerous disciplines: sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, education, public health, and others. In all of these disciplines, studying and valuing care—traditionally women’s work—means using a feminist perspective as a central mode of analysis.

In this chapter, I review the background of carework theory and research, including the social and economic impact of care, exploration of paid and unpaid care work, and global dimensions of care. I conclude with some attention to the limitations of current research, and directions for future work.

A. Armenia (✉)
Rollins College, Winter Park, USA
e-mail: aarmenia@rollins.edu

1 What Is Care? and Why Should We Study It?

Like other topics that are associated with women and the privacy of family and home, scholars have struggled to elevate and conceptualize care as an important research topic. In the introduction to one of the first collections on the topic, Abel and Nelson (1990) highlight the importance of “feminist reformulation” in bringing attention to the often ignored, but growing, needs of care givers and receivers in contemporary society.

The first challenge of revaluing care is contesting the lay definition of care as primarily an emotion. Scholarly conceptions of care are rooted in an understanding of care as work, rather than just an emotional response. Tronto (1993) sees care as both an interest—a “reaching out to something other than the self,”—but also as action, as the taking on of a burden (102). In their classic piece on care, Fisher and Tronto (1990, 40) define care as “a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible.”

Fisher and Tronto (1990) allow for a more careful consideration of care giving and receiving by elaborating four components of care: caring about, taking care of, caregiving, and care-receiving. *Caring about* is the process of noticing care needs. *Taking care* refers to the taking of responsibility for initiating and maintaining care. The hands-on work of care is *caregiving*, and *care-receiving* is the response to that care by the recipient. The delineation of these aspects of care allows for examination of how they can be shaped by the availability of time, economic resources, emotional and social connections, and societal expectations. In her more recent work, Tronto (2013) has added a fifth dimension of care, *caring with*, that moves issues of care beyond the interpersonal, into the public and political realm and considers how to make care consistent with “democratic values of justice, equality and freedom” (p. 23).

Fisher and Tronto’s definition also alludes to the importance of care work in its role as “re-productive labor” that makes “productive

labor”—in the formal labor market—possible (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). The slave, unpaid, or underpaid care work of women of color has supported white families throughout US history (Thornton-Dill, 1988; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Glenn, 2010, 2015). Glenn (2010, 2015) shows how coercing slaves, Native American girls, female prisoners, European immigrants, Mexicans, Chinese laborers, and Indians to perform care work facilitated settler colonialism and westward expansion. For these women, care work blurred the lines between reproduction and production.

Despite the importance and ubiquity of care work, mainstream economists have often trivialized or ignored the role of such labor. Feminist economists have fought this exclusion by highlighting the contribution and magnitude of “the other economy” (Razavi, 2007a), which includes home production (especially significant in developing economies) and unpaid care work done by family and friends.¹ Other scholars have underscored the importance of care work by conceptualizing it as part of the “human infrastructure” of society, a formulation that highlights its social value and also suggests a significant role for the state in supporting such activity, as it does for roads and schools (Duffy, Albelda, & Hammonds, 2013).

Definitions of care have examined the position of the care recipient as well. Some have distinguished “care” from other personal service work by focusing on the dependency of recipients, suggesting that recipients of care are those who are unable “by normal social standard [to] provide for all of their own care because of age, illness, or disability” (Duffy et al., 2013). Folbre and Wright (2012) dispute the idea that care is only about providing what one cannot provide for oneself. Instead, they argue that we all give help and rely on others for help, and that this

¹Care work is not, however, synonymous with unpaid labor. Care work is distinguished by the type and objective of the tasks performed, typically defined as the meeting of physical, social, and emotional needs of others, rather than by the location of the work, remuneration (or lack thereof), or the relationship between care giver and recipient.

interdependence and exchange of care is central to our well-being as individuals and as a society. They do, however, recognize the unique social importance of caring for dependents—those who cannot provide for their own needs—as a form of investment in others’ capabilities.

Care is work, to be sure, but it is not *just* work, and conceptualizing care also means grappling with the role of emotion. Service jobs increasingly require workers to do “emotional labor,” defined by Hochschild (2012) as “the management of feeling” that is “sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value” (p. 7n). Care work similarly involves emotional labor but goes beyond this, entailing “genuine emotional engagement” with the recipient, rather than just the performance of emotion (Folbre & Wright, 2012, 6). This emotional engagement can motivate care, and enrich the quality of care, as it may enable care givers to better understand the unique needs of care recipients over time.

2 Prior Research on Care

The broad conceptualization of care outlined above leads to some difficulty in constructing a coherent review of literature on the topic. Relevant research on care includes vast literatures on specific types of care work within families (e.g., mothering, fathering, care for elderly relatives, parental leave, disability studies) and in the market (e.g., child care, health care, social work, elder care, education).

Similar to early second wave feminism (and its associated scholarship), the early work on care focused largely on the ways that marriage and family responsibilities contributed to the oppression of women. Black feminist critiques of this movement and scholarship drew attention to the race and class bias inherent in this viewpoint, and the ways that poor women and women of color fought to be able to care for their families, rather than to escape care responsibilities (Zinn, 1994). Care scholarship has followed this point and counterpoint, beginning with the highlighting of care responsibilities, then re-valuing of those contributions, and progressing into a more

intersectional view of care, which necessarily included paid care work and global views of care work.

The push to build bridges between these separate literatures is recent and still in development. In addition to silos of scholarship defined by sector, much of this research has necessarily been country-specific, given vast differences in the structure and resources of the care sector across nations. Few scholars have managed to conduct inclusive, qualitative studies of care work, broadly defined. However, some have invited comparisons and connections with the use of edited collections of such research (see, for example, Abel & Nelson, 1990; Harrington Meyer, 2000; Duffy, Armenia, & Stacey, 2015). These collections have pulled together research across occupation and sector to highlight commonalities and contrasts in the ideologies, conditions, and challenges of different types of care workers in different settings: home and institutions, care for elders, children, or the ill/disabled, paid and unpaid care work.

With the availability of large-scale time use and labor market data over time, quantitative researchers have made considerable progress in looking at these different types of work and workers under the conceptual umbrella of care. Duffy (2011) uses a century of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, and looks across child care, health care, social work, and education, to trace the changes in who provides care as it relates to changes in the definition of good care. Central to her analysis, she highlights the existence of a large sector of domestic workers who do much of the paid care work in the early 20th century. This sector shrinks over the course of the 20th century, as more specialized workforces develop to handle child care, health care, elder care, and mental health needs. To ignore this shift is also to ignore the changing demographics of the care workforce, from a domestic service workforce that was predominantly made up of African-American women, to a bifurcated workforce where newly-professionalized care jobs are filled by white women, and women of color continue to do the lowest-paid care jobs.

Duffy et al. (2013) use data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) on unpaid care activities, American Community Survey (ACS) data on paid labor activities, and government budget documents on public investment to measure the size of the entire “care sector” in one state, Massachusetts. They find that care labor makes up approximately one-fifth of the average residents’ daily time, 22% of the labor force, and 57% of state and local government spending.

Much of the current research on care tends to focus on either paid or unpaid labor, and these are addressed separately below. However, it should be noted that the line between paid and unpaid labor can be fuzzy, as argued by feminists of color (Thornton-Dill, 1988; Zinn, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Glenn, 2010, 2015) and demonstrated by wage replacement policies which compensate family caregivers (Stacey & Ayers, 2012).

3 Unpaid Care

Lay conceptions of care often romanticize an ideal of unpaid care as a “labor of love.” In this dominant historical narrative, married women were the traditional managers and providers of care, and this care was based in responsibility and love, rather than pay (Hays, 1996). Even in the nations with more developed economies, like the United States, where paid care sectors are the largest and most developed, the majority of care work is done within families, without pay, and overwhelmingly by women.

Bianchi, Folbre and Wolf (2012) use ATUS data to estimate the prevalence and distribution of unpaid care in the United States. Most adults (more than 75% of both men and women) provide some unpaid care, including both direct “interactive” care and “support” care (activities like cooking, shopping, cleaning that support interactive care, but do not necessarily involve interaction). On average, women provide more hours of care (averaging 4.4 h per day, compared to men’s 2.7 h), with the biggest gender differences in support care. The gender difference in

unpaid care is larger for child care than for adult care, in terms of both likelihood of providing any care, and the amount of care provided.

Unpaid caregiving is not without cost, however. Abel (2000) reviews the burdens of caregiving borne by unpaid caregivers of the frail elderly “including physical, emotional, social and financial problems” (67). Bianchi, Folbre, and Wolf (2012) summarize a considerable literature on the stresses of caregiving that find elevated risks of depression and other adverse mental health consequences, as well as physical health risks, like immune responses and coronary heart disease.

Unpaid caregivers also face opportunity costs as they may be compelled to reduce their paid employment or leave the workforce altogether to meet care needs. Crittenden (2010) uses the concept “mommy tax” to refer to the lower lifetime earnings for mothers who leave the workforce, even briefly. Glauber (2007), however, finds that this motherhood penalty is moderated by race and marital status, such that the penalty is the largest for white mothers, married mothers of any race, and unmarried mothers with 1 or 2 children. Much less research has been conducted on the employment and earnings effect of caring for others besides children. Empirical evidence of an earnings penalty for those who care for elders is mixed; because this care tends to happen later in life, it may have fewer repercussions on lifetime earnings (Bianchi et al., 2012).

While some policies exist in the United States to provide support or wage replacement for unpaid caregivers, the resulting safety net is fragmented and incomplete. The primary federal policy in the United States to address caregiving is the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA), which provides 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for qualifying employees of qualifying employers to provide care for a newborn or newly-adopted child, or a seriously ill child, spouse, or parent. This policy fails to meet the needs of many families in the U.S., due to gaps in coverage and eligibility, workers’ inability to afford unpaid time off, or outright non-compliance by employers (Armenia, Gerstel,

& Wing, 2014). Some states now provide paid leave for FMLA reasons, and some private employers offer paid parental leave to their employees, but this patchwork of programs covers only a minority of the workforce. Public programs for care of the elderly and disabled are more likely to provide support for paid care or institutional care, rather than compensating family members through wage replacement (Gornick, Howes, & Braslow, 2012).

The lack of support for unpaid care is at odds with a romanticized view of unpaid care as the gold standard, and increasingly makes the opportunity to provide unpaid care a luxury for married-couple families with a high-earning breadwinner who can afford to have an unpaid spouse at home. Furthermore, there are ideological consequences for those who can neither opt-out of the paid workforce to provide care nor buy-out of caregiving responsibilities with paid substitutes. These women—disproportionately working-class and of color—are then judged inadequate or dysfunctional compared to an ideal of upper-class white women’s domesticity (Zinn, 1994).

4 Paid Care

While traditionalists see having a woman specialize in unpaid care work as an ideal family arrangement, early second wave feminists saw this as a feature of patriarchal oppression (as noted above), and feminists of color challenged its reliance on exploiting women of color. Nonetheless, the narrative continues by suggesting that women’s increasing presence in the labor force has reduced their availability to provide this unpaid care in the home and community (again, at the expense of families, or as a boon for women, depending on who you ask). The response to this “crisis in care” has been the rapid growth of a paid care sector.

Care scholars have increasingly challenged this “outsourcing narrative,” by disproving the assumption that paid care is a recent historical phenomenon. They also seek to understand the challenges faced by care workers and their

disadvantages compared to similar workers in other occupations and industries. In addition, these scholars have engaged in debates about the relationship between love and money as motivators of caregiving and determinants of care quality.

Duffy (2011) challenges the “outsourcing” narrative with an examination of U.S. Census data from the 20th century. The outsourcing narrative, she argues, assumes the dominance of unpaid care only by ignoring the substantial presence of domestic servants as paid carers in the early 20th century (also Dill, 1988; Glenn, 2010). Furthermore, the focus on change in where care happens (the home vs. institutions) and whether it is paid, ignores the monumental changes in what is expected from care, as we move to more reliance on expert-guided care.

One of the most discussed aspects of paid care in the U.S. has been the “care penalty,” the lower wages earned by workers in caring occupations. England, Budig, and Folbre (2002) found a 5–6% wage penalty for care workers compared to similarly educated and experienced workers in other occupations. This penalty is experienced by both men and women in care work, but because more women are care workers (23% of employed women vs. 5% of employed men are in carework occupations) the care penalty is disproportionately experienced by women workers overall. The penalty manifests not just in wages, but in meager benefits, high job instability, and limited opportunity for mobility, in a growing sector of these “bad jobs” in the U.S. (Morgan & Farrar, 2015). Indeed, Dwyer’s (2013) analysis of BLS data from 1983 to 2007 suggests that the growth of the care sector is not just a symptom of job polarization in the U.S., but is a major driver of this trend in the U.S. economy.

Numerous theories have been put forward to explain (but not justify) the wage penalty for care workers. England (2005) outlines these theories and their connected debates. First, the “devaluation perspective” suggests that low wages of care work are likely connected to the larger trend of devaluing women’s work. Care is not just a job done disproportionately by women, but the work itself is associated with femininity, and seen as the result of natural inclinations and talents,

rather than skill. Second, the “public good” framework suggests that the low wages are the results of the market’s failure to appreciate and compensate for the benefits of care work beyond the recipient to the larger society. Other scholars note that paid care work cannot benefit from economies of scale or increased productivity due to technology or speed-up, the way other industries have (Razavi, 2007a; England et al., 2002). Attempts to increase the “output” of care workers quickly results in care of substandard quality (Razavi, 2007a).

England (2005) and others also interrogate the influence and possible consequences of emotion in paid care work. Some argue that care workers are influenced by compensating differentials, in that emotional gratification may function as a “nonpecuniary amenity” that lowers the amount that employers must offer to find willing workers. Care workers are then positioned as “prisoners of love” (Folbre 2001 in England, 2005) who are penalized for developing the emotional connections that are endogenous to their work.

Scholars also speculate about the tension between the “hostile worlds” of love and money in care work (England, 2005). This includes those who worry that the commodification of emotion might lead to the degradation of the work and workers (Hochschild 2003 in England 2005), and those who urge us to challenge the dichotomy between love and money (Zelizer, 2002; Folbre & Nelson, 2000).

Certainly, emotional engagement can be a mixed blessing for care workers. In her study of home care aides, Stacey (2011) suggests that people build up a substantial reserve of “emotional capital” prior to entering paid care work, and that this emotional capital is both a resource for building an identity as a “caring self” and a mechanism for reinforcing inequality, as employers rely on it to sustain a low-wage workforce. Similarly, other research suggests that interpersonal connections with care recipients are among the more gratifying aspects of care work for these workers (Price-Glynn & Rakovski, 2015). However, we also need to be mindful of the ways that these emotional connections are oppressive or exploitative. Numerous scholars

have documented the ways that these emotional connections prevent paid care workers from advocating for their needs, including economic needs (Uttal & Tuominen, 1999; Little, 2015), time and freedom from verbal abuse and racial insults (Dodson & Zinavage, 2007), and safety from injury and violence (Zelnick, 2015).

The debate about the hostile worlds of love and money reflects a scholarly focus on what Duffy (2011) refers to as nurturant care jobs. Nurturant care jobs involve face to face interaction while non-nurturant jobs are those done in support of care provision, but without direct interaction, for example, hospital janitors, cafeteria workers, nursing home administrative workers. Duffy argues that the privileging of nurturant care jobs obscures the importance of non-nurturant work to the care sector, and the extent to which non-nurturant care workers face even worse work conditions. In addition, non-nurturant workers in caring industries are often pulled into emotional labor, simply by their proximity. For example, cafeteria workers show care for school children, and hospital janitors interact with patients. Finally, non-nurturant care jobs are disproportionately likely to be done by women (and men) of color, and immigrants. When they are excluded from analysis, we construct an incomplete vision of who is in the care workforce and what they experience.

Indeed, researchers uncover stratification and inequalities, not just in comparisons of care sector versus other sectors, but within the care sector itself. Care workers of color, immigrants, and those with little education are overrepresented in care jobs that have the worst conditions, the highest physical and psychological risks, and the lowest wages (Duffy et al., 2015).

Poor conditions for paid care workers are consequential for care recipients as well. Care worker movements have stressed the extent to which care worker struggles affect turnover and quality of care (Little, 2015). Folbre and Nelson (2000) and Razavi (2007a) argue that poor labor conditions and tradeoffs between love and money prevent the development of “rich markets” of care, where those who need care can choose from a variety of high quality options.

5 Global Dimensions of Care

The study of care has been enriched by increasing attention to its global dimensions. One aspect of this literature focuses on identifying and explaining variation between nations in paid and unpaid care and care policy. In addition, an emerging literature examines the relational nature of care across nations.

There is a great deal of variation among other nations in care and care policy. The distribution of and support for care is central to considerations of gender equality and social welfare across countries, and scholars have often used the welfare regime literature as a jumping-off point. Despite this connection, early literature on welfare regimes—the examination of typologies of nations with similar orientations to social welfare policy—relied more strongly on the ways that policy could foster independence than in how they dealt with dependence. Razavi (2007a, b) provides a thorough overview of feminist challenges to Esping-Andersen’s original welfare regime models that incorporate concerns around care as a responsibility and also a burden for women within these systems. She goes on to formulate a conception of a “care diamond” as a way of representing the social architecture for the provision of care within a society, with the four points representing families/households, markets, the not-for-profit sector, and the state (federal/local). This formulation gives a framework for understanding variation between nations as well as changes in the management of care needs in a society across time. Similar to Duffy’s critique of the “outsourcing narrative” above, Razavi also critiques the idea of linear trend from family to market as countries become more developed.

Developed nations have addressed care provision with different goals, including increasing women’s labor force attachment, ameliorating gender inequality in paid and unpaid work, and social investment in children and other dependents. Razavi (2007b) suggests that most recent European policy initiatives have assumed a de-familialization strategy of care (providing more publicly funded care options), but that these

policies ignore the ways that gender inequalities in paid and unpaid work continue in practice. Nordic states, she notes, place a higher value on care by reducing the penalties for providing unpaid care (with generous leaves, for example), and make an effort to equalize the distribution of care (with policies that provide use-it-or-lose-it leave for fathers, for example).

While women continue to do more unpaid care work than men in virtually all nations (Razavi & Staab, 2010), these different constellations of social policy—and their consequences—do challenge what seems inevitable in U.S. studies: the motherhood penalty and the care penalty in paid work. In an examination of twenty-two countries, Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann (2012) found that the motherhood penalty was reduced in nations with parental leaves and public child care when there was also broad ideological support for maternal employment. In the absence of such cultural attitudes, the effect of policy was more muted.

Similarly, the wage penalty for paid care workers varies greatly by nation, including some countries where care workers earn a bonus over similarly skilled workers in other sectors. Budig and Misra (2010) find wage bonuses for men and women in Sweden, and for women in the Netherlands and Germany. Furthermore, they find that the labor and policy context shapes wage bonuses, such that bonuses are more likely for care workers when “income inequality is low, union density is high, the public sector is large, and public spending on care is high” (p. 459).

Global research on care work does not just compare between nations, however. In recent decades, scholars have highlighted the relational nature of care and care work across nations. The concept of “global care chains,” coined by Hochschild, and critically examined by Yeates (2004), refers to the “series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring” (cited in Yeates, 2004, 369–370). While care work is done locally for those who need care, we increasingly see families in developed countries hiring workers from less developed countries to provide care for children, the elderly, and the sick or disabled.

These workers must then assign their own care responsibilities (care of their own children, for example) to other family members or even to lower-paid care workers in their home country. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) and Parreñas (2001) provide rich descriptions of these workers and the contradictions they face in their qualitative studies of migrant domestic workers. In the introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of European Social Policy* on “Care, Markets and Migration in a Globalising World,” Williams and Brennan (2012) suggest that three trends—the development of care provisions, the promotion of market mechanisms to meet these needs, and global migration—are becoming increasingly entwined with each other. As such, states have begun to rely on migration (and migrant workers) to make marketization of welfare services a viable option.

6 Discussion and Critique of Approaches to Carework Research

In recent decades, the growth of research and theory on care work has been immense, providing increased attention to this critical social resource. This body of research is notable for its breadth, attention to diversity and inequalities, and inclusion of feminist perspectives. This body of research contains the potential to expand our understanding of work and family in coming decades.

One of the biggest limitations of carework research is related to one of its biggest strengths. The variety of types of care, and locations of care work, have often lead to carework research being contained in many different disciplinary silos, without much interaction across these chasms. For example, labor economists, sociologists, occupational health researchers, gerontologists, and nursing scholars have done substantial work on care, but found rare opportunities to interact and collaborate.

Similarly (and likely related to this), there is little connection or collaboration between those who study of different parts of the care sector.

Researchers (and their work) are often grouped by care recipient (e.g., children, elderly, sick or disabled) or type of care (education, health, social services, paid vs. unpaid), without recognition of the commonalities and differences across this care work.

Conducting research across these diverse groups of workers and recipients would not be easy to accomplish, however. Future research efforts will need be collaborative, connecting researchers in different sectors or sites. Meta-analyses are also a potentially useful method for creating these connections.

The broadening of research connections also needs to happen globally. Where comparative work exists, it has tended to focus on the U.S. and Western Europe, like early welfare regime research, with some recent expansion into developed countries in Central/South America and Asia.

Another weakness in the body of care research is its lack of inclusion of the voices of care recipients. Certainly, the care needs of children, the elderly, and the disabled are measured and considered, but we know less about their perspectives on the availability and quality of care, as well as the relational aspects of care receiving. We hear more often from those who are arranging care for others, despite the fact that the recipients themselves may have something to contribute. Disability studies scholars, who have a better track record of amplifying the voices of people with disabilities, have much to contribute in this way to the larger body of care research.

To be sure, these limitations slow down the scholarly progress we can make in understanding care and care work. Just as importantly, they impede our ability to advocate for social and political change. As Razavi (2007a, b) notes, revaluing care is about increasing the capabilities of women in society, as well as evening out the burdens of providing care. Tronto (2013) stresses that our ability to advocate for care is critical not just in the maintenance of our well-being, or in ensuring just distributions of care work, but is also important for maintaining our democracy by strengthening the voice of every one—including care workers and receivers. Working towards this

vision means strengthening connections across these sectors to enable a diverse coalition of care workers and recipients to work together to revalue care in an increasingly market-driven society.

References

- Abel, E. K. (2000). A historical perspective on care. In M. H. Meyer (Ed.), *Care work: Gender, class, and the welfare state* (pp. 2–14). Routledge: New York.
- Abel, E. K., & Nelson, M. K. (1990). Circles of care: An introductory essay. In E. K. Abel & M. K. Nelson (Eds.), *Circles of care: Work and identity in women's lives* (pp. 4–34). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Armenia, A., Gerstel, N., & Wing, C. (2014). Workplace compliance with the law: The case of the family and medical leave act. *Work and Occupations, 41*, 277–304.
- Bianchi, S., Folbre, N., & Wolf, D. (2012). Unpaid care work. In N. Folbre (Ed.), *For love and money: Care provision in the United States* (pp. 40–64). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Budig, M. J., & Misra, J. (2010). How care-work employment shapes earnings in cross-national perspective. *International Labour Review, 149*, 441–460.
- Budig, M. J., Misra, J., & Boeckmann, I. (2012). The motherhood penalty in cross-national perspective: The importance of work-family policies and cultural attitudes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, 19*, 163–193.
- Crittenden, A. (2010). *The price of motherhood: Why the most important job in the world is still the least valued*. New York: Picador.
- Dill, B. T. (1988). Our mother's grief: Racial ethnic women and the maintenance of families. *Journal of Family History, 13*(4), 415–431.
- Dodson, L., & Zinbarg, R. M. (2007). "It's Like a Family" caring labor, exploitation, and race in nursing homes. *Gender & Society, 21*, 905–928.
- Duffy, M. (2011). *Making care count a century of gender, race, and paid care work*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Duffy, M., Albelda, R., & Hammonds, C. (2013). Counting care work: The empirical and policy applications of care theory. *Social Problems, 60*, 145–167.
- Duffy, M., Armenia, A., & Stacey, C. L. (2015). *Caring on the clock: The complexities and contradictions of paid care work*. *Families in Focus*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Dwyer, R. E. (2013). The care economy? Gender, economic restructuring, and job polarization in the U.S Labor Market. *American Sociological Review, 78*, 390–416.
- England, P. (2005). Emerging theories of care work. *Annual Review of Sociology, 31*, 381–399.
- England, P., Budig, M., & Folbre, N. (2002). Wages of virtue: The relative pay of care work. *Social Problems, 49*, 455–473.
- Fisher, B., & Tronto, J. (1990). Toward a feminist theory of caring. In E. K. Abel & M. K. Nelson (Eds.), *Circles of care: Work and identity in women's lives* (pp. 35–62). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Folbre, N., & Nelson, J. A. (2000). For love or money—Or both? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 14*, 123–140.
- Folbre, N., & Wright, E. O. (2012). Defining Care. In N. Folbre (Ed.), *For love and money: Care provision in the United States* (pp. 1–20). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Glauber, R. (2007). Marriage and the motherhood wage penalty among African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 69*, 951–961.
- Glenn, E. N. (2010). *Forced to care: Coercion and caregiving in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glenn, E. N. (2015). Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of U.S. race and gender formation. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 1*, 52–72.
- Gornick, J. C., Howes, C., & Braslow, L. (2012). The care policy landscape. In N. Folbre (Ed.), *For love and money: Care provision in the United States* (pp. 112–139). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Harrington Meyer, M. (2000). *Care work: Gender, class, and the welfare state*. New York: Routledge.
- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hochschild, A. R. (2012). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley, California, London: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Doméstica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Laslett, B., & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology, 15*, 381–404.
- Little, D. L. (2015). Building a movement of caring selves: Organizing direct care workers. In M. Duffy, A. Armenia, & C. L. Stacey (Eds.), *Caring on the clock: The complexities and contradictions of paid care work*. *Families in Focus* (pp. 251–262). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Morgan, J. C., & Farrar, B. (2015). Building meaningful career lattices: Direct care workers in long-term care. In M. Duffy, A. Armenia, & C. L. Stacey (Eds.), *Caring on the clock: The complexities and contradictions of paid care work*. *Families in Focus* (pp. 278–286). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Price-Glynn, K., & Rakovski, C. (2015). The best of both worlds? How direct care workers perceive home health agencies and long-term-care institutions.

- In M. Duffy, A. Armenia, & C. L. Stacey (Eds.), *Caring on the clock: The complexities and contradictions of paid care work*. *Families in Focus* (pp. 31–41). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Razavi, S. (2007a). *The political and social economy of care in a development context: Conceptual issues, research questions and policy options*. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Razavi, S. (2007b). The return to social policy and the persistent neglect of unpaid care. *Development and Change*, 38, 377–400.
- Razavi, S., & Staab, S. (2010). Underpaid and overworked: A cross-national perspective on care workers. *International Labour Review*, 149, 407–422.
- Stacey, C. L. (2011). *The caring self: The work experiences of home care aides*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Stacey, C. L., & Ayers, L. L. (2012). Caught between love and money: The experiences of paid family caregivers. *Qualitative Sociology*, 35, 47–64.
- Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care*. New York: Routledge.
- Tronto, J. C. (2013). *Caring democracy markets, equality, and justice*. New York: New York University Press.
- Uttal, L., & Tuominen, M. (1999). Tenuous Relationships: Exploitation, emotion, and racial ethnic significance in paid child care work. *Gender & Society*, 13, 758–80.
- Williams, F., & Brennan, D. (2012). Care, markets and migration in a globalising world: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22, 355–362.
- Yeates, N. (2004). Global care chains. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6, 369–391.
- Zelizer, V. A. (2002). How care counts. *Contemporary Sociology*, 31, 115–119.
- Zelnick, J. (2015). Part of the job? Workplace violence and social services. In M. Duffy, A. Armenia, & C. L. Stacey (Eds.), *Caring on the clock: The complexities and contradictions of paid care work*. *Families in Focus* (pp. 104–116). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Zinn, M. B. (1994). Feminist rethinking from racial-ethnic families. In M. B. Zinn & B. T. Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.



Scientific and Medical Careers: Gender and Diversity

35

Laura E. Hirshfield and Emilie Glass

Abstract

Women students and employees are underrepresented in scientific contexts. Similarly, though the number of women medical students is quickly reaching parity with men, women are still underrepresented in the most lucrative medical specialties and at the top of medical hierarchies. Women's experiences in both of these contexts are very similar, yet scholars rarely explore or describe this similarity. In this chapter, we begin to fill this gap by examining the role of the "leaky pipeline", tokenism, the "chilly climate," and career/family concerns for women in both science and medicine.

Despite the steady increase of women entering the workforce over the past few decades, women's representation in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) and certain medical fields is still relatively low. This underrep-

resentation has important consequences not only for gendered wage parity and for women's workplace satisfaction, but also for scientific innovation (Beede, Julian, & Langdon, 2011). Overall, women's earnings are only about 80% as much as men's (National Partnership for Women & Families, 2016); their lack of math and science credentials and resulting underrepresentation in STEM careers or in lucrative medical specialties may be one of the leading causes of this wage gap (Boulis & Jacobs, 2008; Davies & Guppy, 1997; Jena, Khullar, Ho, Olenski, & Blumenthal, 2015; Weinberger, 1998). Women, particularly women of color, are underrepresented at the highest levels of academic STEM departments and medical institutions (Committee on Maximizing the Potential of Women in Academic Science and Engineering, 2007; Lautenberger, Dandar, Raezer, & Sloane, 2013; Merchant & Omary, 2010; Nonnemaker, 2000; Valian, 1998), and are evaluated more harshly than their men peers (Basow, Phelan, & Capotosto, 2006; McOwen, Bellini, Guerra, & Shea, 2007). Women also receive substantially less mentoring than men, experience higher rates of gender discrimination and unwanted sexual attention than their men peers and women peers in non-science departments, face higher expectations related to service, and rate their departmental climates most negatively (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Johnsrud, 2002; Martin, 1994; Sonnert & Holton, 1995; Xie & Shauman, 2003).

L. E. Hirshfield (✉)
University of Illinois at Chicago, 808 S. Wood St.
CME 968, Chicago, IL 60612, USA
e-mail: lhirshf@uic.edu

E. Glass
University of Illinois at Chicago, 1007 West
Harrison Street, MC 312, Chicago, IL 60607, USA
e-mail: eglass2@uic.edu

Scholars have used multiple frameworks to explain and understand women's experiences in both STEM and medicine,¹ yet they rarely discuss these contexts together. Indeed, numerous sociologists and scholars of higher education have made a concerted effort to understand the causes and consequences of women's underrepresentation in STEM fields and careers. These efforts are mirrored by scholars within medicine and medical education, yet these two groups of scholars rarely cite each other or work to highlight these similarities. In an effort to bridge these two literatures, in this chapter we focus on several of the (interrelated) models used most frequently in sociological scholarship, namely the "leaky pipeline", tokenism, the "chilly" climate, and career/family balance, to describe women's experiences in both STEM fields and in medicine.²

1 The Leaky Pipeline

One of the most common metaphors used to describe and understand the dearth of women in STEM or medical fields is that of the "leaky pipeline". Scholars argue that women, particularly women of color, "leak out" at various stages by taking fewer math and science courses in their secondary schools, switching out of STEM majors during college, and choosing not to pursue STEM careers post-graduation (Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, & Uzzi, 2000; Xie & Shauman, 2003). While the so-called "leaky pipeline" appears to leak less in medicine, women are less represented in the most powerful and lucrative specialties and positions (Boulis & Jacobs, 2008; Gjerberg, 2002; Ku, 2011; Martin, Arnold, & Parker, 1988). Although some of these "leaks" seem to be related to gendered choices or

preferences, others may be attributed to gender bias in evaluation and promotion (Roth, 2016; West, 1993).

The STEM pipeline begins to "leak" fairly early on, yet while many attribute this leakage to differences in mathematic ability, the overall difference in mathematical ability between boys and girls is small (Hyde, Fennema, & Lamon, 1990). Rather than lacking ability in math and science, girls and women may be underrepresented in STEM fields due to a lack of interest in math and science. Indeed, Eccles and Jacobs (1986) found that social and attitudinal factors (including interest) had a greater influence on grades and enrollment in science/math classes in junior and senior high school than did variations in mathematical ability. Scholars have also demonstrated the effect of "biased self-assessments", or women's lower confidence in their mathematical/scientific abilities, which contributes to their likelihood of entering scientific (and possibly medical) fields (Catsambis, 1994; Correll, 2001). Similarly, students' "professional role confidence", or "confidence in their ability to successfully perform the professional role and confidence in their ability to enjoy and find fulfillment in that role," is significantly predictive of persistence in STEM fields, and women tend to have less professional role confidence (Cech, Rubineau, Silbey, & Seron, 2011, pg. 658).

Regardless of the reason, the gendered gap in STEM course taking has declined very little over the past 50 years or so (Bradley, 2000; Usdansky & Gordon, 2016). That said, these differences in patterns of math/science course taking are not reflected in medical school demographics—the number of women in medical school has increased significantly and they now account for nearly half of medical school graduates (Lautenberger et al., 2013).

On the other hand, though women are enrolled in STEM higher education programs at higher rates than ever before (Xie & Shauman, 2003), there is evidence that women may "leak out" of STEM graduate programs at higher rates than men (Blickenstaff, 2005; Herzig, 2004a). Women's perception of gendered barriers could

¹For an excellent review of these myriad explanations, see Blickenstaff (2005).

²When possible, we include scholarship that specifically focuses on the challenges that women of color in STEM and medicine face. However, these studies are fairly rare (please see Ong (2005) for a wonderful exception).

contribute to these higher attrition rates in grad school; one study found that women self-selected away from academia in response to perceived systemic barriers related to parenthood (van Anders, 2004). Graduate students' feeling of isolation or disconnect between themselves and their advisors is also a considerable predictor of their persistence, particularly for women (Etzkowitz et al., 2000; Herzig, 2004b). Further, women students in traditionally masculine disciplines experience increased gender discrimination and harassment, which is correlated to attrition (Herzig, 2004b; Hirt & Muffo, 1998; Xie & Shauman, 1998). For those women that do receive a STEM degree, there is also no guarantee they will go on to a scientific career: although men and women are equally likely to receive bachelor's and master's degrees in STEM, women remain less likely than men to hold STEM-related jobs post-college (Usdansky & Gordon, 2016).

Similarly, though the number of women in medical school has increased over the past 40 years,³ there are still major differences in the specialties that women choose (Lautenberger et al., 2013). One explanation for these differences is that women are less likely than men to receive encouragement toward so-called "specialist" specialties (e.g., surgery, anesthesiology, radiology, and pathology) and to have mentors in these specialties (Ku, 2011). This lack of encouragement and mentors is reflected in their subsequent specialty choice: men and women are equally likely to profess interest in high-status specialties, but their final specialty choice is more gendered (Gjerberg, 2002; Lautenberger et al., 2013; Riska, 2001). Specifically, women are more likely to choose primary care specialties (e.g., family medicine, pediatrics, and obstetrics/gynecology) than men, who more commonly choose high-status, specialist specialties. One reason that women may choose lower status specialties is that they are less likely

than men to accept standard conceptualizations of the prestige hierarchy in specialties (Hinze, 1999). This, in turn, has important consequences for women's pay, influence, and status within medicine.

Within academic institutions and careers, STEM and medical "leakage" is particularly apparent. The proportion of female tenure track faculty members in STEM departments has not increased at the same rate as in non-STEM fields (Krefting, 2003; Valian, 1998), or with the ratio of women earning doctorates in those fields (Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, & Rankin, 2007; Valian, 1998). Similarly, though the number of women in medicine has gradually increased, women are still less likely to pursue academic careers and are not well represented in leadership or in the high-prestige, high paying specialties (Ash, Carr, Goldstein, & Friedman, 2004; Carnes, Morrissey, & Geller, 2008; Lautenberger et al., 2013). These differences are partly due to demographic inertia, or the lag between demographic shifts in the incoming population not being immediately reflected in the overall demographics in the workplace (Hargens & Long, 2002; Marschke et al., 2007). However, gender bias in hiring and evaluation also plays a role, and as such, represents another occurrence of "leakage".

Unconscious gender bias causes men's (scientific) curricula vitae to be evaluated much more positively and to be more richly rewarded than comparable women (Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke, 1999). Women's work accomplishments are less valued than their men peers, especially within science, a phenomena known as the "Matilda Effect" (Rossiter, 1993), which in turn leads to women's lower promotion rate. Likewise, to be rated as similarly "scientifically competent" to their men peers, women postdoctoral candidates in science had to be roughly 2.5 times more productive (Wenneras & Wold, 1997). Yet, in both science and medicine, women are less likely to be listed as either first or senior author of their published work (Filardo et al., 2016; Jagsi et al., 2006; Sidhu et al., 2009; West, Jacquet, King, Correll, & Bergstrom, 2013). Their work also receives fewer citations, perhaps

³Interestingly, though the number of women medical school applicants and matriculants has increased significantly since the 1970s, in recent years there has been a small decline (Roskovensky, Grbic, & Matthew, 2012).

as a result of women's lower likelihood to self-cite (King et al., 2017). Men also win a disproportionate number of grants or awards for their scholarly work given their representation among nominees (Lincoln, Pincus, Koster, & Leboy, 2012). As a result, women may artificially be viewed as less productive than their men peers, due to fewer grants and publications.

Letters of recommendation, which are central to the hiring process for faculty, also vary markedly between those written for women and for men, and as such, constitute another opportunity for women's leakage from both science and medicine. In medicine, letters written for men faculty members are longer, contain fewer expressions of doubt, and contain more high status words (Trix & Psenka, 2003). Men are also more likely to be framed as researchers, while women are more likely to be framed as teachers, despite research being seen as more valuable and higher status than teaching (ibid). In a similar study conducted regarding faculty candidates in chemistry, Schmader, Whitehead and Wysocki (2007) found that though recommenders did not differ significantly in the positivity of their letters or emphasize teaching for women, they did note that letters written for men were more likely to include "standout" adjectives.

In all, the most commonly-used theory related to women's underrepresentation in STEM and medical fields, the "leaky pipeline", continues to be an apt metaphor. Though more and more women are entering both STEM graduate programs and medical school, they are still less likely to persist in STEM fields, to choose high-status medical specialties, or to be promoted to positions at the top of organizational or institutional hierarchies.

2 Tokenism

The absence of women peers and support systems also impacts women's experiences in STEM and medical fields. Kanter's theory of

tokenism (1977) suggests that "as a group becomes proportionately smaller, members of that group will experience declines in performance, self-esteem, and satisfaction"; by extension, it is often theorized that individuals should benefit from greater same-gender representation within groups (Sax, 1996, p. 390). Indeed, scholars have argued that women's underrepresentation and tokenism within certain STEM and medical fields may lead to increased identity threat, isolation, and pressure to perform "care work" tasks within their fields. Given the even lower number of women of color in these positions, they are often expected to take up considerably larger burden of mentorship, service, and advocacy, as well as to act as role models for minority students (Blackwell, 1988).

The low proportion of women in STEM majors and fields also leads to a shortage of female peers and colleagues, which has varied effects for women scientists. The proportion of women in a major affects women's satisfaction in that major, though it does not affect their grades, self-concepts, or persistence (Rogers & Menaghan, 1991; Sax, 1994). The gender proportion of college majors has no effect on men's likelihood to persist, but fewer women drop out of female-dominated programs than from gender-balanced or male-dominated ones (Mastekaasa & Smeby, 2006).

One of the consequences of low representation in these spaces is that women face identity threat, or the concern that their own actions reflect (poorly) upon their social group and reinforce negative group stereotypes (Major & O'Brien, 2005). In the case of women in science (and perhaps, in medicine),

'[Women] are likely to feel that they must do better than their male counterparts in order to be considered equal; that they must demonstrate their worthiness through superior competence before being accepted or taken seriously; and that their mistakes or inadequacies risk being construed as characteristic of women in general.' (Ware, Steckler, & Leserman, 1985, p. 79)

This identity threat, similar to the related concept of stereotype threat, results in many negative psychological and social consequences, including anxiety, arousal, and excessive caution (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Further, as a result of identity threat, women may self-segregate, or seek out peers who are less likely to judge their behaviors as indicative of their social group in general. In other words, identity threat may lead to gender segregation within STEM departments because women may be more likely to seek out other women to study and collaborate with (Hirshfield, 2010). This, in turn, reproduces negative stereotypes about women in science (because men peers have less positive examples to contradict their stereotypes) and may explain women's overrepresentation in lower-prestige subfields (*ibid*). For women of color in scientific spaces facing negative stereotypes related to women *and* to people of color, this type of threat may be even more extreme (Niemann, 1999; Wingfield, 2010).

As a result of their lower numbers within their departments and universities, women faculty members in science and engineering, especially women of color, also often experience "identity taxation", or extra burdens of formal and informal service responsibilities (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Misra, Lundquist, Holmes, & Agiomavritis, 2011). Identity taxation occurs when faculty members shoulder any labor (physical, mental, emotional) due to their membership in a marginalized group within their department or university (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012). Just as women academics in STEM tend to shoulder a higher load of teaching and service responsibility (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Misra et al., 2011; Nettles, Perna, Bradburn, & Zimble, 2000), women in academic medicine carry a higher burden of teaching and patient care (Kaplan et al., 1996). This, in turn, can impact their research productivity and, as a result, affect their career growth and mobility (*ibid*). Indeed, though women are going to medical school at greater rates than ever and are more likely than men to become academics, they are less likely than their men peers to rise to comparable senior ranks (Nonnemaker, 2000).

Further, when they do experience career advancement, it happens more slowly and is compensated more poorly (Ash et al., 2004).

Increasing the presence of women role models in STEM and medical fields may seem like an appropriate solution to the challenges facing women tokens, but the effect of role models on women students' persistence in scientific college majors is ambiguous. Some studies find little evidence for positive role model effects (Canes & Rosen, 1995; Hackett, Esposito, & O'Halloran, 1989), while others find a significant effect of faculty role-models on students' choice of math/science college majors, probability of attaining advanced degrees, and likelihood of staying in school (Rask & Bailey, 2002; Robst, Keil, & Russo, 1998; Rothstein, 1995). Regardless, increasing the number of female faculty in a department may not be enough to alleviate issues related to tokenism—social networks that isolate women remain in place even when the number of women in a science department increases because workplace structures do not necessarily shift (Etzkowitz et al., 1994). Further, even when there is a critical mass of women in a department,⁴ female faculty are likely to be dispersed in male-dominated workgroups, reducing women's influence and maintaining male-dominated workplace structures (*ibid*). In fact, women tend to cluster in some scientific fields (such as biology, chemistry, and hybrids like biochemistry or astrophysics) more often than others (like physics or math) (Xie & Shauman, 1998). Similarly, within medicine, women medical students disproportionately specialize in obstetrics and gynecology and pediatrics; as a result, they may be less able to change overall conditions in medical workplaces and contexts (Riska, 2001). On the other hand, women benefit from working in this type of gender-segregated specialty, receiving more instrumental and informational support from women within those spaces than their men colleagues (Wallace, 2014).

⁴In this case, critical mass represents the number of women that is theoretically large enough to shift the departmental climate.

While Kanter argued that tokenism (or numeric scarcity) was a primary factor in creating obstacles for the women she studied, subsequent research has shown that token men in the workplace do not experience the same issues that token women do (Williams, 1991; Yoder, 1991). Indeed, some scholars argue that men tokens may be advantaged in the workplace (Williams, 1991; Zimmer, 1988), though men of color may not experience the same advantages (Harvey Wingfield, 2009).⁵ All of these studies illustrate the ways that cultural conceptions of femininity and masculinity are built into the organization of work, or in other words, how organizations are gendered and how gender itself is a structure of inequality (Acker, 1990, 2006; Budig, 2002; Zimmer, 1988). As such, numeric proportion is only part of the story—the underrepresentation of women clearly has important consequences for the women in these fields, but increasing numbers alone will not solve this issue.

3 The Chilly Climate

Even in the absence of tokenism, a “chilly climate” for women in scientific and medical spaces creates yet another challenge to their success in STEM fields. Originally introduced as a way to explain why women were more likely to leave college than their men counterparts, the chilly climate framework focuses on “chilling” practices that professors use (both consciously and unconsciously) that disadvantage women in the classroom (Hall & Sandler, 1982). Scholars have extended the concept to examine sexist and isolating behaviors in the laboratory, in the clinic, in departmental, and in administrative levels, as well as inequities in workload, recognition, and pay (Carr, Szalacha, Barnett, Caswell, & Inui, 2000, 2003; Conefrey, 1997; Ginorio, 1995; Jagsi et al., 2006; Kaplan et al., 1996; Smith & Calasanti, 2005). There is also evidence that

negative departmental climate is a significant predictor in female faculty members’ overall job satisfaction, which may in turn affect their persistence in their careers (August & Waltman, 2004).

Women graduate students are more likely than their men peers to report experiences of sexual harassment, concerns about their personal safety, issues with legitimacy, and financial concerns (Johnsrud, 1995; Schneider, 1987; Wiest, 1999), and this is particularly true for women in STEM graduate programs (Fox, 2001). Women graduate students, particularly in the sciences, also have fewer same-gender mentors and role-models, and, perhaps as a result, receive less mentorship and experience more social and intellectual isolation than their men peers (Johnsrud, 1995; Kuck, Marzabadi, Buckner, & Nolan, 2007; Wiest, 1999). For women students of color, the low number of faculty of color, especially women faculty of color, often intensifies this sort of isolation and lack of role model support (Ong, 2005). Further, women mentors within scientific contexts may themselves not be in the ideal situation for providing guidance or advice; given the extra burden of work that they often experience (i.e., identity taxation), they are more likely to be burned out or to be experiencing challenges related to advancement themselves (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Samble, 2008).

Similarly, women medical students disproportionately experience unfair treatment during their training, as do women clinicians post-training (Carr et al., 2000; Jagsi et al., 2006). Babaria, Abedin, Berg, and Nunez-Smith (2012) note that though the women medical students they studied managed to handle negative interactions with patients, they did not feel as prepared to deal with inappropriate behavior by their men supervisors. The authors also note how worrisome it is that women students so quickly grow resigned to this inequitable treatment (ibid). Likewise, Beagan (2001) found that medical students in the Canadian institution she studied experienced both blatant and implicit discrimination and marginalization. This included patients’ consistent assumption that they were nurses rather than doctors, faculty members’ use

⁵Notably, Budig (2002) found that men not only do not suffer (regarding pay) due to their token status, but that token or not, men are “uniformly advantaged” in terms of pay.

of gendered language, and even inappropriate touching by men faculty. In clinical contexts, women doctors are also treated with less respect and confidence than men doctors and given less help from the nurses (Gjerberg & Kjølørød, 2001).

It is also well-acknowledged that many STEM disciplines and medical specialties tend to have intensely “masculine” cultures. Despite the highly collaborative nature of much scientific research, many STEM departments embrace extremely competitive, macho norms that can make women graduate students and faculty feel isolated or out of place (Ferreira, 2003; Traweek, 1992). Women in science frequently describe scientific culture as aggressively competitive and rife with “macho-ness,” where colleagues try to prove themselves superior to others, are fiercely combative, and ignore other people’s ideas (Schiebinger, 1999). For example, Sallee (2011) found that men in aerospace and mechanical engineering were socialized to be competitive, hierarchical, and to objectify women during the course of their graduate education and in the process are also taught that these masculine norms and values are associated with success in their discipline. Women graduate students within the sciences also view gender as highly salient within these spaces, and cite masculine cultures (as well as subsequent consequences of these cultures) as key to women’s choices and experiences in STEM fields (Ecklund, Lincoln, & Tansey, 2012).

In medical contexts, specialties such as surgery are also described as having highly masculine cultures, valuing stereotypically masculine qualities such as arrogance, aggression, courage, and the ability to think quickly in the moment (Cassell, 1997; Hinze, 1999). Surgery, for example, is so male-dominated both in demographics and in characteristics, that there is an aversion to women and feminine traits. As a result, women are often excluded and even seen as untrustworthy by male colleagues (Cassell, 1997). However, when women surgeons emulate “masculine” behaviors, they are viewed negatively (ibid). As such, women entering such male-dominated fields must work harder to prove

themselves and might be pushed out of the field as a result (Gjerberg, 2002).

Broadly, the chilly climate is yet another example of the gendered nature of organizations described by Acker (1990). Acker’s theory focuses on how organizational structures are gendered and, therefore, directly contribute to marginalizing women. She also describes the gendered nature of organizations as seen through a “hypothetical or universal worker,” which she argues is actually that of a man (ibid). Indeed, men are consistently viewed as the norm in academia (Hirshfield, 2014a), particularly in scientific spaces (Fox, 2006). This, in turn impacts how they are viewed and evaluated by their students and peers. Women scientists feel that they are less likely to be viewed as experts and receive less respect from faculty than their men peers (Fox, 2001; Johnsrud, 1995) and there is evidence that they are held to different standards than their men peers (Benschop & Brouns, 2003). Women graduate students in science also report that they feel that they must perform in ultra-masculine ways to be successful (Hirshfield, 2015; Rhoton, 2011; Sallee, 2011). Notably, the ideal worker expectations described by Acker also have racial undertones, implicitly privileging norms associated with *white* masculinity (Wingfield, 2010).

For faculty, similar to findings from surgery, men STEM faculty whose behaviors generally fit masculine social norms are viewed as ideal advisors and scholars, while women faculty whose behaviors represent either feminine *or* masculine norms are viewed negatively (Hirshfield, 2014b). Gender socialization also impacts interaction styles in ways that negatively impact women’s success within scientific spaces. Women scientists have been found to demonstrate less confidence within laboratory meetings (Fox, 2001; Hirshfield, 2017; Smith-Doerr, Sacco, & Stoutenburgh, 2016) and, perhaps as a result, are less likely to be viewed as content experts within their field (Hirshfield, 2016). Similarly, women faculty, especially women faculty of color, face more challenges to their authority than do men faculty (Ford, 2011; Harlow, 2003).

4 Career/Family Balance

Finally, lifestyle reasons (i.e., issues related to the balance of career and family), may contribute to women's likelihood to enter into or leave graduate programs or medical residencies, as well. Overall, housework and primary care work is still primarily expected to fall on women, despite their increased presence in the workforce and more specifically, in STEM and medicine (Craig, 2007; Hochschild, 1989; Milkie, Raley, & Bianchi, 2007). Women are also more likely to take time off to care for sick children or to handle other essential household tasks as needed, which in turn takes a toll on their wages and opportunities for promotion (Budig & Hodges, 2010; England, Bearak, Budig, & Hodges, 2016; Kahn, García-Mangano, & Bianchi, 2014). Indeed, for women in prestigious careers like those in STEM and medicine, this time out of work can be very costly and can also impact how they are viewed in the workplace (England et al., 2016). For example, in their study exploring the "flexibility stigma", Cech and Blair-Loy (2014) find that STEM faculty view parents as less hardworking and that women are more likely to report experiencing this type of stigma. Furthermore, those that feel the stigma of parenthood and work/life balance are less likely to remain in their current field and predicts lower anticipated peak pay (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2014; Lips & Lawson, 2009).

Similarly, ideal worker norms (discussed above) not only contribute to the chilly climate for women, but also to expectations for faculty in STEM and in medicine regarding job devotion and hours spent at work (Acker, 1990; Hirshfield, 2015). In other words, within both STEM and medicine, expectations for employees often rely on conceptualizations of a hypothetical (male) worker "... whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children" (Acker, 1990, p. 190). Indeed, women often choose not to pursue academic positions more often than men, in part because of their views about what their careers will entail (van Anders, 2004). Specifically, women (correctly) anticipate more systemic barriers to their success within

academic institutions, such as issues related to mobility, academic lifestyle, and family plans and pressures. Women students' desire for flexibility and lower time commitments at work also helps to predict whether or not they will seek male-dominated jobs (such as those in fields like math and science) (Frome, Alfeld, Eccles, & Barber, 2006). Notably, concerns related to family are not restricted to women scientists: men science professors consistently describe the "all-consuming nature of academic science" as in conflict with fatherhood and egalitarian relationships (Damaske, Ecklund, Lincoln, & White, 2014).

Likewise, in an examination of a surgical residency program, Dodson and Webb (2005) found that women were twice as likely to leave their residency, with the majority citing reasons related to lifestyle. The desire to decrease hours at work was not restricted only to women physicians, however: many MDs working full-time, both men and women, would like to switch to part-time work (Heiligers & Hingstman, 2000). However, for women physicians, the likelihood of pursuing a career in a specialty decreased with each additional child they had (Gjerberg, 2003). Women physicians' career choices and aspirations are more likely than men to postpone marriage and/or family (Gjerberg, 2002; Uhlenberg & Cooney, 1990), and these aspirations are also more commonly limited or impacted by their partner's careers (Ku, 2011). Even in situations where both the wife and husband are physicians, the husband tends to work more hours and earn more money, pointing to a tendency to prioritize the husband's career (Uhlenberg & Cooney, 1990). On the other hand, women physicians who are married to other doctors fare better than others due to more egalitarian division of household labor and increased emotional support (Gjerberg, 2003).

5 Conclusion

As we have shown, women are still less likely than their men peers to pursue STEM and medical careers (i.e., to leak out of the pipeline), and,

once in these fields, women still face a number of challenges that their men peers do not. Women physicians and women scientists are paid significantly less than men, even when controlling for rank, specialty/discipline, and productivity, thus demonstrating the widespread bias that still exists for women in the workforce (Kaplan et al., 1996). Likewise, women are more likely than men to experience sexual or gender harassment, to be isolated within their fields, to experience identity threat, to be asked to perform extra labor or identity taxation, to lack mentorship, and to feel family or lifestyle pressures. There is evidence that some of these “leakages” and barriers to success are lessening, yet there are still significant inequities for women in both medicine and the sciences that must be corrected.

In this chapter, we have analytically separated the theoretical and empirical work we reviewed into categories in order to systematically describe the rich scholarship that has been done in this area. However, we think it important to note that many of the explanations we describe above intersect. For example, the leaky pipeline is one of the key reasons that women experience tokenism (and the consequences of women’s underrepresentation) within scientific and medical spaces. Likewise, this underrepresentation is one of the key contributors to the chilly climate for women.

Further, we have described literature related to the concepts of the leaky pipeline, tokenism, the chilly climate, and work/family balance for women in both STEM and medical workplaces. Yet much of this research remains quite siloed—scholars of gender in science rarely cite scholarship about gender in medicine, and vice versa. We suspect that this may be a consequence, in part, of the federal institutions that fund this type of research. Specifically, the National Science Foundation (NSF) has made women’s experience in STEM fields a priority, but has left research on women’s experience in medicine largely to be supported by the National Institutes of Health (NIH). As such, US scholars often choose either STEM or medicine as their focus. This chapter is our attempt to begin to bring these literatures and these scholars together. In the future, we hope that scholarship on women’s experiences within

the sciences and in medicine will merge to incorporate Science, Technology, Engineering, Math, and Medicine (STEMM).

Acknowledgments The authors would like to thank Renad Ramahi and Tiana Stephens for their invaluable research support, as well as the editors of this handbook for their helpful feedback.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), 139–158.
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), 441–464.
- Ash, A. S., Carr, P. L., Goldstein, R., & Friedman, R. H. (2004). Academia and clinic compensation and advancement of women in academic medicine: Is there equity? *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 141, 205–212.
- August, L., & Waltman, J. (2004). Culture, climate, and contribution: Career satisfaction among female faculty. *Research in Higher Education*, 45(2), 177–192.
- Babaria, P., Abedin, S., Berg, D., & Nunez-Smith, M. (2012). ‘I’m too used to it: A longitudinal qualitative study of third year female medical students’ experiences of gendered encounters in medical education. *Social Science and Medicine*, 74(7), 1013–1020.
- Basow, S. A., Phelan, J. E., & Capotosto, L. (2006). Gender patterns in college students’ choices of their best and worst professors. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(1), 25–35.
- Beagan, B. (2001). Micro inequities and everyday inequalities: ‘Race’, gender, sexuality and class in medical school. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*, 26(4), 583–610.
- Beede, D., Julian, T., & Langdon, D. (2011). *Women in STEM: A gender gap to innovation*. Washington, DC.
- Bellas, M. L., & Toutkoushian, R. K. (1999). Faculty time allocations and research productivity: Gender, race, and family effects. *Review of Higher Education*, 22(4), 367–390.
- Benschop, Y., & Brouns, M. (2003). Crumbling ivory towers: Academic organizing and its gender effects. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 10(2), 194–212.
- Blackwell, J. E. (1988). Faculty issues: The impact on minorities. *Review of Higher Education*, 11(4), 417–434.
- Blickenstaff, J. C. (2005). Women and science careers: Leaky pipeline or gender filter? *Gender and Education*, 17(4), 369–386.
- Boulis, A. K., & Jacobs, J. A. (2008). *The changing face of medicine: Women doctors and the evolution of health care in America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Bradley, K. (2000). The incorporation of women into higher education: Paradoxical outcomes? *Sociology of Education*, 73(1), 1–18.
- Budig, M. J. (2002). Male advantage and the gender composition of jobs: Who rides the glass escalator? *Social Problems*, 49(2), 258–277.
- Budig, M. J., & Hodges, M. J. (2010). Differences in disadvantage: Variation in the motherhood penalty across White Women's earnings distribution. *American Sociological Review*, 75(5), 705–728.
- Canes, B. J., & Rosen, H. S. (1995). Following in her footsteps? Faculty gender composition and women's choices of college majors. *ILR Review*, 48(3), 486–504.
- Carnes, M., Morrissey, C., & Geller, S. E. (2008). Women's health and women's leadership in academic medicine: Hitting the same glass ceiling? *Journal of women's health* (2002), 17(9), 1453–1462.
- Carr, P. L., Szalacha, L., Barnett, R., Caswell, C., & Inui, T. (2003). A 'Ton of Feathers': Gender discrimination in academic medical careers and how to manage it. *Journal of Women's Health*, 12(10), 1009–1018.
- Carr, P. L., Ash, A. S., Friedman, R. H., Szalacha, L., Barnett, R. C., Palepu, A., et al. (2000). Faculty perceptions of gender discrimination and sexual harassment in academic medicine. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 132, 889–896.
- Cassell, J. (1997). Doing gender doing surgery: Women surgeons in a man's profession. *Human Organization*, 56, 47–52.
- Catsambis, S. (1994). The path to math: Gender and racial-ethnic differences in mathematics participation from middle school to high school. *Sociology of Education*, 67(3), 199–215.
- Cech, E. A., & Blair-Loy, M. (2014). Consequences of flexibility stigma among academic scientists and engineers. *Work and Occupations*, 41(1), 86–110.
- Cech, E., Rubineau, B., Silbey, S., & Seron, C. (2011). Professional role confidence and gendered persistence in engineering. *American Sociological Review*, 76(5), 641–666.
- Committee on Maximizing the Potential of Women in Academic Science and Engineering. (2007). *Beyond bias and barriers: Fulfilling the potential of women in academic science and engineering*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Conefrey, T. (1997). Gender, culture and authority in a university life sciences laboratory. *Discourse & Society*, 8(3), 313–340.
- Correll, S. J. (2001). Gender and the career choice process: The role of biased self-assessments. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(6), 1691–1730.
- Craig, L. (2007). Is there really a second shift, and if so, who does it? A time-diary investigation. *Feminist Review*, 86(1), 149–170.
- Damaske, S., Ecklund, E. H., Lincoln, A. E., & White, V. J. (2014). Male scientists' competing devotions to work and family: Changing norms in a male-dominated profession. *Work & Occupations*, 41(4), 477–507.
- Davies, S., & Guppy, N. (1997). Fields of study, college selectivity, and student inequalities in higher education. *Social Forces*, 75(4), 1417–1438.
- Dodson, T. F., & Webb, A. L. B. (2005). Why do residents leave general surgery? The hidden problem in today's programs. *Current Surgery*, 62(1), 128–131.
- Eccles, J. S., & Jacobs, J. E. (1986). Social forces shape math attitudes and performance. *Signs*, 11(2), 367–380.
- Ecklund, E. H., Lincoln, A. E., & Tansey, C. (2012). Gender segregation in Elite academic science. *Gender & Society*, 26(5), 693–717.
- England, P., Bearak, J., Budig, M. J., & Hodges, M. J. (2016). Do highly paid, highly skilled women experience the largest motherhood penalty? *American Sociological Review*, 81(6), 1161–1189.
- Etzkowitz, H., Kemelgor, C., Neuschatz, M., Uzzi, B., & Alonzo, J. (1994). The paradox of critical mass for women in science. *Science*, 266(5182), 5154.
- Etzkowitz, H., Kemelgor, C., & Uzzi, B. (2000). *Athena unbound: The advancement of women in science and technology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferreira, M. (2003). Gender issues related to graduate student attrition in two science departments. *International Journal of Science Education*, 25(8), 969–989.
- Filardo, G., da Graca, B., Sass, D. M., Pollock, B. D., Smith, E. B., Martinez, M. A. M., et al. (2016). Trends and comparison of female first authorship in high impact medical journals: Observational study (1994–2014). *British Medical Journal*, 352, i847.
- Ford, K. A. (2011). Race, gender, and bodily (mis) recognitions: Women of color faculty experiences with white students in the college classroom. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 82(4), 444–478.
- Fox, M. F. (2001). Women, science, and academia: Graduate education and careers. *Gender & Society*, 15(5), 654–666.
- Fox, M. F. (2006). Gender, knowledge, and scientific styles. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 869(1), 89–93.
- Frome, P. M., Alfeld, C. J., Eccles, J. S., & Barber, B. L. (2006). Why don't they want a male-dominated job? An investigation of young women who changed their occupational aspirations. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 12(4), 359–372.
- GINORIO, A. B. (1995). *Warming the climate for women in academic science*. Washington DC.
- Gjerberg, E. (2002). Gender similarities in doctors' preferences—And gender differences in final specialisation. *Social Science and Medicine*, 54(4), 591–605.
- Gjerberg, E. (2003). Women doctors in Norway: The challenging balance between career and family life. *Social Science and Medicine*, 57(7), 1327–1341.
- Gjerberg, E., & Kjølørød, L. (2001). The doctor-nurse relationship: How easy is it to be a female doctor co-operating with a female nurse? *Social Science and Medicine*, 52(2), 189–202.

- Hackett, G., Esposito, D., & Sean O'Halloran, M. (1989). The relationship of role model influences to the career salience and educational and career plans of college women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 35(2), 164–180.
- Hall, R. M., & Sandler, B. R. (1982). *The classroom climate: A chilly one for women?* Washington, DC.
- Hargens, L. L., & Long, J. S. (2002). Demographic inertia and women's representation among faculty in higher education. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 73(4), 494–517.
- Harlow, R. (2003). 'Race doesn't matter, but ...': The effect of race on professors' experiences and emotion management in the undergraduate college classroom. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 66(4), 348–363.
- Harvey Wingfield, A. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator: Reconsidering men's experiences with women's work. *Gender & Society*, 23(1), 5–26.
- Heiligers, P. J. M., & Hingstman, L. (2000). Career preferences and the work-family balance in medicine: Gender differences among medical specialists. *Social Science and Medicine*, 50(9), 1235–1246.
- Herzig, A. H. (2004a). Becoming mathematicians: Women and students of color choosing and leaving doctoral mathematics. *Review of Educational Research*, 74(2), 171–214.
- Herzig, A. H. (2004b). 'Slaughtering this beautiful math': Graduate women choosing and leaving mathematics. *Gender and Education*, 16(3), 379–395.
- Hinze, S. W. (1999). Gender and the body of medicine or at least some body parts: (Re)constructing the prestige hierarchy of medical specialties. *Sociological Quarterly*, 40(2), 217–239.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2010). 'She won't make me feel dumb': Identity threat in a male-dominated discipline. *International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology*, 2–20.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2014a). Not the ideal professor: Gender in the academy. In A. Stepnick & K. DeWelde (Eds.), *Disrupting the culture of silence: Women navigating hostility and making change in the academy* (pp. 205–214). Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2014b). 'She's not good with crying': The effect of gender expectations on graduate students' assessments of their principal investigators. *Gender and Education*, 26(6), 601–617.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2015). 'I just did everything physically possible to get in there': How men and women chemists enact masculinity differently. *Social Currents*, 2(4), 324–340.
- Hirshfield, L. (2016). Who's the expert? Gendered conceptions and expressions of expertise by chemists-in-training. In E. H. Branch (Ed.), *Pathways, potholes, and the persistence of women in science* (pp. 112–130). Lanham MD: Lexington Books.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2017). 'I Don't Know Everything, But Ethan Would Know': Interactional Style, Expertise, and the Cultural Mismatch for Women Scientists. *NASPA Journal about Women in Higher Education*, 10(1), 118–137.
- Hirshfield, L. E., & Joseph, T. D. (2012). 'We need a woman, we need a black woman': Gender, race, and identity taxation in the academy. *Gender and Education*, 24(2), 213–227.
- Hirt, J. B., & Muffo, J. A. (1998). Graduate students: Institutional climates and disciplinary cultures. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, (98), 17–33.
- Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. Penguin (Non-Classics).
- Hyde, J. S., Fennema, E., & Lamon, S. J. (1990). Gender differences in mathematics performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107(2), 139–155.
- Jagsi, R., Guancial, E. A., Worobey, C. C., Henault, L. E., Chang, Y., Starr, R., et al. (2006). The 'gender Gap' in authorship of academic medical literature—a 35-year perspective. *The New England journal of medicine*, 355(3), 281–287.
- Jena, A. B., Khullar, D., Ho, O., Olenski, A. R., & Blumenthal, D. M. (2015). Sex differences in academic rank in US medical schools in 2014. *JAMA*, 314(11), 1149.
- Johnsrud, L. K. (1995). Women in graduate education: Reviewing the past, looking to the future. *New Directions for Student Services*, 72, 69–80.
- Johnsrud, L. K. (2002). Measuring the quality of faculty and administrative worklife: Implications for college and university campuses. *Research in Higher Education*, 43(3), 379–395.
- Kahn, J. R., García-Manglano, J., & Bianchi, S. M. (2014). The motherhood penalty at midlife: Long-term effects of children on women's careers. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(1), 56–72.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kaplan, S. H., Sullivan, L. M., Dukes, K. A., Phillips, C. F., Kelch, R. P., & Schaller, J. G. (1996). Sex differences in academic achievement: Results of a national study of pediatricians. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 335(17), 1282–1289.
- King, M. M., Bergstrom, C. T., Correll, S. J., Jacquet, J., & West, J. D. (2017). Men Set Their Own Cites High: Gender and Self-citation across Fields and over Time. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 3, 1–22.
- Krefting, L. A. (2003). Intertwined discourses of merit and gender: Evidence from academic employment in the USA. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(2), 260–278.
- Ku, M. C. (2011). When does gender matter?: Gender differences in specialty choice among physicians. *Work and Occupations*, 38(2), 221–262.
- Kuck, V. J., Marzabadi, C. H., Buckner, J. P., & Nolan, S. A. (2007). A review and study on graduate training and academic hiring of chemists. *Journal of Chemical Education*, 84(2), 277–284.
- Lautenberger, D. M., Dandar, V. M., Raezer, C. L., & Sloane, R. A. (2013). *The state of women in academic*

- medicine: The pipeline and pathway to leadership 2013–2014*. Washington DC.
- Lincoln, A. E., Pincus, S., Koster, J. B., & Leboy, P. S. (2012). The Matilda effect in science: Awards and prizes in the US, 1990s and 2000s. *Social Studies of Science*, 42(2), 307–320.
- Lips, H., & Lawson, K. (2009). Work values, gender, and expectations about work commitment and pay: Laying the groundwork for the ‘motherhood penalty’? *Sex Roles*, 61(9–10), 667–676.
- Major, B., & O’Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56, 393–421.
- Marschke, R., Laursen, S., Nielsen, J. M. C., & Rankin, P. (2007). Demographic inertia revisited: An immodest proposal to achieve equitable gender representation among faculty in higher education. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 78(1), 1–26.
- Martin, J. (1994). The organization of exclusion: Institutionalization of sex inequality, gendered faculty jobs and gendered knowledge in organizational theory and research. *Organization*, 1(2), 401–431.
- Martin, S. C., Arnold, R. M., & Parker, R. M. (1988). Gender and medical socialization. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 29(4), 333–343.
- Mastekaasa, A., & Smeby, J. C. (2006). Educational choice and persistence in male-and female-dominated fields. *Higher Education*.
- McOwen, K. S., Bellini, L. S., Guerra, C. E., & Shea, J. A. (2007). Evaluation of clinical faculty: Gender and minority implications. *Academic Medicine: Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, 82(10 Suppl), S94–S96.
- Merchant, J. L., & Bishr Omary, M. (2010). Underrepresentation of underrepresented minorities in academic medicine: The need to enhance the pipeline and the pipe. *Gastroenterology*, 138, 19–26.
- Milkie, M. A., Raley, S. B., & Bianchi, S. M. (2007). Taking on the second shift: Time allocations and time pressures of U. S. parents with preschoolers. *Social Forces*, 88(2), 487–517.
- Misra, J., Lundquist, J., Holmes, E. D., & Agiomavritis, S. (2011). The ivory ceiling of service work. *Academe—Bulletin of the AAUP*, 97(1), 22–26.
- National Partnership for Women & Families. (2016). *America’s women and the wage gap what does the wage gap mean*. Washington DC.
- Nettles, M. T., Perna, L. W., Bradburn, E. M., & Zimble, L. (2000). *Salary, promotion, and tenure status of minority and women faculty in U.S. colleges and universities*. Washington DC.
- Niemann, Y. F. (1999). The making of a token: A case study of stereotype threat, stigma, racism, and tokenism in academe. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 20(1), 111–134.
- Nonnemaker, L. (2000). Women physicians in academic medicine: New insights from cohort studies. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 342(6), 399–405.
- Ong, M. (2005). Body projects of young women of color in physics: Intersections of gender, race, and science. *Social Problems*, 52(4), 593–617.
- Rask, K. N., & Bailey, E. M. (2002). Are faculty role models? Evidence from major choice in an undergraduate institution. *The Journal of Economic Education*, 33(2), 99–124.
- Rhoton, L. A. (2011). Distancing as a gendered barrier: Understanding women scientists’ gender practices. *Gender & Society*, 25(6), 696–716.
- Riska, E. (2001). Towards gender balance: But will women physicians have an impact on medicine? *Social Science and Medicine*, 52(2), 179–187.
- Robst, J., Keil, J., & Russo, D. (1998). The effect of gender composition of faculty on student retention. *Economics of Education Review*, 17(4), 429–439.
- Rogers, S. J., & Menaghan, E. G. (1991). Women’s persistence in undergraduate majors: The effects of gender-disproportionate representation. *Gender & Society*, 5(4), 549–564.
- Roskovensky, L. B., Grbic, D., & Matthew, D. (2012). *The changing gender composition of US medical school applicants and matriculants*. Washington, DC.
- Rossiter, M. W. (1993). The Matthew Matilda effect in science. *Social Studies of Science*, 23(2), 325–341.
- Roth, L. M. (2016). A doctor’s worth bonus criteria and the gender pay gap among American physicians. *Social Currents*, 3, 3–23.
- Rothstein, D. S. (1995). Do female faculty influence female students’ educational and labor market attainments? *ILR Review*, 48(3), 515–530.
- Sallee, M. W. (2011). Performing masculinity: Considering gender in doctoral student socialization. *Journal of Higher Education*, 82(2), 187–216.
- Samble, J. N. (2008). Female faculty: Challenges and choices in the United States and beyond. *New Directions for Higher Education*, (Fall), 55–62.
- Sax, L. J. (1994). Mathematical self-concept: How college reinforces the gender gap. *Research in Higher Education*, 35(2), 141–166.
- Sax, L. J. (1996). The dynamics of “tokenism”: How college students are affected by the proportion of women in their major. *Research in Higher Education*, 37(4), 389–425.
- Schiebinger, L. (1999). *Has feminism changed science?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Schmader, T., Whitehead, J., & Wysocki, V. H. (2007). A linguistic comparison of letters of recommendation for male and female chemistry and biochemistry job applicants. *Sex roles*, 57(7–8), 509–514.
- Schneider, B. E. (1987). Graduate women, sexual harassment, and university policy. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 58(1), 46–65.
- Sidhu, R., Rajashekhar, P., Lavin, V. L., Parry, J., Attwood, J., Holdcroft, A., & Sanders, D. S. (2009). The gender imbalance in academic medicine: A study of female authorship in the United Kingdom. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 102(8), 337–342.

- Smith, J. W., & Calasanti, T. (2005). The influences of gender, race and ethnicity on workplace experiences of institutional and social isolation: An exploratory study of university faculty. *Sociological Spectrum*, 25(3), 307–334.
- Smith-Doerr, L., Sacco, T., & Stoutenburgh, A. (2016). Crisis of confidence: Young women doing gender and science. In E. H. Branch (Ed.), *Pathways, potholes, and the persistence of women in science* (pp. 95–111). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Sonnert, G., & Holton, G. J. (1995). *Who succeeds in science? The gender dimension*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Steinpreis, R. E., Anders, K. A., & Ritzke, D. (1999). The impact of gender on the review of the curricula vitae of job applicants and tenure candidates: A national empirical study. *Sex Roles*, 41(7/8), 509–528.
- Traweek, S. (1992). *Beamtimes and lifetimes: The world of high energy physicists*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Trix, F., & Psenka, C. (2003). Exploring the color of glass: Letters of recommendation for female and male medical faculty. *Discourse & Society*, 14(2), 191–220.
- Uhlenberg, P., & Cooney, T. M. (1990). Male and female physicians: Family and career comparisons. *Social Science and Medicine*, 30(3), 373–378.
- Urdansky, M. L., & Gordon, R. A. (2016). Is college enough? Gender disparities in the use of science and engineering degrees in the workforce. In E. H. Branch (Ed.), *Pathways, potholes, and the persistence of women in science* (pp. 21–40). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Valian, V. (1998). *Why so slow? The advancement of women*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- van Anders, S. M. (2004). Why the academic pipeline leaks: Fewer men than women perceive barriers to becoming professors. *Sex Roles*, 51(9–10), 511–521.
- Wallace, J. E. (2014). Gender and supportive co-worker relations in the medical profession. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 21(1), 1–17.
- Ware, N. C., Steckler, N. A., & Leserman, J. (1985). Undergraduate women: Who chooses a science major? *The Journal of Higher Education*, 56(1), 73–84.
- Weinberger, C. J. (1998). Race and gender wage gaps in the market for recent college graduates. *Industrial Relations*, 37(1), 67–84.
- Wenneras, C., & Wold, A. (1997). Nepotism and sexism in peer-review. *Nature*, 387, 341–343.
- West, C. (1993). Reconceptualizing gender in physician-patient relationships. *Social Science and Medicine*, 36(1), 57–66.
- West, J. D., Jacquet, J., King, M. M., Correll, S. J., & Bergstrom, C. T. (2013). The role of gender in scholarly authorship. *PLoS One*, 8(7), e66212.
- Wiest, L. R. (1999). Addressing the needs of graduate women. *Contemporary Education*, 70(2), 30–33.
- Williams, C. L. (1991). *Gender differences at work: Women and men in non-traditional occupations*. California: University of California Press.
- Wingfield, A. H. (2010). Are some emotions marked “whites only”? Racialized feeling rules in professional workplaces. *Social Problems*, 57(2), 251–268.
- Xie, Y., & Shauman, K. A. (1998). Sex differences in research productivity: New evidence about an old puzzle. *American Sociological Review*, 63(6), 847.
- Xie, Y., & Shauman, K. A. (2003). *Women in science: Career processes and outcomes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Yoder, J. D. (1991). Rethinking Tokenism: Looking beyond numbers. *Gender & Society*, 5(2), 178–192.
- Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and women in the workplace: The limits of gender-neutral theory. *Social Problems*, 35(1), 64–77.

Laura E. Hirshfield is an assistant professor of Medical Education and Sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. A sociologist by training, Laura’s research centers on gender and other forms of inequality in academic and clinical settings, particularly in the natural sciences and medicine. Specifically, she focuses on the “hidden labor” undertaken by and expected of women, people of color, and other minorities in scientific and medical workplaces. Her recent work has also explored cultural competence (broadly defined) and emotional socialization in medical contexts.

Emilie Glass is a Ph.D. student in Sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Emilie’s research focuses on women’s health and the politics of motherhood. Specifically, she explores how pregnant people work with midwives to create birthing experiences outside of the healthcare system with the (at times unmet) goal of providing themselves with greater freedom. Her future research will investigate how mothers who cannot breastfeed their infants work to attain “good mother” status (a status often reinforced by public health campaigns), using methods that are either unconventional or not accepted by the medical community.

Women on the Move: Stalled Gender Revolution in Global Migration

36

Carolyn Choi, Maria Cecilia Hwang
and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas

Abstract

This chapter examines how structural inequalities of gender including the ideology of female domesticity, non-egalitarian division of household labor, sex-segmented labor market, and a glass ceiling shape the independent migration of women. It empirically traces gendered inequalities in transnational households, labor migration, and educational migration. Questioning the dominant feminist paradigm on gender and migration which assumes that migration is a gender equalizing process, we argue that while women achieve some gains in status and in their interpersonal relations, their experiences remain unequivocally structured by gender inequities resulting in a gender stall in women's global migration.

Women have always constituted a significant number of migrant populations. This reality has been downplayed by the term “feminization of migration” which, as Donato and Gabbacia (2015) argue, suggests that women are nothing more than recent migrants. Yet, as early as 1984, Morokvasic reminded us that “Birds of Passage Are Also Women” and that they have outnumbered male migrants entering the United States since the 1930s. While they primarily migrated in the early 20th century as dependents who followed male family members (Gardner, 2005) they have since entered the United States as independent migrants. Women now migrate to the United States not only as family members (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994) but also as workers (Choy, 2003) and students (Matsui, 1995). Women also outnumber their male counterparts from some of the largest source countries of labor and educational migrants. In Indonesia, we have seen a widening gap in the ratio of male to female migrants with women comprising 56% of labor migrants in 1996, 68% in 2000 and 78% in 2004 and 2007 (International Organization for Migration, 2010: 9). Women from the Philippines likewise outnumber their male counterparts as they comprise approximately 55–60% of the annual flows of labor migrants (Scalabrini Migration Center, 2013). In East Asia, one of the largest sending regions of student migrants, women now surpass the number of men

C. Choi (✉) · R. S. Parreñas
University of Southern California, Los Angeles,
USA
e-mail: carolysc@usc.edu

R. S. Parreñas
e-mail: parrenas@usc.edu

M. C. Hwang
Brown University, Providence, USA
e-mail: maria_cecilia_hwang@brown.edu

engaging in study abroad to Western countries (Y. Kim, 2011a).

In the 1980s, pioneering feminist migration scholars began to question the invisibility of women in mainstream knowledge production of migration (Anthias, 1983; Gabaccia, 1994; Morokvasic, 1984). Earlier scholarship on women's migration called for not just the inclusion of women but also for a gendered perspective in mainstream migration research (Donato et al., 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999). Subsequent generations of scholars began to use gender as an analytic lens, examining the various ways gender is a constitutive element of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003) and how "multiplicities of femininities and masculinities are... interconnected, relational and intertwined in relations of class, race-ethnicity, nation and sexualities" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013: 233). Scholars in this tradition examine the constitution of gender at the macrostructural level by analyzing the ways in which gender informs the political economy of migration through state policies and neoliberal market forces that promote the formation of international divisions of labor that engender female migration (Chin, 1998; Parreñas, 2001a; Sassen, 1984). A larger crop of scholars has focused the meso level and how migration reshapes gender and accordingly the position of men and women in institutions such as the family (Abrego, 2014; George, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kibria, 1995). Finally, others examine the micro politics of gender by examining the subjectivity of migrant women, particularly as mothers and cosmopolitan subjects (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Le Espiritu, 2003; Madianou, 2016; Parreñas, 2001a).

Since the 1980s, scholars have also begun to increasingly recognize the global scope of women's migration, thereby decentering the United States in empirical investigations (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; Parreñas, 2008). They show that women migrate as workers, wives, and students not only to North America or Europe but also to Latin America and Asia (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015). Reflecting a more globally diverse pattern of migration, migrant women

workers originate from disparate countries and regions with larger groups coming from Mexico and Central America, Southeast Asia (in particular Indonesia and the Philippines), and Eastern Europe (ibid). As students, women primarily migrate to Australia, United Kingdom, and the United States, pursuing higher education degrees or merely an English language certificate (Ichimoto, 2004; Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a; Matsui, 1995). Finally, they migrate as wives with some marrying co-ethnics (Thai, 2008) and others pursuing pen pal or cyber romances with foreign men (Constable, 2003). Although long-standing destinations in Europe and North America (Constable, 2003) continue to receive a steady flow of marriage migrants from Central Asia and Latin America (Johnson, 2007; Schaeffer, 2012), a large pool of Southeast Asian women now migrate for marriages in Taiwan and South Korea (Bélanger, Linh, & Duong, 2011; Choo, 2016).

In this chapter, we provide an overview of the literature on women's migration and illustrate how scholars have been divided over the question of whether migration is a gender equalizing process, that is, whether women who migrate make gains in relation to men in the labor market, education, and household. On the one side of the debate are scholars who assert that migration can be a liberating experience for women (Gonzalez-Lopez, 2005; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Singer & Gilbertson, 2003). Their assertions are primarily based on the experiences of women from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and India who make up both professional migrant women such as nurses and low-wage migrant workers such as domestic workers (George, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Scholars of this view assert that "women make greater gains in status, autonomy and resources relative to men" in migration (Singer & Gilbertson, 2003: 375); women's greater income earning power not only leads to their greater economic contributions to the family but also translates into more decision-making authority in the household (Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991). They also argue that migrant women have greater access to the public sphere because of their increased dealings with teachers at schools

and doctors in hospitals than their male counterparts (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994).

Others disagree with this perspective. Menjivar (2003) questions the assertion that “entry into paid work [is] an unqualified indication of empowerment and improved status within the family for women” (2003: 108). Instead, she finds the strong possibility of a gender backlash—when women earn more, men accordingly drink more. Similarly, Le Espiritu (2003) observed that women wage earners in the Filipino American migrant community sacrifice high-paying jobs for lower earnings in order to retain their husband’s status as the primary income earner of their family. This group of scholars acknowledge more nuanced gender processes in migration, insisting that migration does not always involve gender ascendance for women but instead leads to the simultaneous reinforcement and transformation of gender (Gold, 2003; Kibria, 1995). Indeed, women’s greater involvement in school activities could likewise reflect greater reproductive labor responsibilities than men even if such responsibilities extend outside the domestic sphere.

Regardless of these competing perspectives, the dominant perspective among gender and migration scholars holds that women gain more than they lose in gender status and social relations upon migration. However, as we illustrate in this chapter, while women continue to improve access in the public realm as breadwinners, household negotiators and cosmopolitan subjects, they also face another set of gender limitations upon and post-migration. Women confront a sex-segmented labor market, glass ceiling, the ideology of female domesticity, and non-egalitarian divisions of household labor in their home and host countries. We show these inequalities in the concentration of domestic work in the global labor market, transnational households, and global education. Thus, while women achieve some gains in status and in their interpersonal relations with men, the institutions of the labor market, family, and education remain unequivocally structured by gender inequalities resulting in a gender stall for migrant women.

1 Transnational Household

The majority of migrant workers across the globe are unskilled guest workers who in effect are disqualified from sponsoring the migration of their dependents. This is the case for construction and domestic workers in the Middle East; farm workers in Canada, the United States and countries in Europe; and factory workers in South Korea and Taiwan. This results in the salience of transnational households in migrant communities across the globe. Transnational households are a common feature not only among guest workers but also undocumented workers in the United States (see Dreby, 2010).

While transnational households affect both men and women, that is fathers and mothers, the issue of transnational mothering, defined by Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, (1997) as the reorganization of motherhood to accommodate the new temporal and spatial separations brought upon migration (548), has engendered greater public concern. We see this in the case of Sri Lanka, which called for the banning of the migration of mothers with children under four years old (Parreñas, 2008). Undergirding the migration of mothers is the ideology of female domesticity, whereby women are idealized as the primary caretakers of their children who must reside with them. The persistence of the ideology of female domesticity in women’s migration demonstrates the salience of gender inequalities in the formation of transnational households and the experiences of transnational mothers in particular.

In contemporary migration, transnational mothering has become a commonplace feature for Ukrainian migrant mothers working as domestic workers in Italy (Solari, 2006); Polish migrant mothers in Germany (Lutz, 2011); Mexican migrant women in the United States (Dreby, 2010) as well Salvadoran (Abrego, 2009) and Honduran migrant mothers (Schmalzbauer, 2005); Indonesian mothers in Hong Kong (Constable, 2007) and Saudi Arabia (Silvey, 2007); and migrant women in the Philippine diaspora (Parreñas, 2005). In the Philippines, for

instance, there are more than an estimated 10 million children growing up with at least one parent working overseas since the early 2000s (Madianou & Miller, 2012). The migration of mothers who leave their own children to take care of their employers' children often leads to what Parreñas calls the "international division of reproductive labor," a chain-linked family care system whereby the extended family network meets childcare needs back in the home country.

The duration of transnational mothering can vary and is largely determined by migration and citizenship regimes. In Austria, transnational mothers from Romania and Slovakia are separated from their children for a short time via a form of "transnational commuting" (Morokvasic, 2004), where mothers circulate between the home country where their families reside and the host country where they work. Because they are permitted to circulate across the European Union without restrictions, Slovaks interchangeably spend two weeks in the home and host country while Romanians spend one month in each site (Bauer, 2013). In contrast, migrant Filipinas spend a longer period being away from their children. For instance, Parreñas (2001a, 2001b, 2015) found that domestic workers who participated in the Labor Certification Program to secure permanent residency, which according to a representative of the nonprofit organization *Damayan* in New York City took an average of ten years, were unable to sponsor their dependent children as their permanent residency did not get approved until their children were already adults. Pratt (2012) likewise found that participants in Canada's "Live-in Caregivers Programme" are separated from their children for 5 to 6 years before their children became qualified to reunite with them in Canada.

Imposing geographical distance between mothers and children, transnational mothering disrupts the ideology of female domesticity and questions the idea that appropriate mothering requires that biological mothers must exclusively raise their children up close. Not only does it expand "definitions of motherhood to encompass breadwinning that may require long-term physical separations" (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila,

1997: 562) but also involves mothering from a distance. For instance, telecommunicative advancements allow women to compress time and space and use the Internet, telephone, and postal mail to nurture their children from afar. Regular communication allows mothers to mediate their relationships (Madianou & Miller, 2012) in the form of telephone calls, remittances, letters, voice recordings, emails, SMS messages, or photographs.

In many ways, transnational mothering seems to challenge the traditional gender division of labor in the family. According to Madianou (2012), this often leaves migrant mothers with ambivalent sentiments where women feel liberated from the traditional duties of nurturing their children up close while personally having to adapt to fulfill such duties unconventionally from afar. Regardless of the personal sentiments of women, empirical studies show that transnational mothering simply reconstitutes the performance of mothering from occurring up close to taking place from a distance rather than challenging the definition of care work as women's work (Abrego, 2009; Dreby, 2006; Parreñas, 2005). Although it is understood that there are different personal meanings to the experience of mothering, transnational mothers have not completely shaken off their continued responsibility to care for children. As Parreñas (2005) has argued, advancements in communication technology have enabled the retention of traditional gendered norms by allowing migrant women to perform their nurturing duties from a distance. Dreby's (2006) study of Mexican transnational families also demonstrated that "mothers' relationships with their children in Mexico are highly dependent on expressing emotional intimacy from a distance, whereas fathers' relationships lie in their economic success as migrant workers" (34). Abrego (2009) similarly observed that Salvadoran transnational mothers affirm their caregiving responsibilities from afar through their selfless commitment to their children's well-being. Fathers, Abrego (*ibid*) noted, did not.

Still, children and the society back home might not necessarily accept mothers' individual redefinitions of mothering. The backlash

confronting migrant mothers in various home societies indicates this to be the case. In the Philippines, children of transnational mothers are often popularly portrayed as victims who have been abandoned by their mothers (Parreñas, 2005). Furthermore, nationalist narratives dismiss women's migration as not just bad for the welfare of children but dangerous to the sanctity of the family. In contrast, the public does not blame migrant fathers for leaving their families in the same way as migrant mothers. Rather, the prevailing view in the Philippines is that if a parent must migrate, it is better for the father to do so than the mother (Parreñas, 2005).

Such negative reactions associated with women's migration are not only true in the Asian context, but also in Eastern Europe.¹ For instance, the Polish public labels the children of migrant women as "Euro-orphans," or children who have been abandoned by the outflow of migrant mothers to Western Europe (Urbanksa, 2009). A news article on "Euro-orphans," for instance, reports that Poland's Minister of Education blamed parental migration for failing test scores and growing truancy: "Kids get into trouble with the law, have social problems, behavior and attitude problems in school, and absences" (Goering, 2008). Likewise, an article in the *New York Times* describes the outmigration of Romanian women as a "national tragedy" that has triggered social upheaval in the country. Women's outmigration is not only blamed for the collapse of the Romanian family but also for the abandonment and delinquency of children (Bifelski, 2009). To the contrary, studies do not support the media and popular negative assertions frequently associated with mother's migration. Instead, empirical studies show that the maintenance of transnational families neither results in children's poorer performance in school nor in increased juvenile delinquency (Parreñas, 2005; Urbanksa, 2009).

¹In Poland, the children of domestic workers are commonly referred to as "Euro Orphans," a term suggesting the 'abandonment' of children for the care of families in Western Europe.

Moralistic assertions continue to dominate perceptions of mother's migration as child abandonment. Yet, feminist analyses on nations and nationalism remind that us that national identity is frequently tied to the idea of women as the reproducers of the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Hence, we see the tendency to naturalize mothering as a reaction against the social transformations encouraged by globalization and women's labor outmigration in countries like the Philippines, Poland, and Romania. We can also assume that the family in its traditional sense remains a central institution that defines the cultural identity of nations. The backlash against migrant mothers in countries as disparate as the Philippines and Poland attests to the limits in the gender advancements achieved by transnational mothers. Their efforts to become breadwinners have not eased their nurturing responsibilities in the family but have instead resulted in their vilification as "bad mothers."

2 Global Labor Market and the Concentration of Migrant Women in Domestic Work

According to recent estimates by the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2015), there are approximately 150 million migrant workers worldwide. Women make up 44.3% of the international migrant labor force (ILO, 2015), yet they are concentrated in traditionally female sex-segmented jobs including domestic workers, child care workers, nurses, teachers, and clerical workers. Due to the higher demand, migrant women are concentrated in domestic work (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2004) with recent estimates indicating that women account for 73.4% of all migrant domestic workers across the globe (ILO, 2015). From the perspective of major labor sending countries, gender segmentation in the international labor market has become more pronounced. For instance, among Filipinos, who constitute the largest national groups of migrant workers in the world, 185,601 women departed the Philippines as newly hired temporary workers in 2010 with 51% being

domestic workers (POEA, 2010). In this section, we center on the labor migration of domestic workers to illustrate how the concentration of women in care work that are considered “unskilled” shape their migration and labor conditions.

Most migrant domestic workers hail from Southeast Asia, namely the Philippines and Indonesia (Parreñas & Silvey, 2016). Domestic workers from the Philippines now migrate to 160 countries across the globe (Parreñas, 2015), including Italy (Parreñas, 2001a, 2015), Canada (Pratt, 2012; Tungohan et al., 2015), United States (Parreñas, 2001a, 2015), Hong Kong (Constable, 2007, 2014), Israel (Liebelt, 2011), Taiwan (Lan, 2006), Singapore (Yeoh & Huang, 2010), Malaysia (Chin, 1998), and the United Arab Emirates (Parreñas & Silvey, 2016). Likewise, Indonesian women relocate and work in countries including Hong Kong (Constable, 2007), Malaysia (Chin, 1998), and Saudi Arabia (Silvey, 2004). The type of domestic labor performed depends on their destination, with those in Israel (Liebelt, 2011) and Taiwan (Lan, 2007) performing mainly elder care; primarily child care in Canada; and those in Hong Kong (Constable, 2007), Singapore and Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC) countries doing an “all around work” that includes cooking, cleaning, and caring for the households (Parreñas & Silvey, 2017).

Recognizing the dependence of families on the labor of migrant domestic workers, many labor importing countries have instituted legal migration channels for domestic workers. Suggesting a cultural shift towards the view of domestic work as “real work” is the approval of the International Labour Organization Convention 189 in 2011, otherwise known as the Domestic Workers Convention, which came into effect after its subsequent ratification by the member states of Uruguay and the Philippines the following year.² This convention led to the enactment of legal reforms for the greater protection of domestic workers in many countries

including, for instance, the migrant destination countries of Singapore and Lebanon, both of which have since instituted a mandatory weekly day off (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Despite the positive effects resulting from this convention, we still see a stall in the recognition of paid domestic work as real work.

Most migrant domestic workers are integrated into destination countries as “partial citizens,” defined by Parreñas (2001b) as the “stunted integration of migrants in receiving nation-states” (1130), which in turn shapes the labor conditions of migrant domestic workers as precarious workers. Considered “unskilled” laborers by states, most migrant domestic workers enter destination countries as “guest workers” and are ineligible for permanent residency. As such, they are easily vulnerable to deportation. This is the case in Hong Kong where, under the “two-week rule,” domestic workers face automatic deportation unless they find a new employer within two weeks of their termination (Constable, 2007). Likewise, in Israel, domestic workers, if employed more than 63 months in the country, face immediate deportation upon the death of their elderly ward (Liebelt, 2011). In Taiwan, the legal residency of migrant domestic workers was previously capped at six years (Lan, 2006), a limit that was extended to twelve years in 2012 (Parreñas, 2015). Domestic workers also face forcible repatriation once they have reached the age limit established by host countries, such as in Singapore where the retirement age for domestic workers is 60 (Parreñas, 2015). Finally, pregnancy is considered grounds for deportation in countries like Singapore (Yeoh et al., 1999) and Malaysia (Chin, 1998).

Further illustrating the non-recognition of domestic work as real work is their status as unfree migrants. In many host countries, domestic workers are denied labor market flexibility and are unable to freely change their employer-sponsor. For instance, in countries like the UAE and Singapore, they cannot change employers without permission from their current employers (Parreñas, 2015). They can only change their employer twice in Canada and thrice in Israel. In Taiwan, they are banned from

²ILO, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEX_PUB:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:2551460. Accessed April 10, 2017.

changing employers. Due to their status as tied workers who are bound to their employers, migrant domestic workers are arguably incorporated as household dependents and not independent workers. This magnifies the non-recognition of domestic work as real work, which in turn reflects the continued perception of this type of work that has been historically designated to women as unpaid labor.

In some cases, domestic workers are not only tied to their citizen sponsor but are also trapped in “debt bondage,” as a result of policies requiring domestic workers to secure overseas employment through state-licensed employment agencies (Constable, 2007; Lan, 2006; Parreñas, 2015). Constable’s (2007) study found that recruitment agencies in Hong Kong charge Indonesian domestic workers as much as the equivalent of seven months’ salary for their training, medical expenses, and travel documents. This amount is then deducted from domestic workers’ salary until it is fully paid; in other cases, employment agencies force Indonesian domestic workers to take out a loan from financial companies upon arrival in Hong Kong to be paid directly to the former. As Constable (2007) argues, situations of indebtedness render domestic workers vulnerable to exploitation, “Rather than lose a job, be sent back home, and go even further into debt because of the late fees and climbing interest rates, workers are more likely to put up with abuses and try to keep working until they begin to save some money” (88).

Domestic workers’ labor conditions are also framed by the paradoxical recognition of their labor for immigration purposes yet non-recognition in employment laws. Notable exceptions include Italy and the United States. Domestic workers in Italy are guaranteed social security provisions, extra month’s pay per year, and a weekly day off (Parreñas, 2015). Likewise, in the United States although most domestic workers do not have a right to collective bargaining and are excluded from overtime pay, they are nevertheless entitled to a minimum wage (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). Most host countries however do not consider domestic work as a

legitimate form of labor resulting in low standards of employment (Parreñas, 2015). In Singapore, domestic workers are entitled to a day off on a weekly basis but are exempt from the Employment Act (Parreñas, 2015). Likewise in Taiwan, although the Domestic Workers Protection Act upholds the right of workers to negotiate employment conditions with their employer, they are excluded from the broader Labor Standards Law (Lan, 2006; Parreñas, 2015). In Malaysia they are denied the right to unionize (Chin, 1998) and finally in Hong Kong, although migrant domestic workers are guaranteed minimum wage, this minimum wage is significantly lower than the provision for workers in other industries.

Without formal labor standards, employer-employee relations take a significant role in shaping the labor conditions of migrant domestic workers. Rather than mere passive victims of structural inequalities in the global labor market, domestic workers continuously strive to better their working conditions. They do so by demanding reforms through protest (Constable, 2007), holding on to “good employers” (Parreñas, 2015), enacting “strategic personalism”³ (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Lan, 2006), negotiating the terms of their labor, and in other cases, running away (Lan, 2007; Parreñas & Silvey, 2016). Paradoxically, as Lan (2007) observed, domestic workers who run away from their employers and become undocumented in Taiwan consequentially become “free” workers and are able to negotiate the terms of their labor with non-sponsor employers.

Thus, while overseas employment has afforded migrant women economic mobility in their home countries, freedom from restrictive gender norms back home and an avenue to pursue romantic intimacy (Lan, 2006; Parreñas, 2001a), their concentration in care work, and in particular

³Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) defines “strategic personalism” as a domestic employer’s selective cultivation of personal or family-like relationships with a domestic worker due the view that cultivating deep personal ties are time consuming. These employers are often women and come from dual earning households.

domestic work, negatively impacts the gender advances they attain upon migration. Considered “unskilled,” they are incorporated as “partial citizens” who are viewed as not doing “real work” and therefore denied the rights to permanent residency and family reunification. All in all, empirical studies of domestic workers show that gender and racial segmentation in the global labor market and migration as well as citizenship regimes work in concert to produce their precarity as migrant women.

3 Educational Migration

Labor migration is not the only migration pathway to economic mobility for women. Beginning in the 1980s and peaking in the 2000s, increasing numbers of unmarried middle class women in their twenties and thirties have been leaving their homes to study, work, and live abroad in Western countries for short or long term (Habu, 2000; Y. Kim, 2011a, 2011b; Ono & Piper, 2004). Growing increasingly discontent with their subordinate gender status in their home country, young, upwardly mobile migrant women seek out advanced degrees and language study overseas not only to escape gendered expectations as daughters at home and as women in their society but also to overcome the barriers of the glass ceiling of their sex segmented workplaces. Documented flows include Chinese women studying in the United States (Matsui, 1995) and the United Kingdom (Bamber, 2014; Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a, Turner, 2006); South Korean women in the United Kingdom (Y. Kim, 2011a; Y. J. Kim, 2010); Japanese women in the United States (Kelsky, 2001; Matsui, 1995; Ono & Piper, 2004), United Kingdom (Habu, 2000; Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a) and Australia (Ichimoto, 2004).

Educational migration provides a lens to women’s negotiation of gender constraints in migration by allowing us to incorporate the experiences of women migrating from advanced capitalist countries as well as women with a higher level of educational attainment. Indeed, contemporary feminist migration scholars have noted a shift in women who now migrate as

independent wage earners, marriage partners, and travelers (Chin, 2013; Constable, 2003; Parreñas, 2001a). While most studies focus the case of women labor migrants, less has been documented on the parallel movement of women from non-Western countries leaving their countries to experience life overseas as students (Y. Kim, 2010). This is despite the fact that the largest sending countries of educational migrants send more women than men to study abroad. For instance, 80% of Japanese studying abroad are women (Kelsky, 2001; Ono & Piper, 2004; Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a), approximately 60% of Koreans studying abroad are women (HESA, 2006; IIE, 2006, cited in Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a), and over half of the Chinese entering universities abroad are women (HESA, Y. Kim, 2010, 2011a).

The larger literature on international education tends to echo dominant perspectives in mainstream migration research the experiences of international students from a gender-neutral or gender-biased perspective (Kenway & Bullen, 2003). As Kenway and Bullen (2003) note, statistical accounts of international students rarely offer gendered breakdowns or analyses regarding the implications of those differences. Studies that do focus on women tend to revolve around the family and relegate women’s roles to wives who follow their husbands’ educational careers or mothers following their children abroad (Chee, 2003; Chew, 2009; Chiang, 2008; De Verthelyi, 1995; Huang & Yeoh, 2005; Jeong et al. 2014; M. Kim, 2010; Lee, 2010; Martens & Grant, 2008; Teshome & Osei-Kofi, 2012; Waters, 2002) While some women following their husbands or vice versa eventually earned advanced degrees (M. Kim, 2010), most of this earlier research tended to discuss women’s experiences as part of the unitary household.

With the increased internationalization of education in the past several decades, studying abroad, especially in Western countries, has become a popular move for many young upwardly mobile women seeking to improve their education and professional careers. Driving their desires for educational migration is women’s stunted career mobility in highly gender-segmented labor markets of home countries. Although many advanced

capitalist countries have implemented equal opportunity labor policies (Matsui, 1995), educated women are still more likely to find themselves working in the lowest-paid sectors of the postindustrial workplace, such as service, hospitality, or other poorly remunerated jobs than men (Bernstein, 2007; Habu, 2000; Kelsky, 2001). This has especially been true for the case of Japanese women studying abroad. Starting in the 1980s, Japanese women working in the *ittpanshoku* or clerical corporate jobs began to study abroad in Western countries in increasing numbers (Habu, 2000; Kelsky, 2001). Popularly known as “office ladies,” these women have been viewed as a highly gendered and expendable workforce with low status and lack of career mobility within Japanese companies (Habu, 2000). The ghettoization of women’s work in the *ittpanshoku* reflects issues of workplace gender discrimination and the under-promotion of women in Japanese firms. The dominant patriarchal assertion is that women do not make “ideal workers” because they would leave their jobs once they marry or have children (Habu, 2000; Kelsky, 2001). Impeded by a glass ceiling in their professional jobs back home, women viewed educational migration as a stepping stone that would help overcome structural employment barriers by investing in prestigious foreign degrees or career development abroad. Unsurprisingly, most educated women undertaking advanced degrees are self-subsidized (Habu, 2000; Ono & Piper, 2004), unlike men who tend to be sponsored by their companies (Ono & Piper, 2004).

While many may return to their home countries with higher levels of education or work experience, many women find that their home professional labor market is often unwilling to recognize their improved educational status. As such, women’s new educational credentials do not convert into high-level positions as it does for men. Scholars studying Japanese women’s migration observe that many mid-career jobs in more traditional Japanese companies are still not open to returning Japanese women with advanced foreign degrees (Kelsky, 2001; Ono & Piper, 2004). Kelsky (2001) explains that female Japanese returnees paradoxically face prospects

of downward career mobility because they are often viewed as having “aged out” of the professional labor market in Japan. Returning Japanese women are not only viewed as “too old” but also overqualified to fill clerical “office lady” positions typically designated for women (Kelsky, 2001). As recourse, some female returnees may obtain jobs working in foreign companies in their home country (Ono & Piper, 2004) or strive to re-migrate to find jobs outside their home country (Turner, 2006). Such studies affirm that the education advancements of migrant women does not necessarily lead to gender ascendance; gender inequalities in the form of the glass ceiling remains pervasive in the gatekeeping of the home country labor market.

A number of studies have focused on women’s desires for personal development during their time studying abroad in the West. Scholars have note how Western educational institutions serve as important contact zones (Y. Kim, 2010), where women start to develop an emancipatory “self-identity” that allows them to escape cultural surveillance and expectations and consequently, explore alternative, cosmopolitan lifestyles (Ichimoto, 2004; Y. Kim, 2010; Turner, 2006). For many women this meant a break (at least temporarily) from pressures to conform to traditional feminine roles in the family and society such as getting married or deferring their careers for family life. Women’s exposure to more “gender egalitarian ideals” in the West (via educational experiences and interactions with non-co-ethnics) combined with the absence of parental and societal monitoring allows them the freedom and space to begin crafting their lives that appeal to their individual interests (Ichimoto, 2004; Kim, 2010). While such encounters show the beginnings of a new feminist subjectivity, women’s aspirations for personal development are often limited by their experiences of social exclusion and alienation in the host country. In Youna Kim’s (2011a, 2011b) study, for example, Asian female students’ experiences with everyday racism and feelings of being a “perpetual foreigner” discourage deep interactions with mainstream Western host society. Women tend to blame themselves over “my English is not good

enough” and other individual faults or weaknesses (Y. Kim, 2011a: 142). Exclusion and feeling of foreignness can also lead to withdrawal into ethnic communities and spaces online or offline (*ibid*). Women’s aspirations for personal development thus become stymied upon migration due to the exclusion faced as racialized others regardless of social class.

Finally, a minority of researchers have examined how women’s sexuality can be transformed via migration. These studies have discussed how women’s newfound freedom can lead to increased perceptions of their sexual autonomy. Away from parental and cultural control, women can more freely participate in sexual relationships and practices “less” stigmatized in the West including pre-marital sex, cohabitation, divorce, and serial dating and marriage (Matsui, 1995). Conclusions drawn from studies on the intimate lives of women studying abroad reflect the findings of studies on women marriage migrants (Constable, 2003; Schaeffer, 2012); women’s migration to the West is part of a larger resistance against the enduring patriarchal structures of their home country and “old world” men (Kelsky, 2001). Thus, marriage to Western men are also seen as a route toward transnational social upward mobility and “hypergamy” not just among marriage migrants but also students (Constable, 2003; Kelsky, 2001; Schaeffer, 2012). While such discourses show how women’s sexual empowerment can challenge gender norms in their home country, women’s perceived hypergamy with Western men, perhaps even at the expense of career and educational goals, still upholds the heteronormative ideals of social reproduction surrounding gender and sexuality.

Contemporary research on women’s educational migration tends to assume that women have greater freedom by virtue of their educational attainment in the West. Women not only advance in their education but also enjoy personal and sexual freedoms that are more in line with their cosmopolitan identity as an educated class of women. Yet research on women’s study

abroad experiences shows that while women escape patriarchal control in their home country they enter into a system of inequality in the host country, where they are excluded as full societal members based on their race, ethnicity, class and gender. Furthermore, women returning home sometimes face an additional social stigma of being associated with having loose sexual relations or engaging in sex work while abroad. Thus, the pervasiveness of gender inequality at home and racism in their host country combined with the moral hysteria over women’s time abroad, hinders their personal, educational, and career gains.

4 Conclusion

This chapter examined how gender constraints haunt women’s contemporary migration through an empirical analysis of domestic workers in the global labor market, transnational households, and educational migration. Contemporary feminists argue that women’s migration results in the reconfiguration of gender and more egalitarian gender relations between women and men. It has been repeatedly argued that women’s migration has led to their increased control over domestic decisions, access to wage employment, and greater participation in the public sphere (Sassen, 2006). However, such gains continue to be stalled by intersecting structures of the local and global labor market, traditional gender ideologies of the family, and racial and gender inequalities in global education.

We find that under economic globalization the independent migration of women becomes a movement from one system of gender inequality to another. A closer look reveals how structures of gender inequality, often as it intersects with race, operate in women’s everyday experiences abroad and sometimes upon their return. While women’s labor migration may afford them economic mobility, gender and racial segmentation in the global labor market position women as precarious workers. Likewise, we found that the

formation of transnational households has not fully relieved women of their nurturing responsibilities in the family; instead, transnational mothers are increasingly burdened with the dual role of both breadwinning and caring for their families from afar. Finally, women pursue educational migration to alleviate gender discrimination in their home countries' labor market and escape patriarchal structures that limit their subjectivities, only to find themselves as racialized others in host countries in the West. It becomes evident in migrant women's experiences that beyond personal rewards and moments of socioeconomic uplift, intersecting systems of gender and racial domination constrain the advancements enabled by the independent migration of women thereby stalling the gender revolution advanced by the feminization of migration.

Bibliography

- Abrego, L. (2009). Economic well-being in Salvadoran transnational families: How gender affects remittance practices. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71, 1070–1085.
- Abrego, L. (2014). *Sacrificing families: Navigating laws, labor, and love across borders*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Anthias, F. (1983). Sexual divisions and ethnic adaptation: The case of Greek-Cypriot women. In A. Philzacklea (Ed.) *One way ticket: Migration and female labour* (pp. 73-94). London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bamber, M. (2014). What motivates Chinese women to study in the UK and how do they perceive their experience? *Higher Education*, 68(1), 47–68.
- Bauer, G. (2013, September). Migrant care workers in Austria: Balancing formal and informal care across borders. Paper presented at *Family life in the age of migration and mobility: Theory, policy and practice, Norrköping, Sweden*.
- Bélangier, D., Linh T. G., & Duong, L. B. (2011). Marriage migrants as emigrants: Remittances of marriage migrant women from Vietnam to their natal families. *Asian Population Studies*, 7(2), 89–105.
- Bernstein, E. (2007). Sex work for the middle classes. *Sexualities*, 10(4), 473–488.
- Bifelski, D. (2009, February 14). In Romania, children left behind suffer the strains of migration. *New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/15/world/europe/15romania.html>. Accessed June 8, 2009.
- Chee, M. (2003). Migrating for the children: Taiwanese American women in transnational families. In N. Piper and M. Roces (Eds.) *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration* (pp. 137–156). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Chew, P. G.-L. (2009). In pursuit of linguistic gold: mothering in a globalised world. *English Today*, 25(2), 33–39.
- Chiang, L.-H. N. (2008). 'Astronaut families': Transnational lives of middle-class Taiwanese married women in Canada. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(5), 505–518.
- Chin, C. (1998). *In service and servitude: Foreign female domestic workers and the Malaysian "modernity" project*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chin, C. (2013). *Cosmopolitan sex workers: Women and migration in a global city*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Choo, H. Y. (2016). *Decentering citizenship: Gender, labor, and migrant rights in South Korea*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Choy, C. (2003). *Empire of care: Nursing and migration in Filipino American history*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Constable, N. (2003). *Romance on a global stage: Pen pals, virtual ethnography, and "mail order" marriages*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Constable, N. (2007). *Maid to order in Hong Kong: Stories of Filipina workers* (2nd ed.). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Constable, N. (2014). *Born out of place: Migrant mothers and the politics of international labor*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- De Verthelyi, R. F. (1995). International students' spouses: Invisible sojourners in the culture shock literature. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19(3), 387–411.
- Donato, K., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan IV, M., & Pessar, P. (2006). A Glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 3–26.
- Donato, K., & Gabbacia, D. (2015). *Gender and international migration: From the slavery era to the global age*. New York: Russell Sage Press.
- Dreby, J. (2006). Honor and virtue: Mexican parenting in the transnational context. *Gender & Society*, 20(1), 32–60.
- Dreby, J. (2010). *Divided by borders: Mexican migrants and their children*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (2004). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Macmillan.
- Gabaccia, D. (1994). Worker internationalism and Italian labor migration, 1870–1914. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 45, 63–79.
- Gardner, M. (2005). *The qualities of a citizen: Women, immigration, and citizenship, 1870–1965*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- George, S. (2005). *When women come first: Gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Goering, L. (2008, September, 15). *Poland sees host of problems among 'Euro-Orphans.'* Chicago Tribune, September 15. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2008-09-15/news/0809140333_1_polish-parental-absence-school. Accessed 10 June 2009.
- Gold, S. (2003). Israeli and Russian Jews: Gendered perspectives on settlement and return migration. In P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.) *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends* (pp. 127–147). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gonzalez-Lopez, G. (2005). *Erotic journeys: Mexican immigrants and their sex lives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Grasmuck S. & Pessar, P. (1991). *Between two islands: Dominican international migration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Habu, T. (2000). The irony of globalization: The experience of Japanese women in British higher education. *Higher Education*, 39(1), 43–66.
- HESA. (2006). <http://hesa.ac.uk>.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1999). Introduction: Gender and contemporary U.S. immigration. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(4): 565–576.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Doméstica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2003). Gender and immigration: A retrospective and introduction. In P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.) *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends* (pp. 3–19). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2013). New directions in gender and immigration research. In L. Oso & N. Ribas-Mateos (Eds.), *The international handbook on gender, migration and transnationalism: Global and development perspectives* (pp. 233–245). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Avila, E. (1997). 'I'm here but I'm there': The meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society*, 11(5), 548–571.
- Huang, S & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2005). Transnational families and their children's education: China's 'study mothers' in Singapore. *Global Networks*, 5(4), 379–400.
- Human Rights Watch. (2013). *The ILO domestic workers convention: New standards to fight discrimination, exploitation and abuse*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Ichimoto, T. (2004). Ambivalent 'Selves' in transition: A case study of Japanese women studying in Australian universities. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 25(3), 247–269.
- Institute of International Education (IIE). (2006). Open doors report. <http://opendoors.iienetwork.org>.
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2015). *ILO global estimates on migrant workers: Research and methodology*. Geneva: Switzerland.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2010). *Labor migration from Indonesia: An overview of Indonesian migration to selected destinations in Asia and the Middle East*. Jakarta: IOM.
- Jeong, Y.-J., You, H.-K. & Kwon, Y. I. (2014). One family in two countries: mothers in Korean transnational families. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(9), 1546–1564.
- Johnson, E. (2007). *Dreaming of a mail-order husband: Russian-American internet romance*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kelsky, K. (2001). *Women on the verge: Japanese women, Western dreams*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kenway, J., & Bullen, E. (2003). Self-representations of international women postgraduate students in the global university 'contact zone'. *Gender and Education*, 15(1), 5–20.
- Kibria, N. (1995). *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kim, M. (2010). Gender politics and global householding in international student/scholar families. *Politics & Gender*, 6(2), 288–295.
- Kim, Y. (2010). Female individualization?: Transnational mobility and media consumption of Asian women. *Media, Culture and Society*, 32(1), 25–43.
- Kim, Y. (2011a). Diasporic nationalism and the media: Asian on the move. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14(2), 133–151.
- Kim, Y. (2011b). Female cosmopolitanism? Media talk and identity of transnational Asian women. *Global Communications*, 21, 279–298.
- Kim, Y. J. (2010). The gendered desire to become cosmopolitan: South Korean women's motivations for migration to the UK. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33(5), 433–442.
- Lan, P.-C. (2006). *Global cinderellas: Migrant domestics and newly rich employers in Taiwan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lan, P.-C. (2007). Legal servitude and free illegality: Migrant 'guest' workers in Taiwan. In R. S. Parreñas & L. C. D. Siu (Eds.), *Asian diasporas: New formations, new conceptions* (pp. 253–277). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Lee, H. (2010). 'I am a kirogi mother': Educational exodus and life transformation among Korean transnational women. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 9, 250–264.
- Le Espiritu, Y. (2003). *Home bound: Filipino American lives across cultures, communities and countries*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Liebelt, C. (2011). *Caring for the "Holy Land": Filipina domestic workers in Israel*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Lutz, H. (2011). *The new maids: Transnational women and the care economy*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: Transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks*, 16(2), 183–201.
- Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. New York: Routledge.
- Martens, V. P., & Grant, P. R. (2008). A needs assessment of international students' wives. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 12(1), 56–75.
- Matsui, M. (1995). Gender role perceptions of Japanese and Chinese female students in American universities. *Comparative Education Review*, 39(3), 356–378.
- Menjívar, C. (2003). The intersection of work and gender: Central American immigrant women and employment in California. In P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.) *Gender and the U.S. immigration: contemporary trends* (pp. 101–126). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of passage are also women. *International Migration Review*, 18(4), 886–907.
- Morokvasic, M. (2004). 'Settled in mobility': Engendering post-wall migration in Europe. *Feminist Review*, 77(1), 7–25.
- Ono, H., & Piper, N. (2004). Japanese women studying abroad, the case of the United States. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27(2), 101–118.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2001a). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2001b). Transgressing the nation-state: The partial citizenship and 'imagined (global) community' of migrant Filipina domestic workers. *Signs*, 26(4), 1129–1154.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2005). *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2008). *The forces of domesticity: Filipina migrants and globalization*. New York: New York University.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2015). *Servants of globalization: Migration and domestic work* (2nd ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S., & Silvey, R. (2016). Domestic workers refusing neo-slavery in the UAE. *Contexts*, 15(3), 36–41.
- Parreñas, R. S., & Silvey, R. (2017). Not one of the family: The tight spaces of migrant domestic workers. *Harvard Design Magazine*. <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/41>. Accessed April 12, 2017.
- Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). (2010). *OFW deployment per skill and country—New hires*. <http://www.poea.gov.ph/ofwstat/depperskill/2010.pdf>. Accessed April 14, 2017.
- Pratt, G. (2012). *Families apart: Migrant mothers and the conflicts of labor and love*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sassen, S. (1984). Notes on the incorporation of third world women into wage-labor through immigration and offshore production. *International Migration Review*, 18(4), 1144–1167.
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Cities in a world economy* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Scalabrini Migration Center. (2013). *Country migration report from the Philippines 2013*. Makati: IOM.
- Schaeffer, F. (2012). *Love and empire: Cybermarriage and citizenship across the Americas*. New York: New York University Press.
- Silvey, R. (2004). Transnational domestication: State power and Indonesian migrant women in Saudi Arabia. *Political Geography*, 23(3), 245–264.
- Silvey, R. (2007). Mobilizing piety: Gendered morality and Indonesian-Saudi transnational migration. *Mobilities*, 2(2), 219–229.
- Schmalzbauer, L. (2005). *Striving and surviving: A daily life analysis of Honduran transnational families*. New York: Routledge.
- Singer, A., & Gilbertson, G. (2003). The blue passport: Gender and the social process of naturalization among dominican immigrants in New York City. In P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.), *Gender and US migration: Contemporary trends* (pp. 359–378). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Solari, C. (2006). Professionals and saints: How immigrant careworkers negotiate gendered identities at work. *Gender & Society*, 20, 301–331.
- Thai, H. (2008). *For better or for worse: Vietnamese international marriages in the new global economy*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Teshome, Y., & Osei-Kofi, N. (2012). Critical issues in international education: Narratives of spouses of international students. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 16(1), 62–74.
- Tungohan, E., Banerjee, R., Chu, W., Cleto, P., De Leon, C., Garcia, M., et al. (2015). After the live-in caregiver program: Filipina caregivers' experiences of graduated and uneven citizenship. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 47(1), 87–105.
- Turner, Y. (2006). Swinging open or slamming shut? The implications of China's open-door policy for women, educational choice and work. *Journal of Education and Work*, 19(1), 47–65.
- Urbanska, S. (2009). Mothers of the nation as a target of public therapy—Transnational parenting and moral panic in Poland. Paper presented in *Mosaics of*

- Transnational Spaces Workshop*, Krakow, Poland, May 9, 2009.
- Waters, J. (2002). Flexible families? 'Astronaut' households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 3(2), 117–134.
- Yeoh, B. S. A. & Huang, S. (2010). Transnational domestic workers and the negotiation of mobility and work practices in Singapore's home-spaces. *Mobilities*, 5(2): 219-236.
- Yeoh, B. S. A., Huang, S. & Gonzalez III, J. (1999). Migrant female domestic workers: Debating the economic, social, and political impacts in Singapore. *International Migration Review*, 33(1), 114–136.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). *Gender & nation*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Carolyn Choi** is a Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology at the University of Southern California. Her research specializes in youth migration, gender, and education in Asia.
- Maria Cecilia Hwang** completed her PhD in American Studies at Brown University. She is currently a Henry Luce Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in Southeast Asian Studies at the Chao Center for Asian Studies at Rice University. Her areas of research include gender and sexuality, international migration, globalization, and labor.
- Rhacel Salazar Parreñas** teaches Sociology and Gender Studies at the University of Southern California. Her works interrogate questions of gender, labor and migration.

Part VIII

**Feminists Changing the Gender
Structure**

Combating Gender Bias in Modern Workplaces

37

Alison T. Wynn and Shelley J. Correll

Abstract

Widely shared cultural beliefs about gender, as contained in stereotypes, continue to disadvantage women in workplace settings. Stereotypes include beliefs that women are less competent than men in many domains, which lead women to be held to higher performance standards, to face increased scrutiny and shifting criteria when being evaluated, to encounter likeability and motherhood penalties, and to lack access to powerful networks. As a result, women experience disadvantages at work, including biases in hiring, evaluation, and promotion decisions. Such biases often operate outside conscious awareness, in what some scholars term “implicit bias,” “unconscious bias,” or “second-generation bias” (Ibarra et al. in *Harvard Bus Rev*, 91:60–66, 2013). Organizations have engaged in bias-mitigation efforts, such as employee resource groups, unconscious bias training, and broad-scale diversity initiatives. However, such approaches to diversity can either fail or even backfire, exacerbating inequality. While some emerging research

offers solutions for positive change, more research is needed to understand how organizations can decrease the effects of gender bias and achieve lasting equality in workplaces.

Despite many gains in gender equality, women continue to be underrepresented in high-status jobs and leadership positions. Women hold only 14% of executive officer positions, 17% of board seats, 18% of elected congressional offices, and 4.5% of Fortune 500 CEO positions (Catalyst, 2012; Sellers, 2012). In addition to holding fewer positions of power, women and men continue to be segregated into different types of jobs, with higher paying, higher status jobs in fields such as science and technology being more heavily occupied by men and lower paying, lower status jobs such as those involving caregiving being more commonly held by women (England, 2010).

One powerful cause of this continued disadvantage is gender bias. Gender bias occurs when widely held beliefs about gender affect how men and women are evaluated in achievement-oriented contexts such as school and work. As decades worth of research in the status characteristics theory and stereotyping traditions have shown, women are often believed to be less competent than men, particularly in male-dominated domains, leading women’s accomplishments to be devalued relative to men’s

A. T. Wynn (✉) · S. J. Correll
Stanford University, 450 Serra Mall, Building 120,
Stanford, CA 94305-2047, USA
e-mail: atp5@stanford.edu

(e.g. see Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch, 1977; Correll & Ridgeway, 2003; Foschi, 1996, 2000; Heilman, 2001). Stereotypes about gender combine with stereotypes about race, class, sexuality, and other characteristics in ways that increase or decrease the amount of bias different types of women and men experience (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003; Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Livingston, Shelby, & Washington, 2012; Richardson, Phillips, Rudman, & Glick, 2011; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013; Pedulla, 2014). However, substantially more research is needed to analyze how different status characteristics combine to create biased outcomes in the workplace.

This bias in how men and women's accomplishments are evaluated leads to disadvantages in the hiring, evaluation, advancement, and treatment of women in workplace settings (Clayman Institute, 2015). However, in present-day workplaces, such biases against women are often less overt, operating outside of conscious awareness, which makes them more difficult to detect. These biases are often referred to as either "implicit biases," "unconscious biases," or what Ibarra, Ely, and Kolb (2013) have termed "second-generation bias." According to the authors, "second-generation bias does not require an intent to exclude; nor does it necessarily produce direct, immediate harm to any individual. Rather, it creates a context—akin to 'something in the water'—in which women fail to thrive or reach their full potential" (6). Or, as Ridgeway (2011) explains, gender "frames" the interactions of men and women, much like a small weight on a scale, slightly elevating the evaluations of men and depressing the evaluations of women even when their objective performances are identical. While explicit and overt forms of bias certainly still occur in modern workplaces, unconscious biases present a critical problem and can be especially difficult to combat.

As we describe more fully below, gender stereotypes disadvantage women through multiple mechanisms. They lead gatekeepers, such as employers and teachers, to judge women by a harsher standard than men (Foschi, 2000),

scrutinize their accomplishments (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012), shift criteria to justify choosing men over women (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005), prefer narrow leadership styles that favor men (Correll & Simard, 2016), and apply likeability and motherhood penalties to women (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Stereotypes also affect women's access to networks that afford advancement and reward opportunities (Ibarra et al., 2013). Organizations have engaged in a number of efforts to reduce the effect of stereotypes on women's workplace outcomes (Dobbin, Schrage, & Kalev, 2015; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006). Ultimately, more research is needed designing and testing interventions that successfully mitigate or eliminate gender bias. Further, more research is needed to understand how the intersections of gender, race, class, and other characteristics affect the biases that different groups of women and men experience. In the following sections, we detail the mechanisms through which stereotypes lead to gender bias and discrimination, outline efforts of researchers and organizations to reduce the impact of such bias, and provide recommendations for future research directions.

1 Stereotypes and Unconscious Bias

Stereotypes about gender often include expectations that men are diffusely more competent at most things, as well as specific expectations that men are better at some particular tasks (e.g. technical tasks), while women are better at other tasks (e.g. nurturing tasks) (Conway, Pizzamiglio, & Mount, 1996; Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). People instantly and unconsciously categorize others by sex, and stereotypic expectations of behavior are attached to these unconscious assignments (Ito & Urland, 2003). For example, research using the Implicit Association Test (IAT) finds that individuals more quickly associate men than women with leadership attributes

(Eagly & Carli, 2007). Stereotypic expectations like these can lead to bias in how information is processed, ultimately influencing the evaluations, opportunities, and influence given to others (Ridgeway, 1993). Stereotypes function as cognitive shortcuts in decision-making, particularly when other information is scarce or the criteria are ambiguous (Correll, 2004; Reskin & McBrier, 2000; Ridgeway, 2011; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005). In workplace settings, stereotypes can influence decisions made during recruitment, hiring, project assignment, day-to-day treatment, evaluations, promotions, compensation, and retention (Clayman Institute, 2015).

Researchers have demonstrated the mechanisms through which stereotypes contribute to bias, and the following sections describe some of these mechanisms.

1.1 Higher Bar and Increased Scrutiny

Stereotypes lead evaluators to scrutinize women's performance more harshly than men's and hold women to a higher standard (Biernat & Fuegan, 2001; Clayman Institute, 2015; Foschi, 1996, 2000; Heilman, 2001; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke, 1999). For example, in one experiment, psychology faculty from the United States were randomly assigned to evaluate one of two identical vitas for a person ostensibly applying for an assistant professor position, differentiated only by the gender of the candidate (Steinpreis et al., 1999). When asked if the candidate would be competitive for a tenure track position in their department, the faculty who evaluated the man's vita responded affirmatively 72% of the time, compared to just 44% for those evaluating the woman's vita. As is common in studies like these, men and women evaluators showed the same amount of bias. The authors also found that evaluators demonstrated extra scrutiny of the woman candidate's accomplishments, providing four times more doubt-raising statements such as, "I would need to see evidence that she had gotten these grants and publications on her own" and "It is

impossible to make such a judgment without teaching evaluations" (page 523).

Similarly, a study of science faculty echoed these findings: stereotypes caused raters to judge women by a harsher standard than men and devalue or ignore their achievements (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). In this study, science faculty from research-intensive universities rated the application materials of a student for a laboratory manager position. In one condition, the applicant was a man, and in the other condition, the applicant was a woman. Faculty participants rated the man as significantly more competent and hireable than the identical woman applicant, and they also offered a higher starting salary and more career mentoring to the man applicant. Gender of the faculty evaluators did not affect the level of gender bias they exhibited in their choices. Furthermore, the authors demonstrated that competence ratings mediated hiring choices, and preexisting subtle bias against women was associated with less support for the woman candidate but not the man candidate.

As a corollary to the increased scrutiny women face, men tend to encounter a leniency bias, where their skills and abilities are overrated relative to their performance (Steinpreis et al., 1999). Stereotypical gendered expectations negate the recognition of women's accomplishments, through the devaluing of their work and/or attribution of their success to something other than their own skill and ability (Heilman, 2001).

When gender stereotypes are made salient in a workplace or educational setting, they also lead women to hold themselves to a higher standard and experience stereotype threat, or the anxiety of expecting negative judgments (Correll, 2001; Fassiotto et al., 2016). In male-dominated fields, such as mathematics, even when men and women high school students receive equal objective scores on tests of mathematical ability, men tend to rate themselves higher in mathematical ability than women do (Correll, 2001). Furthermore, these self-assessments can shape future career aspirations and decisions (Correll, 2001). Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999) also demonstrate the contextual nature of stereotype threat. When Asian-American women were primed to think

about their ethnic identity, they performed better on a test of mathematical ability, but when they were primed to think about their gender identity, they performed worse, compared with a control group who had neither identity primed. Identities were primed by having participants complete different versions of a questionnaire about residential life at their university. When Asian stereotypes were salient, performance increased, whereas when gender stereotypes were salient, performance decreased. Thus depending on the identities salient in a given environment, stereotypes can affect performance differently.

1.2 Shifting Criteria

Stereotypes also shift the criteria evaluators use when judging individuals. For example, in an experiment where individuals evaluated a man and a woman candidate for a police chief position, evaluators consistently chose the man over the woman and shifted the criteria they used to justify their hiring decisions (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005). In the first condition of the experiment, evaluators chose between two resumes that did not convey gender of the applicant, but varied on two dimensions: one applicant had more experience, and the other had more education. In this situation, raters generally preferred the candidate with more education. In other words, education was the more valued criterion when selecting a police chief.

In the second condition of the experiment, the researchers added names to the resumes to convey gender. When the man had more education and the woman had more experience, raters chose the man and justified their choice by noting that their preferred candidate (the man) had more education. However, in the third condition of the study, researchers gave the woman candidate more education and the man more experience. In this case, raters chose to hire the man more often than the woman even though the woman had more education. When asked to justify their decision, raters noted that the man had more experience. In other words, raters shifted the criteria for evaluation so that the man candidate appeared more qualified.

1.3 Preferring a Narrow Leadership Style

Psychologists have shown that stereotypes of leaders overlap with stereotypes of men, but not with stereotypes of women. Even though gender stereotypes vary cross-culturally, individuals in the US, UK, Germany, Japan, and China have been shown to “think manager, think male” (Schein, 2001), associating whatever traits that are associated with masculinity in a particular society with the traits necessary for effective leadership. As a result, decision-makers tend to prefer a narrow leadership style that is defined in terms of male stereotypes. This narrow definition leads men to be judged as more appropriate for leadership roles than women (Schein, 2001).

Research shows that effective leadership includes a wide spectrum of behaviors, involving both agentic and communal traits, and that men and women exhibit similar leadership behaviors (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Yet, in the US and other western societies, evaluators place more value on agentic leadership attributes that are more culturally associated with men, such as assertiveness, dominance, initiative, decisiveness, and independence (Clayman Institute, 2015; Correll & Simard, 2016; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Indeed, Kanter (1975) noted long ago that the image of top managers is the image of successful, forceful masculinity. Communal traits like collaboration and nurturing are more commonly associated with women, and such traits tend to be devalued in evaluations. By valuing agentic traits over communal ones, raters unconsciously advantage men, who are more likely to be seen as agentic than women.

1.4 Likeability Penalty

These narrow leadership expectations create a double-bind for women: women who conform to such agentic leadership expectations by behaving in dominant or assertive ways face a backlash effect (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Displays of agentic behaviors violate stereotypic

expectations that women be nice, warm, and concerned about others. Yet women who display more feminine traits are judged as nice but less competent and capable (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Men do not face the same double-bind, as acting in agentic ways does not violate masculine stereotypes. Instead, “modest” men encounter backlash for violating expectations of masculine behavior (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010).

In her ethnographic study of men and women litigators, Pierce (1996) found that men litigators who displayed forceful, assertive behaviors at work were admired. In contrast, when women litigators displayed the same agentic behaviors, they were vehemently disliked. If women litigators instead conformed to gendered expectations that they be nice, they were more liked by their colleagues and subordinates, but they were seen as less competent as litigators. In other words, gender stereotypes put women in a double-bind, making it hard to be seen as simultaneously competent and likeable. As Rudman (1998) has shown experimentally, men who display agentic, self-promoting behaviors are more likely than more modest men to be recommended for hire, since their agentic behavior leads them to be viewed as both competent and likable. Women who engage in the exact same agentic behaviors are no more likely to be hired than modest women. The former are viewed as less likable and the latter, less competent.

These stereotypes about femininity and masculinity also vary by race and class (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). In a theoretical paper, Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz (2013) take an intersectional approach to understanding gender biases and review studies consistent with that approach. For example, black women may receive less backlash than white women when demonstrating agentic traits, whereas Asian woman may receive more backlash (Livingston et al., 2012; Richardson et al., 2011; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Because Black women are seen as less stereotypically feminine than white or Asian women, they face cultural expectations that may disadvantage them in feminized

workplace contexts and advantage them in assertive or dominant job contexts (Galinsky et al., 2013; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013; Wilkins, Chan, & Kaiser, 2011). In contrast, Asian men may face a disadvantage when being considered for leadership positions (Chen, 1999). Further, in an audit study, Rivera and Tilcsik (2016) found that higher-class men were more likely to be called back for a job than were otherwise equal lower-class men, higher-class women, and lower-class women. In a subsequent survey experiment and interviews with lawyers, they found that while evaluators preferred higher-class men due to their high level of perceived “fit” with the company culture, higher-class women were viewed as less committed to work, and this commitment penalty offset any class-based advantages these applicants would otherwise receive. Each of the above examples illustrates how gender intersects with other status characteristics (race, ethnicity, social class) to create novel expectations for different groups of women—expectations that lead to differences in how different groups of women are evaluated in the workplace. More research is needed to more fully understand how different status characteristics and group identities intersect to influence the amount and type of biases women and men experience.

1.5 Motherhood Penalty

Women who are mothers face additional biases in the workplace. Mothers face a persistent penalty in wages and other organizational rewards compared to fathers and people without children. Mothers earn about 5 percent less per child compared to other workers controlling for demographic, human capital, and occupational variables (Budig & England, 2001). Correll and colleagues (Correll et al., 2007; Benard & Correll, 2010) show that stereotypes about mothers lead to a bias against mothers, which results in fewer organizational rewards. More specifically, stereotypes about mothers include beliefs that mothers are less committed to work than non-mothers. As a result, decision-makers rate

them as less deserving of hire in both lab experiments and audit studies (Correll et al., 2007). In contrast, fathers are not penalized for being a father and sometimes receive higher evaluations than childless men (Correll et al., 2007). If mothers attempt to overcome these stereotypes by making their commitment to work highly visible by working longer hours or being willing to drop other responsibilities whenever a work need arises, they are viewed as selfish and unlikable, which leads decision-makers to rate them as less hireable and promotable (Benard & Correll, 2010). A study based on interviews with female graduate students in four elite science and engineering programs finds evidence that even women without children can face negative evaluations on the basis that they may become mothers in the future (Thébaud & Taylor, 2016).

As research on the likeability penalty and the motherhood penalty makes clear, women cannot overcome biases simply by engaging in behavior stereotypically associated with men and masculinity, since such behaviors result in a backlash. Instead, change must occur at the organizational level, as we discuss below.

1.6 Lack of Access to Networks

Due to inequalities in the organizational roles and daily interactions of men and women, women are often excluded from professional networking relationships considered essential for success (Ibarra, 1997; Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010; Ibarra et al., 2013; Smith-Lovin & McPherson, 1993). Men are more likely than women to possess powerful mentors, and men's networks provide more benefits than women's do (Ibarra et al., 2013). For example, men's networks connect them to important developmental opportunities and sponsorship for promotion (Ibarra et al., 2013). In contrast, women tend to have fewer sponsors willing to advocate for them (Ibarra et al., 2010). Women's weaker network connections act as an important barrier to advancement and influence.

2 Organizational Efforts

Organizations have engaged in numerous efforts to remove gender bias and improve diversity outcomes. Some of the earliest efforts featured the creation of employee resource groups, or volunteer groups based around a common identity, such as gender or race (Thomas & Creary, 2009). Such groups were intended to empower people who were otherwise marginalized in the workplace. Employee resource groups often host trainings, networking events, and other developmental activities intended to benefit the members. The underlying assumption guiding these efforts is that members of these groups lack the skills, social support, or the network connections necessary to advance in the workplace as currently organized.

Eventually, organizations began to discover that employee resource groups, while helpful, were not sufficient. These groups helped women and underrepresented minorities conform to and succeed within existing organizational structures, but existing structures often contain biases built within them (Acker, 1990; Williams, Muller, & Kilanski, 2010). To reduce bias and resulting inequalities, the underlying structural issues also need to be addressed. In addition, employee resource groups tend to emphasize "bonding capital," or within-group solidarity, rather than "bridging capital," or strengthening ties across groups (Putnam, 2000). Without bridging capital, employee resource groups can remain isolated from the rest of the organization (Yoshino & Smith, 2013).

In response to increasing awareness about the role of gender stereotypes in limiting the entry and advancement of women, many companies have begun offering unconscious bias trainings (UBT). Some companies hire consultants or academics to offer these trainings, and others, such as Facebook and Google, have created their own training videos (see videos available on the companies' websites). Such trainings are intended to educate managers and other high-level

employees about their own biases so they can be more vigilant when hiring, evaluating, promoting, and firing their employees. The hope is that, as a result of the training, managers will engage in conscious efforts to block biases from affecting their evaluations of men and women at the point of hire, promotion, and at other points where employees are evaluated.

There is some evidence that, when done right, UBT produces positive outcomes, at least in the short term. At the Stanford School of Medicine, for example, department heads received unconscious bias training and then developed and delivered their own version of the training to faculty in their departments. This training reduced implicit biases about women in science (Fassiotto et al., 2016). Since implicit biases are often harder to change than explicit biases, this result is encouraging. However, what is less clear is whether one-shot, stand-alone trainings can produce sustainable change or whether the effect will simply wear off. Devine, Forscher, Austin, and Cox (2012) argue that such trainings need to be coupled with a multifaceted intervention and show that, with a sample of college students, a multifaceted bias reduction intervention can produce longer-term change.

However, recent experimental research by Duguid and Thomas-Hunt (2015) finds that unconscious bias training can even exacerbate inequality by normalizing bias. At a more macro level, Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly (2006) find that without engagement and buy-in from managers, diversity initiatives fail to achieve their intended outcomes. High levels of resistance to diversity initiatives have been observed among those in power. Diversity messages can feel threatening to majority group members, and feelings of threat can lead to resistance. For example, a recent experiment found that white men college students who were randomly assigned to perform a mock interview for a company that they learned was pro-diversity performed worse on the mock interview and experienced more cardiovascular threat compared with white men assigned to interview with a company that made no mention of its diversity policies (Dover, Major, and Kaiser, 2016). Martin, Phillips, and Sasaki (2016)

similarly find that an emphasis on the benefits of gender differences (a common approach of diversity initiatives) increases men's stereotyping and disrespectful treatment of women.

As the research reviewed above suggests, organizational interventions that are designed to help individual women navigate their careers within existing organizational structures or to help decision-makers be less biased via training are likely necessary but not sufficient for producing sustainable change. Sustainable change will require changing organizations themselves.

3 Creating Sustainable Change

An extensive body of research documents how gender bias operates, and some emerging research demonstrates how conventional approaches to eliminating bias can be short-lived or even backfire. However, we have fewer examples where researchers and/or organizations have intervened successfully in the bias process to produce long-term change.

One example is a study by Goldin and Rouse (2000) analyzing whether the representation of women hired to top orchestras in the U.S. increased when they began putting up a screen during auditions so that judges could not see the musician who was auditioning. Professional orchestras have historically been male-dominated, with men holding approximately 88% of the positions in the top orchestras. Rather than auditioning in front of a team of evaluators, starting in the 1970s and 1980s, orchestras gradually began switching to blind auditions. Applicants began to audition behind a screen, which prevented evaluators from seeing the musicians. This natural experiment allowed researchers to assess whether women are more likely to be hired when their gender is unknown. The researchers found that 25% more women were hired after orchestras switched to gender-blind auditions. When the raters could not see the musician, gender bias in hiring decisions decreased.

While this study is encouraging, it is hardly scalable to every hiring or advancement decision

made in organizations. After all, employees cannot be expected to work exclusively behind screens. However, some technology companies are experimenting with blind auditions at the first stage of their hiring process as a replacement for resume screening. Companies create a problem or set of problems for applicants to solve, and the solutions are sent to hiring managers with no information on the gender, race, or other characteristics of the applicant. One company that administers these blind auditions, called Gap-Jumpers, reports that 60% of the top performers on the technology screening tests are women. (See the company's website for more information). More research is needed to understand whether and how new technologies for screening and evaluating employees can remove biases.

The research reviewed above suggests other targets for organizational change. These include making criteria for evaluation explicit and clear before evaluating individuals, holding decision-makers accountable for their decisions, broadening the definition of success, and reducing the salience of gender in workplaces.

One successful intervention involved changing the definition of success in the local environment to increase the representation of women in male-dominated fields, particularly in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields. Carnegie Mellon University increased the percentage of women undergraduate computer science majors from 7 to 42% in just 5 years by broadening the image of a successful computer science student, changing the entry requirements, and emphasizing the real-world impacts of the field (Margolis & Fisher, 2002). Faculty members were encouraged to challenge the pervasive image of computer scientists as narrowly obsessed with computing by highlighting the field's real-world value and connections to other disciplines. Instead of encouraging women to fit existing stereotypes about computer science, the university changed the cultural image of computing.

Similarly, Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, and Steele (2009) found that simply changing the objects in a computer science classroom increased women's interest in the field. By displaying

gender-neutral objects, rather than objects associated with geeky masculinity, the salience of gender was decreased, and women's interest in persisting in computer science increased. Wynn and Correll (2018) also find that when technology companies use more gender-neutral approaches in their recruiting sessions on college campuses, women demonstrate more engagement and ask more questions than when companies use masculine behavior and images. In this way, organizations can change the images in the local environment to reduce the salience of gender and be more welcoming to women.

Scholars also find that organizations can intervene during the decision-making process itself by making evaluative criteria more explicit. When criteria are explicit, individuals are less likely to rely on stereotypes as a cognitive shortcut in their decision-making. For example, in Uhlmann and Cohen's (2005) study of police chief hiring, discussed earlier, the researchers were able to reduce the effect of gender bias by asking raters to commit to the decision criteria *before* evaluating candidates. When they stated that education was their most important criterion up-front, raters consistently chose the candidate with more education whether it was a man or woman. This study suggests that establishing clear criteria before evaluation can reduce the impact of gender bias. Other studies with non-experimental data also find that more formalized procedures to reduce the influence of stereotypes associated with race, gender, and other characteristics generally improve diversity outcomes, such as the percentage of women in management (Bielby, 2000; Dobbin et al., 2015; Reskin, 2000).

In addition, providing raters with more information about candidates can also outweigh biases. For example, in the study by Steinpreis et al. (1999), discussed earlier, gender biases emerged when hiring for an entry-level assistant professor position but not for a more senior tenured faculty position. When raters have more information about candidates, they are less likely to rely on stereotypes as a shortcut. Therefore, organizations can help combat gender bias by increasing the amount of information available to raters and

establishing clear criteria for evaluation in advance of decision-making.

In addition to lab studies, research partnering with actual companies can vastly increase our understanding of how to mitigate gender bias in real-world settings. For example, by partnering with a large private company, Castilla (2015) found that increasing accountability and transparency in performance evaluations reduced “performance reward bias.” Prior to the intervention, men received higher rewards than women even when they had equal performance evaluation scores. The intervention involved appointing a performance-reward committee to monitor reward decisions, training all senior managers how to follow the performance-reward process and use the criteria when making pay decisions, and providing all senior managers and high-level leaders with information about the pay decisions made concerning employees in their work units. By increasing accountability and transparency in the evaluation process, the organization reduced the gender pay gap. While this study was conducted in one organization—a private-sector service company with over 20,000 employees—it has encouraging implications for reducing gender bias in the workplace.

In these ways, researchers have begun to develop and test interventions that address the problem of biases in the workplace. However, more work is needed to help develop robust solutions that combat bias in a variety of contexts. Social scientists have well-charted the causes of bias, but we have more work to do to understand how to eradicate bias and improve diversity outcomes.

4 Future Research Directions

What is needed are studies that develop and evaluate solutions across the life course (e.g. engaging girls and young women, job recruitment, hiring, treatment in the workplace, evaluation, promotion, and retention), in multiple industries and organizational types. How can interventions avoid many of the pitfalls identified in previous research? Future research must also examine how

interventions impact different groups of women and men and apply an intersectional lens to combating gender bias. While interventions may help certain groups of women, they may also exclude other groups on the basis of race, socioeconomic status, gender identity, disability, age, and other dimensions of inequality. For example, emerging research notes that white women and racial minorities tend to respond differently to diversity approaches (Apfelbaum, Stephens, & Reagans, 2016; Martin et al., 2016). Apfelbaum et al. (2016) find that emphasizing differences and awareness of bias reduces attrition among white women, while emphasizing equality and fairness reduces attrition among Black individuals. Emphasizing both approaches risks diluting the message and erasing any positive effects on attrition. At the same time, Martin et al. (2016) warn that emphasizing differences can increase men’s stereotyping and disrespectful treatment of women. Therefore, how should diversity initiatives proceed, given the differential ways the same approach can impact various groups? More research is needed to explore this question.

Scholars of diversity can look to the work-life literature for examples of the kind of research needed. Research conducted within workplaces, like studies by Kelly, Ammons, Chermack, and Moen (2010), Kelly, Moen, and Tranby (2011) and Moen, Kelly, Fan, Lee, Almeida, Kossek, and Buxton, (2016) provide insight into how interventions can practically improve inequality. By designing and testing a work-life initiative in an organization, the researchers established one way of improving work-life conflict while benefiting the organization and its workers. As a result of the initiative, work-life conflict and turnover decreased, employee satisfaction increased, and health outcomes improved. The initiative, Results Only Work Environment (ROWE), aimed to shift the organizational culture so flexibility became the norm rather than the exception. Employees attended interactive sessions designed to teach them a different view of flexibility. The initiative was not billed as a gender initiative, but as one that would benefit all employees by giving them more control over their schedule. And indeed the initiative

benefited all employees, since all employees had been experiencing some work-family conflict. But since women often experience more work-life conflict due to greater family responsibilities, the implications are especially important for women. Diversity scholars could use similar methods to develop and evaluate approaches to decreasing the effects of bias in organizations.

For example, researchers at the Clayman Institute are currently conducting research intervening in companies' performance evaluation process (Correll, 2017). The intervention begins with unconscious bias training to provide a framework for creating change. Then, working with managers involved in evaluating employees' performance, researchers and managers develop a clear list of measurable criteria for assessing performance. By establishing clear criteria ahead of time and involving managers in the process, companies may be able to reduce bias in evaluations leading to promotions, raises, and other organizational rewards.

One interesting debate among those working on organizational changes to improve gender outcomes is whether to label the change effort as a gender intervention (as the Clayman Institute is doing) or not (as in Kelly and Moen's research). The advantage of the latter is that it likely increases buy-in from men managers and decreases their resistance. The advantage of making gender explicit is that doing so potentially provides employees with a framework for ensuring that gender biases do not get imported into the new programs and procedures being developed. Research is needed to assess which approach is ultimately most effective.

By partnering with organizations to develop and evaluate effective interventions, researchers can not only identify the sources of inequality—they can also help organizations successfully intervene in reducing bias.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs and bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158.
- Apfelbaum, E. P., Stephens, N. M., & Reagans, R. E. (2016). Beyond one-size-fits-all: Tailoring diversity approaches to the representation of social groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 111*(4), 547–566.
- Benard, S., & Correll, S. J. (2010). Normative discrimination and the motherhood penalty. *Gender & Society, 24*(5), 616–646.
- Berger, J., Hamit Fisek, M., Norman, R. Z., & Zelditch, M., Jr. (1977). *Status characteristics and social interaction: An expectation-states approach*. New York: Elsevier.
- Bielby, W. T. (2000). Minimizing workplace gender and racial bias. *Contemporary Sociology, 29*(1), 120–129.
- Biernat, M., & Fuegen, K. (2001). Shifting standards and the evaluation of competence: Complexity in gender-based judgment and decision making. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 707–724.
- Budig, M. J., & England, P. (2001). The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review, 66*, 204–225.
- Castilla, E. J. (2015). Accounting for the gap: A firm study manipulating organizational accountability and transparency in pay decisions. *Organization Science, 26*, 311–333.
- Catalyst. (2012). *Catalyst census: Fortune 500 women executive officers and top earners*. (<http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/2012-catalyst-census-fortune-500-women-executive-officers-and-top-earners>).
- Chen, A. S. (1999). Lives at the center of the periphery, lives at the periphery of the center: Chinese American Masculinities and bargaining with hegemony. *Gender & Society, 13*(5), 584–607.
- Cheryan, S., Plaut, V. C., Davies, P. G., & Steele, C. M. (2009). Ambient belonging: How stereotypical cues impact gender participation in computer science. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*(6), 1045–1060.
- Clayman Institute for Gender Research. (2015). Assessing performance and potential. See *Bias Block Bias Toolkits*. (<https://womensleadership.stanford.edu/tools>).
- Conway, M., Pizzamiglio, M., & Mount, L. (1996). Status, communality, and agency: Implications for stereotypes of gender and other groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(1), 25–38.

- Correll, S. J. (2001). Gender and the career choice process: The role of biased self-assessments. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(6), 1691–1730.
- Correll, S. J. (2004). Constraints into preferences: Gender, status, and emerging career aspirations. *American Sociological Review*, 69(1), 93–113.
- Correll, S. J. (2017). SWS 2016 Feminist Lecture: Reducing gender biases in modern workplaces: A small wins approach to organizational change. *Gender & Society*, 31(6), 725–750.
- Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112, 1297–1339.
- Correll, S. J., & Ridgeway, C. L. (2003). Expectation states theory. In J. Delamater (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 29–51). New York: Kluwer Academic, Plenum Publishers.
- Correll, S., & Simard, C. (2016). Research: Vague feedback is holding women back. *Harvard Business Review*. (<https://hbr.org/2016/04/research-vague-feedback-is-holding-women-back>).
- Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. (2012). Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(6), 1267–1278.
- Dobbin, F., Schrage, D., & Kalev, A. (2015). Rage against the iron cage: The varied effects of bureaucratic personnel reforms on diversity. *American Sociological Review*, 80(5), 1014–1044.
- Dover, T. L., Major, B., & Kaiser, C. R. (2016). Members of high-status groups are threatened by pro-diversity organizational messages. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 62, 58–67.
- Duguid, M. M., & Thomas-Hunt, M. C. (2015). Condoning stereotypes? How awareness of stereotyping prevalence impacts expression of stereotypes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100, 343–359.
- Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders*. Cambridge: Harvard Business Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), 149–166.
- Fassiotto, M., Hamel, E. O., Ku, M., Correll, S., Grewal, D., Lavori, P. ... Valentine, H. (2016). Women in academic medicine: Measuring stereotype threat among junior faculty. *Journal of Women's Health*, 25(3), 292–298.
- Foschi, M. (1996). Double standards in the evaluation of men and women. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59(3), 237–254.
- Foschi, M. (2000). Double standards for competence: Theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 21–42.
- Galinsky, A. D., Hall, E. V., & Cuddy, A. J. C. (2013). Gendered races: Implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological Science*, 24(4), 498–506.
- Goldin, C., & Rouse, C. (2000). Orchestrating impartiality: The impact of 'Blind' auditions on female musicians. *American Economic Review*, 90, 715–741.
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 657–674.
- Heilman, M. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 32, 113–135.
- Ibarra, H. (1997). Paving an alternative route: Gender differences in managerial networks. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60(1), 91–102.
- Ibarra, H., Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010, September). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, 88(9), 80–85.
- Ibarra, H., Ely, R. J. & Kolb, D. (2013, September). Women rising: The unseen barriers. *Harvard Business Review*, 91, 60–66.
- Ito, T. A., & Umland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 616–626.
- Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 589–617.
- Kanter, R. M. (1975). Women and the structure of organizations: Explorations in theory and behavior. In R. M. Kanter & M. Millman (Eds.), *Another Voice*. New York: Doubleday.
- Kelly, E. L., Ammons, S. K., Chermack, K., & Moen, P. (2010). Gendered challenge, gendered response: Confronting the ideal worker norm in a White-Collar organization. *Gender & Society*, 24(3), 281–303.
- Kelly, E. L., Moen, P., & Tranby, E. (2011). Changing workplaces to reduce work-family conflict: Schedule control in a White-Collar organization. *American Sociological Review*, 76(2), 265–290.
- Livingston, R. W., Shelby, R. A., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic black woman get ahead? The impact of race and interpersonal dominance on perceptions of female leaders. *Psychological Science*, 23, 346–353.
- Margolis, J., & Fisher, A. (2002). *Unlocking the clubhouse: Women in computing*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- Martin, A. E., Phillips, K. W., & Sasaki, S. J. (2016). *Reducing bias through blindness or awareness: Divergent effects of race and gender ideologies* (Working Paper). Columbia: Columbia Business School.
- Moen, P., Kelly, E. L., Fan, W., Lee, S. R., Almeida, D., Kossek, E. E., et al. (2016). Does a flexibility/support organizational initiative improve high-tech employees' well-being? evidence from the work, family, and health network. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(1), 134–164.
- Moss-Racusin, C. A., Dovidio, J. F., Brescoll, V. L., Graham, M. J., & Handelsman, J. (2012). Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *109*(41), 16474–16479.
- Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). When men break the gender rules: Status incongruity and backlash against modest men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *11*(2), 140–151.
- Pedulla, D. S. (2014). The positive consequences of negative stereotypes: Race, sexual orientation, and the job application process. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *77*(1), 75–94.
- Pierce, J. L. (1996). *Gender trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Reskin, B. F. (2000). The proximate causes of employment discrimination. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, *29*(2), 319–328.
- Reskin, B. F., & McBrier, D. B. (2000). Why not ascription? Organizations' employment of male and female managers. *American Sociological Review*, *65*(2), 210–233.
- Richardson, E. V., Phillips, K. W., Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2011). *Double jeopardy or greater latitude: Do black women escape backlash for dominance displays?* (Working Paper). Evanston: Northwestern University.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (1993). Gender, status and the social psychology of expectations. In P. England (Ed.), *Theory on gender, feminism on theory*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender & Society*, *27*(3), 294–318.
- Rivera, L. A., & Tilcsik, A. (2016). Class advantage, commitment penalty: The gendered effect of social class signals in an elite labor market. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(6), 1097–1131.
- Rudman, L. A. (1998). Self promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counter stereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 629–645.
- Rudman, L., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 743–762.
- Schein, V. E. (2001). A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 675–688.
- Sellers, P. (2012). Fortune 500 women CEOs hits a milestone. *Fortune*. (<http://fortune.com/2012/11/12/fortune-500-women-ceos-hit-a-milestone/>).
- Shih, M., Pittinsky, T. L., & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological Science*, *10*(1), 80–83.
- Smith-Lovin, L., & McPherson, M. (1993). You are who you know: A network approach to gender. In P. England (Ed.), *Theory on gender, feminism on theory* (pp. 223–251). Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Steinpreis, R. E., Anders, K. A., & Ritzke, D. (1999). The impact of gender on the review of the curricula vitae of job applicants and tenure candidates: A national empirical study. *Sex Roles*, *41*(7), 509–528.
- Thébaud, S., & Taylor, C. J. (2016). *The 'Women Always Fail' thing: The specter of motherhood and its influence on the career aspirations of young scientists and engineers* (Working Paper).
- Thomas, D. A., & Creary, S. J. (2009). *Meeting the diversity challenge at PepsiCo: The Steve Reinemund Era*. Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing.
- Uhlmann, E. L., & Cohen, G. L. (2005). Constructed criteria: Redefining merit to justify discrimination. *Psychological Science*, *16*(6), 474–480.
- Wilkins, C. L., Chan, J. F., & Kaiser, C. R. (2011). Racial stereotypes and interracial attraction: Phenotypic prototypicality and perceived attractiveness of Asians. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*, 427–431.
- Williams, C. L., Muller, C., & Kilanski, K. (2010). Gendered organizations in the new economy. *Gender & Society*, *26*(4), 549–573.

Wynn, A. T., & Correll, S. J. (2018). Puncturing the pipeline: Do technology companies alienate women in recruiting sessions? *Social Studies of Science*, 48(1), 149–164. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306312718756766>.

Yoshino, K., & Smith, C. (2013). Uncovering talent: A new model of inclusion. *Deloitte University Leadership Center for Inclusion*.

Alison T. Wynn is the Diversity & Inclusion Postdoctoral Fellow with the Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University. She received a PhD in sociology from Stanford University and a BA in English from Duke University. Her research examines organizational policies and practices that may inadvertently create or reinforce inequality. In particular, she studies recruiting practices, perceptions of cultural fit, flexibility programs, and gender equality initiatives

in industries such as technology, management consulting, and academic medicine. Prior to graduate school, Alison worked as a Human Capital Analyst with Deloitte Consulting.

Shelley J. Correll is Professor of Sociology and, by courtesy, Organizational Behavior at Stanford University where she also serves as the Barbara D. Finberg Director of the Clayman Institute for Gender Research. Her current research examines how legal mandates and organizational policies and practices can reduce the effect of status beliefs on workplace gender inequalities and how gender status beliefs produce inequalities in product markets. She is currently conducting research in three technology companies to evaluate a “small wins” model for reducing gender biases by involving organizational actors in the change process.



Bandana Purkayastha

Abstract

Compared to the long lineage of scholarship on women's rights and gendered inequalities, the sociological scholarship on gender and human rights is a relative newcomer. In this chapter I move beyond human rights charters and conventions and focus on the substantive access to rights and the terrains of power, privileges, and inequalities that have to be navigated in the process. The first section of this chapter summarizes the scholarship on the growing power of feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial activism that shaped conversations about the conceptualization, policies, and access to human rights globally. The second section presents the scholarship on violence against women (VAW), gender and human rights. While the terrain of human rights literature covers many topics, discussions of violence are woven through an array of conversations about the access to political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights. I draw upon the literature and activism from different parts of the world to highlight the dynamism and continuing conflicts related to gender and human rights.

Compared to the long lineage of scholarship on women's rights and gendered inequalities, the sociological scholarship that focuses explicitly on gender and human rights is a relative newcomer. Even though the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), proclaimed the rights of *all* human beings, irrespective of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other statuses in 1948 (Ishay, 2008), the conversations, practices and activism arising within the broad field of *gender* and human rights became important only over the last twenty five years (Quataert, 2011).

Gender scholars now analyze gender in terms of intersecting structures of privileges and marginalization. Even though the field started with a focus on women, it has moved to an emphasis on complex privileges and marginalization that shape the experiences of women and men who are positioned differently within structures of race/class/gender/sexuality/religion/nationality/age and other salient local and global structures (see Ferree, 1990; Risman & Davis, 2013). The interdisciplinary field of human rights however, has mostly focussed on claims for separate groups: women, racial minorities, indigenous groups and other groups that were not able to access human rights that are enshrined through human rights treatise and conventions (see Baxi, 2002 for a critique). More recently the growth of the human rights and human security literature has prompted new discussions about gender and human rights. Over the years, the conceptualization

B. Purkayastha (✉)
University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA
e-mail: Bandana.Purkayastha@uconn.edu

of gender as well as human rights have changed in response to activism, lobbying and other forms of claims making.

Here I use the human rights enterprise approach that goes beyond a primary focus on charters and conventions to examine the process through which substantive rights are claimed (Armaline, Glasberg, & Purkayastha, 2012, 2015). This sociological approach foregrounds the scholarship that examines substantive access to rights, structural impediments to accessing to human rights, and the power, privileges, and inequalities that have to be navigated in the process. While there is a vast literature on gendered inequalities that occur within nation-states, this chapter focuses mostly on the swath of scholarship that explicitly evokes human rights and gendered inequalities. This discussion is situated within a structural terrain that recognizes intersecting global to local areas of power and marginalization, that shape gendered human rights within and across nations.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the long road towards ensuring all marginalized human beings, that is, women, racial minorities, indigenous groups, and ethnic minorities, among others, can claim rights. Similar to reclaiming herstories, the first section of this chapter summarizes the scholarship on the growing power of feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial activism that shaped conversations about the conceptualization, policies, and access to human rights globally. The second section presents the scholarship on violence against women (VAW), gender and human rights. While the terrain of human rights literature covers many topics, discussions of violence are woven through an array of conversations about the access to political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights. Consequently, this second section summarizes the structural impediments, activist rifts and coalitions, and scholarly debates about gendered/intersectional violence that marginalize groups as they seek lives imbued with rights and dignity. I conclude by highlighting the dynamism and continuing conflicts related to gender and human rights.

1 The Long, Rocky Road to Include All Humans in Institutionalizing Human Rights

As many scholars have documented, the formation of the United Nations (UN) was fraught with many conflicts between colonial powers and the colonized, between powerful and less powerful states, and between states and different lobbies seeking to ensure the rights of smaller groups and less powerful states were not overlooked within the UN (Anderson, 2003; Pearce, 2001; Purkayastha 2012). Of the four women from Brazil, China, Dominican Republic, and the US who were present during the inception of the UN, the representatives from Brazil and the Dominican Republic, Bertha Lutz and Minerva Bernadino, were insistent about the inclusion of women's issues in all deliberations (Falcón, 2016; Synder, 2006). The UN charter which talks about the rights of men and women, reflect these initial efforts to include women instead of subsuming them in the category "man". Then, at the first UN General Assembly meeting, seventeen female delegates lobbied for the formal inclusion of women within the new political terrain. The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was formed in 1947 due to these early demands for the recognition of women's rights. CSW was charged with promoting women's rights and equality including formulating international conventions that would address national legislation that was discriminatory towards women (Synder, 2006). However the battle for gender equality had to continue even as the Universal Declaration of Human (UDHR) Rights was being written a year later.

As Arat (2008) has written:

...gender biases prevailed throughout the twentieth century. Even members of the Commission that drafted the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights were willing to employ the word "man" in reference to the holder of the rights...[T]he Commission Chair, Eleanor Roosevelt, defended the wording by arguing: [in English] "When we say 'all men are brothers,' we mean that all human beings are brothers and we are not differentiating between men and women." "Thus, the language

was maintained for some time. The final draft mostly employed the gender-neutral terms of “human being,” “everyone,” and “person;” and the Preamble included a specific reference to the “equal rights of men and women,” thanks largely to the efforts of two female Commission members, Hansa Mehta of India and Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic.

While this inclusive language in UDHR (proclaimed in 1948) represented a significant step forward, the question of women’s actual or substantive access to political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights remained a matter of conflict. During the negotiations over UDHR, powerful nation-states successfully argued that human rights and the security of human beings would be contingent upon national security concerns (see also Anderson, 2003). These reservations effectively made it possible for nation states to use “national security” as a weapon to deny human rights to the groups marginalized within their borders. As countries gained independence from colonial rule, the question of adequate food, shelter, education, health, among other needs, were also raised as critical human rights issues.

The UDHR introduced new thinking about rights including in its purview, political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights of human beings. It introduced the revolutionary idea that rights were to be available to all human beings irrespective of the political systems in which people lived. Yet the broad outlines did not address how the language, institutionalization, and practices relating to human rights were going to translate to substantive rights for hitherto marginalized groups including women (Baxi, 2002). Despite the presence of the Commission on the Status of Women in the UN from 1947, and the continued claims of organized women’s movements for women’s human rights at the UN, a broader recognition of women’s human rights emerged very slowly, over decades.

It is instructive to trace how the recognition of the structural bases of women’s inequalities and the need to safeguard their rights emerged in the UN. At one level, the changing claims within the UN mirror what was happening in academia as

scholars sought to develop the most effective methodologies (and bodies of research) on women. The academic thinking about gender has moved beyond equating gender to women to considering women and men in terms of their intersectional power, privileges and marginalization. At another level, within the UN, the conceptualization and practices surrounding human rights swung between a continuing insistence upon human rights of women to thinking about gendered human rights. Feminist leaders who were able to access different positions within the UN pushed for women’s agendas and substantive rights within the broad umbrella of human rights. Synder (1995, 2006) has written about the ways in which women’s economic and social rights were addressed through the UN’s “women and development” agendas in the ‘50s, ‘60s, ‘70s and ‘80s. Building on the concerns of newly independent states to address poverty, the initial international development plans targeted women *in* development. The patriarchal/colonial assumption was that women were victims of culture in their societies and only large-scale development and modernization would lead to improvements of women’s lives across the Global South. As the scholarly critiques about this approach grew louder (Kabeer, 1994; Mohanty, 2001) and the practitioners’ and activists’ voices from the Global South grew stronger, the women in development approach was changed to a women and development approach to recognize that women were not simply victims, they also contributed significantly to societies. However, by the 1980s this approach was replaced by a gender and development approach. As Synder (2006) describes, women from the Global South pointed out that equality within homes and access to employment, which were priorities for women in the Global North, were not their top priority especially while the North-dominated global political-economic systems oppressed their own societies. The frame of gender and development addressed some of these concerns. By highlighting the socially constructed nature of gender and recognizing that women and men in different social locations and different countries

are subject to different types of marginalization and privileges, this approach brought the thinking closer to the academic work on intersectionality. Instead of assuming that all women were oppressed relative to men, these development plans began to think of women and men as being affected by marginalization and privileges based on the structures of race/gender/class/sexuality/nationality/religion/age. As Synder has pointed out, “Actually, *women and development* made *gender and development* possible, and the greater individualism made women’s human rights possible” (italics in the original, 2006, 38).

While Synder’s accounts explain the quest for, and impediments to economic and social rights, an excellent account of the lobbying for the whole gamut of human rights is available in Falcón’s (2016) book, *Power Interrupted*. Falcón points out that from the 1960s, splits began to appear among groups that were lobbying for women’s human rights. Part of this conflict is reflective of the ways in which “women” were defined by diverse women’s movements. As I discuss later in this chapter, many of these splits continue today. A series of UN sponsored, CSW organized conferences brought women from different parts of the globe together. As a result, multiple transnational advocacy networks developed. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), passed in 1979, and now ratified by 189 countries, was an outcome of thirty years of work by the CSW and these networks.

In its preamble, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) explicitly acknowledges that “extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,” and emphasizes that such discrimination “violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity”. As defined in Article 1, discrimination is understood as “any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex...in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field”. The Convention provides positive affirmation to the principle of equality by requiring States parties to take “all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of

women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men” (article 3). (CEDAW, 1979) CEDAW identified multiple ways in which women are prevented from fully exercising their political and civil human rights. It highlights the deleterious impact of cultural factors on gender relations and asks state parties to address these factors. In addition, it addresses the inequalities that persist in accessing health, reproductive rights, employment education and related social activities.

While the passage of CEDAW can be seen as a major step towards ensuring women’s human rights, it was not sufficient to eliminate the gendered inequalities that were already identified through scholarship and Gender and Development policy and practices. Falcón (2016) has argued that the process through which the UN units focused on women, such as within the Commission on the Status of Women, reflect the dominant Global North’s notion of a universal woman. “In short, emphasizing differences based on race, culture, sexuality, or acknowledging intra-gender dynamics was not the prevailing discourse or political objective of the 1990s as activists sought to shape international standards. The UN spaces focused on “women’s issues” have gained its traction by precisely promoting an image of the universal woman as de-racialized among other factors. As a result, women who wanted to advocate for an intersectional notion of women and men used a very different space: the conferences on eliminating racism, or the spaces for articulating the rights of migrants or indigenous groups to advocate for themselves.

Since the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, over the years, 18 core human rights instruments were established to deepen human rights in practice. Because of the early insistence on the term human (within UDHR) many of these conventions address a few aspects of women’s experiences. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) spells out the fundamental human rights. Article 2 of the UDHR partly states that, “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration,

without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". This implies that human rights are universal, inalienable and indivisible, shared equally by everyone (Ishay, 2008). Several conventions codified the principles of UDHR. Broadly, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights commits parties to respect the civil and political rights of individuals including the right to life, self-determination, and electoral rights, among others. The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), on the other hand, lists several rights that states should meet to ensure decent lives for their people. These include labor rights, right to social security, health, education, and decent living. Specifically, article 11 recognizes the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living, which includes the right to adequate food, housing, and clothing. Other convention, for instance on refugees and migrants, highlight other rights women and men should be able to access irrespective of their citizenship status.

While human rights were being defined for practice through UN conventions, the global conferences on women organized under the aegis of CSW, like the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, provided a series of platforms for women's rights activists and supporters from across the globe to gather and claim their rights (UN Women, n.d.) Simultaneously, groups worked within their countries and regions to bring human rights language to their legal systems. For instance, the idea of women's human rights has also been incorporated into many formal documents of many former colonial territories (see e.g. Adams, 2006 on the incorporation of gender and human rights thinking on the African continent). Thus the ideas about women's rights as human rights spread across and were shaped by conceptualizations and claims across the globe.

In all of these efforts, the expectation was that governments were mainly responsible for ensuring human rights with the UN and its agencies acting as juries or referees. Even though the principles of human rights do not only hold nation-states accountable for violations—

corporations can be held accountable for human rights violations—the responsibility for assuring rights was primarily the purview of states. However, Molyneux and Razavi (2002) point out that the shifts in conceptualization, policy, and practice on gender and human rights were outflanked, from the 1980s, by the introduction of neoliberal policies that opposed governmental role in the areas that would have provided social and economic human rights. In other words, whereas the assumption of human rights conventions are that governments are responsible for creating the conditions that would allow all human beings to access social, economic and cultural rights, in reality, under the structural changes brought about by neoliberal globalization, governments were forced to retreat from their welfare state regimes, ceding the control of many of these arenas to private for-profit corporations. Many of the services provided by governments—e.g. education, health, retirement benefits—were moved over partially or wholly to the realm of "free" markets and redefined as items for sale and profit. Thus, the rapid expansion of neoliberal structures undermined the basic conditions needed for the fulfillment of human rights: the ability of all people to build and live lives of human dignity, secure from threats to survival and well being. Women were increasingly drawn into labor arenas with few of the protections that economic and social human rights conventions outlined. These changes affected the Global North and South. Without state commitment to a range of human rights, women were left to deal with care work within families and communities as "private" tasks, as governments were forced to or willingly exited their responsibility for providing social rights.

If we reflect on the decades since 1948 when UDHR was declared, among the positive achievements for gender and human rights are the policy formations that keep the cause of women's human rights on multiple international agendas, including the recent steps to insert gender equality into the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030. In a sense, gender and human rights have become normalized at the international policy level. Yet, many of these

policy initiatives continue to focus on *women* in their framing of what needs to be done instead of using an intersectional understanding of structures that impede diverse women's access to human rights differently. Thus, gender, in terms of the focus on structures, has made inadequate progress in the realm of human rights. This tension in conceptualization and framing of claims is evident in the ways in which scholars have conceptualized the role of violence as a key impediment to accessing human rights, as I discuss in the next section.

1.1 Gender and Human Rights: Looking Through the Lens of Violence

The gender and human rights literature that examines people's substantive access to human rights provides us with a glimpse of the rapidly expanding scope of terms such as "gender" and "human rights" in response to activism, scholarly challenges, and sustained pressure within policy-making platforms. Scholarly accounts now highlight the setbacks in eliminating violence in the struggle for human rights because of changing structural conditions including the escalation of large-scale violence since the 20th century (Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg, & Strand, 2002). As Tripp (2013) has pointed out, violence plays a key role in gendering human rights and violence is itself gendered. I begin with a brief discussion of the institutionalization of Violence Against Women (VAW) as a human rights violation within the UN, and then discuss some of the gaps and inconsistencies in localizing the international mandates. Following this I describe some other important trends of research that interrogate gendered violence and human rights as an approach to ensuring people's survival and well-being.

VAW at the UN: There is a substantial body of feminist scholarship on violence against women (VAW) that has challenged the conventional focus on individual perpetrators and victims of violence within private spheres. While much of this literature does not specifically refer

to human rights, scholars have described and analyzed complex social, economic and political structures that enable and/or instigate violence (e.g. Abraham, 2002; Tastsoglou & Abraham, 2010; Walby, 2005). The shift towards conceptualizing VAW as a violation of *human rights* developed through many sets of overlapping scholarly conversations and activist claims. The first Special Rapporteur—an expert appointed by the UN to examine rights violations and/or progress on specific human rights issues—was appointed in 1994 to look into VAW (Ertürk & Purkayastha, 2012).

Former Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (SRVAW) Ertürk (2005) and Ertürk and Purkayastha (2012) have discussed the process through which VAW and human rights were linked at the international level. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, passed in 1979, did not include violence as a central factor that negatively affected women (Cook, 1994; Peters & Wolper, 1995). The recognition of the deleterious effects of violence on women, as a human right violation, emerged through struggles, victories, and setbacks within local and global terrains. In 1992, after years of lobbying and advocacy by global women's movements, the expert committee monitoring the Convention adopted General Recommendation 19 (GR 19), defining violence against women as a form of discrimination. The adoption of GR 19 along with the momentum behind the issue of violence provided a strong impetus to consider women's rights as human rights at the 1993 Vienna Human Rights Conference, and again at the 1995 Beijing conference. These pressures led the UN General Assembly to adopt the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) in 1993. DEVAW's comprehensive framework describes VAW as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life". The Declaration made states responsible for elimination of VAW. It was also transformative in identifying many

perpetrators of violence even as it made states responsible for acts of violence by private individuals. DEVAW provided an international impetus for VAW—including domestic violence, marital rape, stalking—to be included into the criminal justice systems. However, according to Ertürk and Purkayastha (2012), as the principles of DEVAW began to filter through selected UN agencies, institutional fragmentation made its progress slow. The office of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (SRVAW) was created by the Commission on Human Rights to investigate state compliance with DEVAW, but the SRVAW's reports were not mandated to be formally included in the Commission on Human Rights' annual agenda till 2009.

As Ertürk and Purkayastha (2012) have pointed out, whether at the international level or locally, no matter the extent to which this mandate advanced the standards, conceptual understanding, and tools for implementation and accountability in relation to VAW, the problem persists because it is inextricably linked to patriarchal hierarchies intersecting with other macro and micro systems of subordination and inequality that create multiple layers of discrimination for marginalized groups, including women. For the most part, VAW continues to be perpetrated with impunity, and as a substantive aspect of human rights, access to justice against VAW is ridden with obstacles and opaque systems of accountability.

VAW and human rights on the ground:

Some of these challenges of translating VAW as a human rights violation have been discussed by scholars such as Bumiller (2013), Lewis (2009), Merry (2005), Ray and Purkayastha (2012), and Richards (2005). Scholars have documented how international mandates, which, most often, get institutionalized based on Western feminist understanding of gender, can fray or weaken within contexts of local politics. These politics are complex. At times, the wording of the international mandates do not fit well with laws against VAW that are already in place (Ray & Purkayastha, 2012), or new international mandates can be coopted by local patriarchal groups to vilify marginalized communities for *their*

treatment of *their* women (Merry's, 2005). Focusing on South Africa, Lewis (2009) has argued that the emergence of the neoliberal gender industry, which are shaped by the older developmental agendas, have, in effect, co-opted and eroded avenues for deep, gendered/intersectional transformations (also see Bajic, 2006; Yuval Davis, 2006). Lewis argued:

[p]hrases such as “gender equality,” “women’s empowerment” and “gender transformation”... permeate public discourse in ways that are remarkably authoritative and also deeply superficial and complacent...the terminology in place consistently stresses the technical and formal dimensions of social dynamics rather than their political and socially transformative repercussions (2009, p. 210).

She discusses how the concept of justice for different groups of people is pushed aside, as a top down process of political and civil rights are pushed as “the” agenda for *all* women.

Another aspect of these human rights challenges has been highlighted by indigenous groups in different countries often in discussions of cultural genocide or culture based struggles. Even though contemporary scholarly conceptualization emphasizes the ways in which intersecting global structures of gender/race/class perpetrate gendered violence within and between members of families, communities, states, and transnational arenas, terms such as gender do not always speak to specific groups. Nor is intersectionality sufficiently transparent in the gender and human rights discourse or policies to enable marginalized groups to use these frameworks in productive ways. Analysing the case of Mapuche women in Chile, Richards (2005), has emphasized that the Mapuche women find the term gender:

objectionable; this term implies for them an adherence to Western ideas that are imposed upon them...it is the collective and cultural aspects of their existence that Mapuche women seek to validate...[they] strongly identify with their people’s struggle against the state. Framing their claims in terms of Mapuche women’s rights, as opposed to gender, allows them to assert their difference from non-Mapuche Chilean women and simultaneously fits within a framework with which Mapuche men also identify (p. 202).

Scholars have made broadly similar cases for other indigenous groups in different continents (for other indigenous accounts see Smith 2012, 2015).

Even as scholars in different countries have been critical about the effects of Western feminist roles in pushing particular patterns of institutionalization of human rights, the Global North is not immune from the deleterious effects of recent shifts and changes in response to neoliberalism. Bumiller (2013) has documented the ways in which, within the U.S., states have retreated from welfare provision at the time when neoliberal regulatory functions have increased exponentially. Thus, the earlier ways of mitigating VAW via shelters and state-support has been replaced by a series of other laws that withhold and place life-time limits on welfare support for women seeking to rebuild their lives after experiencing violence. At the same time, there has been a significant increase in regulating of parents' behaviors through institutionalizing the role of professional groups within the mandate of VAW. Bumiller argues that "criminal justice reforms have increased the power of the state over vulnerable citizens, reduced the autonomy of women, and dampened efforts to provide other solutions to endemic gender violence" (2013, p. 208). Other scholars have pointed out that even though gender (i.e., gendered intersectional structures) are at the heart of many of the emerging mandates, many of the measures and data-gathering efforts continue to proceed according to the assumptions and conceptualizations that marked the older WID approach (i.e., a focus on women as victims; see Winter, Thompson, & Jeffreys, 2002 for some problems with definitions of VAW).

Gender and human rights scholars have also pointed to the rapid growth of the political economy of violence. These are evident through the increase in armed conflicts within and between nation-states (SIPRI, 2013) as well as the growth of global security regimes and prison-industrial complexes that draw large sections of marginalized groups into the ambit of violence even if they are not involved directly in these conflicts (Alexander, 2010; Ertürk &

Purkayastha, 2012; Sheppard, 2008, Sutton, Morgen, & Novokov, 2008). Other scholars such as Fritz, Doering, and Gumru (2011) and Watkin (2004) point out that as the mass production of weapons increased dramatically in the 20th century, and sophisticated weapons escalated the range and costs of war on ordinary people (also see SIPRI 2013a, b). At the least, the costs of supporting wars is often achieved at the price of cutting programs that would support people's social economic, and cultural human rights.

By the end of the 20th century, scholarly conversations and activist efforts, especially in the Global South began to highlight the effect of wars and intra-state conflict, and the escalation of the production and range of sophisticated weapons, as part of a continuum of gendered/raced violence that are perpetrated through colonial and neoliberal global-national-local structures (e.g. Barik, Kumar, & Sarode, 2010). As people who have experienced violence associated with armed conflict between states, the proxy wars of powerful Global North countries that are fought in the Global South, asymmetric warfare, insurgency, and recent historical memories of the violent legacies of colonialisms, scholar-activists from former colonies have interrogated roles of states and other entities in the contemporary political-economy of violence (e.g., Bangura, 2013; Gandhi, 2002; Shiva, 2005; Sutton, Morgen, & Novokov, 2008). They have pointed out that militaries use violence and abuse as weapons of control, symbols of humiliation and threats to local communities, as states claim the need to establish law and order as a rationale for suspending (or repealing) laws that promote political, civil, economic, social or cultural human rights. In areas of conflicts, both states and insurgents glorify violence with masculinist underpinnings of forcing others to do their will (although with different objectives). Consequently, sexual violence, particularly against women and girls, becomes a "normal" currency of conflicts or zones of conflicts. Women's groups and other marginalized groups including those who lobby against racism or advocate for the rights of indigenous communities, have attempted to raise global consciousness about the

gendered nature of such violence, especially sexual violence that women experience as members of their communities (Smith, 2015). UN Resolution 1325, passed in 2000, which attends to sexual violence during conflicts—inter and intrastate conflict—is an outcome of successful lobbying by women’s groups (Sheppard, 2008). The resolution acknowledged that, increasingly, wars targeted civilians, and had an inordinate impact of war on women. It also acknowledged the pivotal role women should and do play in conflict management, conflict resolution, and sustainable peace (Center for Security Studies, 2008; Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002).

Yet, even as passage of 1325 is a step in the right direction, scholars such as Dickenson (2011) have pointed out how other changes undermine these victories. While the human rights mandates mostly focus on formal armies and conflicts, the task of legitimately engaging in violence is increasingly being subcontracted to private entities that are not subject to the same controls to which national (and state) governments are subject. Since the human rights edifice reflects the structures of rights within democracies, it is significantly more difficult to hold these private entities accountable for violation of civil and political rights of citizens of different societies. Thus, marginalized groups remain vulnerable to multiple forms of violence even as their human rights erode.

This interplay between expansion of terrains of violence and the erosion of human rights is also evident in the escalation of everyday forms of routinized violence (Pandey, 2006; Purkayastha 2008). Routine violence is associated with state formation and state operations, and is often made invisible because it is presented as “normal” ways of organizing modern nation states or international relations. Routine violence is also gendered (Purkayastha & Ratliff, 2014). Nation states (and the political-economic systems that support nation states) rely on violence to routinely create and sustain boundaries between groups and maintain stratified citizenships. (e.g. Barik, Kumar, & Sarode, 2010; Glenn, 2002). As states facilitate violence by addressing violence only in limited ways, or promote increased

weaponry for its police forces, a culture of violence prevails, which, in turn, normalizes the escalation of violence in everyday life. Who is safe in their homes when special powers are conferred on armed police or military to enter homes “upon suspicion”? Who is safe to walk around freely and attend to work/family needs in their daily lives? Who looks suspicious? Who is likely to be stopped and interrogated? Who is likely to be shot? While males in areas that are designated as “law and order problem areas” are more likely to be shot or stopped on suspicion, children and women are not immune from such violence. Mehrotra (2009), Banerjee and Chaudhury (2011) and others have discussed the impact of suspension of “normal laws” and the resistances that have emerged in some of the border states of India (Banerji & Chaudhury, 2011; Ford Foundation, 2004). Similar discussions are available in the US (SPLC, 2016; Matthei, 2003; Morales & Bejareno, 2009).

While the tenets of Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women represent a significant step forward in the March towards elimination of VAW, the responsibility of states to ensure human rights, means marginalized groups mostly left with limited access to rights. The case of migrants, who are supposed to be ensured of their human rights before, during, and after migration, starkly illustrate how these objectives are rarely met. Menjivar and Leisy (2012) use the term legal violence to describe the ways in which bringing together criminal justice operations and immigration laws in the U.S. have enhanced the level of violence immigrants face routinely. They define legal violence to include injuries such as loss of livelihood, becoming targets of hate crimes with little or no recourse to avenues of redress, health impacts associated with stigmatization, as well as imprisonment and deportation, all of which are supposed to be protected as human rights (also see Aranda & Vaquera, 2015). Similarly, looking at Pakistan, Yousaf and Purkayastha (2015) show how the growth of the immigration surveillance and criminal justice systems which increasing work together blurring civil violations and criminal acts—also referred to as crimmigration—actually

re-victimizes forced migrants, i.e., those who are trafficked so others can profit from trafficking them for sex, labor, and organs (2015). They emphasize the need to rethink the separation between economic migrants and refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) within in the human rights policy arenas. Nor does fleeing violence bring sustained relief; Njiru and Purkayastha (2015) have described the gendered violence and human rights violations internally displaced persons (IDPs) experience in camps (see also Holzer, 2015, on the experience of refugees).

Scholars and activists have also pointed to the limitations of understanding human rights primarily as matters of political and civil rights. There is a growing literature and activist resistance to violence associated with neoliberalism. These studies foreground economic, social and cultural rights, though the discussions emphasize these rights are inseparable from political and civil rights. They specifically discuss limited and eroding opportunities for accessing living wages, education, shelter, healthcare or access to substantive political rights to organize for better conditions of life as violence becomes normalized (Armaline et al., 2015). Focusing on Argentina, Sutton (2010) has written about the ways in which structural adjustments lead to embodied violence on women and a rapid erosion of economic, political and social rights. Bell (2013) has documented the struggles over water (see also Ciampi, 2013; Shiva, 2016). Anjana (2010), among others, describes how the incursions of state regulations negatively regulate women's access to land in many tribal communities. Armstrong's (2014) study of Dalit women in Haryana, India, showcase the struggle over maintaining common lands as human rights struggles where marginalized communities that rely on the resources of these non-privatized, non-government-designated reserved spaces, find the selves deprived of rights that their communities have accessed, albeit for the purposes of accessing meagre resources that have enabled them to survive over generations. In both of these studies, the struggle, like the struggle of the Mpuche, is often for group-rights as a key to

survival and well being, rather than individual rights, raising questions about the ability of the current human rights perspective to adequately respect these world views.

In order to overcome the challenges identified by scholars and activists in adequately balancing the objectives of human rights with the structures that impede access, a number of scholars have begun to work within a human security approach. A key component of this approach is to re-center the principle that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sought to establish: the survival of people and their ability to live lives of human dignity free from threats that affect their very survival and well being. Tripp (2013) discussed how the human security approach challenges the rhetoric and moves by states to prioritize state security over human security, and considers the threats to individuals and communities arising from "[e]conomic, food, health, and environmental crises....and violence [experienced by] individuals, communities, and nations...in gender specific ways that intersect with class, race, age, sexuality, and nationality" (p. 9). Tripp, Ferree, and Ewig (2013) and their colleagues foreground violence, emphasize the linkages among different types of insecurities, relate these to long term global social structural inequalities, in order to address many of the critiques in this section. This approach also overlaps with the human rights enterprise approach in emphasizing people's agency and activism as well as the link between macro-structures in shaping substantive access to human rights.

2 Concluding Thoughts

The field of gender and human rights remains dynamic, often rife with controversies and challenges as diverse activist and scholarly approaches clash and or coalesce. On the one hand, this struggle is about accessing existing rights, the key route through which access to resources are enabled. On the other hand, this chapter shows that the struggles are about expanding the purview of rights well beyond states and current conventions and mandates. Using a human rights

enterprise approach I outlined some of the struggles to get marginalized groups included within the purview of human rights, as well as the continuing challenges and gaps in expanding access to substantive human rights.

A key aspect of gender and human rights is the intersections between scholarship and practice. Even as the scholarly trajectory has moved beyond a focus on women to a focus on intersecting structures of marginalization that produce different types of gendered outcomes for individuals and communities, these ideas do not always translate effectively to the policy realms. Even when gender is incorporated into policy arenas, as evident in the attempts to monitor DEVAW write out, some of the provisions increase the vulnerabilities of groups as the language and intent of these mandates are co-opted for other purposes.

So, too, with human rights. The focus on states as arbiters of human rights has faced significant challenges from activists and scholars who have pointed out that our current approach often obscures the ways in which contemporary global political economic systems violate the human rights of individuals and communities. Processes that normalize routine violence within states and the expansion of state and global security regimes expand the terrain of human rights violations. New and emerging forms of extra-state practices continue to erode access to political, civil, economic, social and cultural human rights even as these processes attempt to co-opt the language of human rights for their legitimation. The gender and human security scholarship attempts to address some of these challenges though many gaps and rifts remain.

References

- Abraham, M. (2002). *Speaking the unspeakable*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Adams, M. (2006). Regional women's activism: African women's network and the African Union. In M. M. Ferree & A. M. Tripp (Eds.), *Global feminism: Transnational women's activism, organizing and human rights* (pp. 187–218). New York: New York University Press.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Anderson, C. (2003). *Eyes off the prize: The United Nations and the African American struggle for human rights, 1944–1955* (p. 2003). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Anjana. (2010). Customary practices and human rights of tribal women. In B. Barik, P. Kumar, & U. Sarode (Eds.), *Gender and human rights*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Aranda, E., & Vaquera, E. (2015). Racism, the immigration enforcement regime, and the implications for racial inequality in the lives of undocumented young adults. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1, 88–104.
- Arat, Z. (2008). Women's rights as human rights. *UN Chronicle*, VLC(2&3). <https://unchronicle.un.org/article/womens-rights-human-rights>.
- Armeline, W., Glasberg, D. S., & Purkayastha, B. (2015). *The human rights enterprise: The state, resistance, and human rights*. London: Polity Press.
- Armeline, W., Glasberg, D. S., & Purkayastha, B. (2012). *Human rights in our own backyard: Injustice and resistance in the US*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Armstrong, E. (2014). *Gender and neoliberalism: the All India Democratic Women's Association and globalization politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Bajic, A. (2006). Women's organizing in post Yugoslav countries: Talking about donors. In M. M. Ferree, & A. M. Tripp (Eds.), *Global feminism: Transnational women's activism, organizing and human rights* (pp. 141–165). New York: New York University Press.
- Banerjee, P., & Chaudhury, A. B. R. (2011). *Women in Indian Borderlands*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Bangura, Z. (2013). A la une. <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/web-features/take-away-guns-women-tell-un-envoy>. Retrieved October 30, 2013.
- Barik, B., Kumar, P., & Sarode, U. (2010). *Gender and human rights: Narratives on macro-micro realities*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Baxi, U. (2002). *The future of human rights*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, S. (2013). *Our roots run as deep as ironweed*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Bumiller, K. (2013). Feminist collaboration with the state in response to sexual violence: Lessons from the American experience. In A. M. Tripp, M. M. Ferree, & C. Ewig (Eds.), *Gender, violence and human security* (pp. 191–213). New York: New York University Press.
- CEDAW. (1979). *An assessment of human rights issues emanating from traditional practices in Liberia*. United Nations Mission in Liberia: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>. Retrieved December 15, 2016.

- Center for Security Studies. (2008). *The growing importance of Civilians in Armed Conflicts* (Vol. 3, No. 45). www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/CSS-Analyses-45.pdf. Retrieved December, 2008.
- Ciampi, M. (2013). 'Water divide' in the global risk society. *International Review of Sociology: Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 23(1), 243–260.
- Cook, R. (1994). *Human rights of women: National and international perspectives*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dickenson, L. (2011). *Outsourcing war and peace: Preserving public values in a world of privatized foreign affairs*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ertürk, Y., & Purkayastha, B. (2012). Linking research, policy and action: A look at the work of the special rapporteur on violence against women. *Current Sociology*, 60, 20–39.
- Ertürk Y. (2005). The UN agenda for women's rights and gender equality. *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 10(2), 91–113.
- Falcón, S. (2016). *Power interrupted: Antiracist and feminist activism inside the United Nations*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Ferree, M. M. (1990). Beyond separate spheres. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(4), 866–887.
- Fritz, J., Doering, S., & Gumru, F. B. (2011). Women, peace, security and the national action plans. *Journal of Applied Social Science*, 5, 1–23.
- Foundation, F. (2004). *Close to home: Case studies of human rights work in the United States*. New York: Ford Foundation.
- Gandhi, E. (2002). *Interview*. Consulted on December 20, 2007 at <http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/global/egl.html>.
- Gleditsch, N. P., Wallensteen, P., Eriksson, M., Sollenberg, M., & Strand, H. (2002). Armed conflict, 1946–2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 615–637.
- Glenn, E. N. (2002). *Unequal freedom: How race and gender shape American citizenship*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Holzer, E. (2015). *The concerned women of buduburam: Refugee activists and humanitarian dilemmas*. Cornell University Press.
- Kabeer, N. (1994). *Revered realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Ishay, M. R. (2008). *The history of human rights: From ancient times to the globalization era*. University of California Press.
- Lewis, D. (2009). Discursive challenges for African feminism. In A. A. Ampofo & S. Arnfred (Eds.), *African feminist politics of knowledge: Tensions, challenges and possibilities* (pp. 205–221). Nordiska Afrikaintitutet.
- Matthei, W. (2003). *The green belt movement: Sharing the approach and the experience*. New York: Lantern Books.
- Mehrotra, D. (2009). *Burning bright: From Sharmila and the struggle for peace in Manipur*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Menjivar, C., & Leisy, A. (2012). Legal violence: Immigration law and the lives of central American migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117, 1380–1421.
- Merry, S. E. (2005). *Human rights and gender violence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2001). Cartographies of struggle: Third world women and the politics of feminism. In C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, & L. Torres (Eds.), *Third world women and the politics of feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Molyneux, M., & Razavi, S. (2002). *Gender justice. Development and Human Rights*: Oxford University Press.
- Morales, M., & Bejareno, C. (2009). Transnational sexual and gendered violence: An application of border sexual conquest at a Mexico—US border. *Global Networks*, 9(3), 420–439.
- Njiru, R., & Purkayastha, B. (2015). *Voices of internally displaced persons in Kenya: A human rights perspective*. Kolkata and London: Frontpage Publications.
- Pandey, G. (2006). *Routine violence: Nations, fragments, histories*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pearce, T. (2001). Human rights and sociology: Some observations from Africa. *Social Problems*, 48, 48–56.
- Peters, J., & Wolper, A. (Eds.). (1995). *Women's human rights, human rights: International feminist perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Purkayastha, B. (2012). Human rights, global visions. In A. O. Otunnu, B. Purkayastha, & S. Mobilia (Eds.), *Human rights: Voices of world's young activists* (pp. 1–8). London and Kolkata: Frontpage Publications.
- Purkayastha, B., & Ratcliff, K. (2014). Routine violence: Intersectionality at the interstices. In M. Segal & V. Demos (Eds.), *Advances in gender research* (Vol. 18B). London: Emerald Publications.
- Purkayastha, B. (2008). Building and sustaining a fabric of peace: Notes from the field. In G. Caforio, G. Kuemmel, & B. Purkayastha (Eds.), *Armed conflict and conflict resolution: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 393–411). Emerald Group: Bingley, UK.
- Quataert, J. (2011). The circuitous origins of the gender perspective. *Human Rights Advocacy: A Challenge for Transnational Feminisms. Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 31(3), 631–643.
- Ray, R., & Purkayastha, B. (2012). Challenges in localizing global human rights. *Societies Without Borders*, 7, 1–22.
- Rehn, E., & Sirleaf, E. J. (2002). Women, war, peace: The independent experts' assessments on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building. *Unifem*. Retrieved August 1, 2013. http://www.unifem.org/materials/item_detail89f.html.
- Richards, P. (2005). The politics of gender, human rights, and being indigenous in Chile. *Gender & Society*, 19, 199–220.
- Risman, B. J., & Davis, G. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology Review*, 61(5–6), 733–755.

- Sen, A., & Ogata, S. (2003). Human security. *UNOCHA*. Retrieved on July 30, 2012. <http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/chs/index.html>.
- Shah, A. (2013). The arms trade is big business. *Global Issues: Social, Political, Economic and Environmental Issues that Affect Us All*. Retrieved August 16, 2013. <http://www.globalissues.org/article/74/the-arms-trade-is-big-business>.
- Sheppard, L. (2008). *Gender, violence security: Discourse as Practice*. London: Zed Books.
- Shiva, V. (2005). *Globalization's new wars. Seeds, water & life forms*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited.
- Shiva, V. (2016). Navdanya, earth democracy. Retrieved December 16, 2016. <http://www.navdanya.org/earth-democracy>.
- Smith, A. (ed.). (2015). *Conquest: Sexual violence and American Indian Genocide*. Duke University Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Snyder, M. (2006). Unlikely godmother: The UN and global women's movement. In M. M. Ferree & A. M. Tripp (Eds.), *Global feminism: Transnational women's activism, organizing and human rights* (24–50). New York: New York University Press.
- Snyder, M. (1995). *Transforming development: Women, poverty, politics*. London: IT Publications.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2016). *New SPLC report uncovers abuse and neglect at immigrant detention centers in the South*. <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2016/11/21/new-splc-report-uncovers-abuse-and-neglect-immigrant-detention-centers-south>.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (2013). *Yearbook*. Retrieved July 31, 2013. <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2013/files/SIPRIYB13Summary.pdf>.
- SIPRI (2013a). http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/production/researchissues/measuring_aPROD. Retrieved July 31, 2013.
- SIPRI (2013b). <https://www.sipri.org/research/armament-and-disarmament/arms-transfers-and-military-spending/internationalarms-transfers>. Retrieved July 31, 2013.
- Sutton, B. (2010). *Bodies in crisis. Culture, violence and women's resistance in neoliberal Argentina*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Sutton, B., Morgen, S., & Novokov, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Security disarmed: Critical perspectives on gender, race, militarization*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Tastsoglou, E., & Abraham, M. (2010). *Countours of citizenship: Women's diversity and practices of citizenship*. New York: Routledge.
- Tripp, A. M. (2013). Towards a gender perspective on human security. In A. M. Tripp, M. M. Ferree, & C. Ewig (Eds.), *Gender, violence and human Security* (pp. 3–32). New York: New York University Press.
- Tripp, A. M., Ferree, M. M., & Ewig, X. (2013). *Gender, violence and human security: Critical feminist perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- UN Women. (2016). Facts and figures: Ending violence against women. Retrieved December 15, 2016. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>.
- UN Women. (n.d.). World Conferences on Women. Retrieved March 12, 2017. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>.
- United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner. Core Instruments. (2017). *The core international human rights instruments and their monitoring bodies*. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CoreInstruments.aspx>.
- Walby, S. (2005). Improving the statistics on violence against women. *Statistical Journal of the United Nations (UNECE)*, 22(4), 193–216.
- Watkin, K. (2004). Controlling the use of force: A role for human rights norms in contemporary armed conflict. *The American Journal of International Law*, 98, 1–34.
- Winter, B., Thompson, D., & Jeffreys, S. (2002). The UN approach to harmful traditional practices. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4(1), 72–94.
- Yousaf, F. N., & Purkayastha, B. (2015). *Human trafficking amidst interlocking oppressions: A focus on Pakistan*. Kolkata and London: Frontpage Publications.
- Yuval Davis, N. (2006). Human/women's rights and feminist transversal politics. In M. M. Ferree & A. M. Tripp (Eds.), *Global feminism: Transnational women's activism, organizing and human rights* (pp. 275–295). New York: New York University Press.

Bandana Purkayastha Professor of Sociology & Asian American Studies, has published over fifty articles, books, and chapters on transnationalism, migration, violence and peace and human rights. She has been recognized for her teaching, research and leadership through several university, state, and professional awards. She has served in leadership positions in American Sociological Association, International Sociological Association, and Sociologists for Women in Society;. She has served on state, national and international expert committees including World Health Organization's initiative on female migrants. For more, please see sociology.uconn.edu/faculty/purkayastha.

Jo Reger

Abstract

Heeding the call to integrate gender into the study of social movements and drawing on the work of gender and feminist scholars, I argue that there now exists a body of work that views social movements through the lens of intersectionality as well as recognizing gender as a multi-layered social structure and institution. Selecting representative work, I characterize gender in movements as occurring on three levels. The first level focuses on social processes such as gender socialization, interactions, leadership and engagement in activities. Second is the level of organization and community where gender operates in structures, frames, identities and strategies and tactics. Third is the cultural and societal level where gender can act to open up opportunities for activism or as a constraint through dynamics in the environment. I conclude with future directions for the study of gender in movements, including turning a scholarly gaze to dynamics of masculinity, gender neutrality and transgender in shaping movements, and the continued incorporation of intersectionality. In sum, the field of social movement studies is vibrant with gender research but still there is much to do.

Stacey and Thorne (1985) argued that gender was the “missing revolution” in sociology. A few years later, Doug McAdam argued that scholars “have almost totally ignored gender’s impact” on social movements (1992: 1234, see also Taylor 1999). In the three decades since Stacey and Thorne’s call and McAdam’s observation, gender scholarship has grown exponentially in social movement studies. According to Whittier (2007), this progress has come in two waves with the first focused on understanding women’s social movement activism. The second, she argues “began to analyze gender in social movements more broadly,” taking into consideration masculinity and other social identities such as religion, sexuality, nationality, race-ethnicity and social class in combination with gender (2007: 1872).

In these waves, social movement scholars drew on other areas in sociology as well as frameworks articulated in feminist theory to investigate the role of gender in movements. Acker’s work (1990) on organizations allowed scholars to articulate how social movement organizations themselves are gendered. Gerson and Peiss’s (1985) analysis of the levels of gender relations became the foundation for understanding the formation of collective identities detailed by Taylor and Whittier (1992), drawing on the role of gender in this process. Connell’s (1987) work on gender and power opened the door for understanding how gender operates on

J. Reger (✉)
Oakland University, Rochester, MI, USA
e-mail: reger@oakland.edu

multiple levels of privilege and oppression, bringing with it a focus on masculinity. Lorber's (1994) and Risman's (2004) conceptualizations of gender as multi-dimensional allowed for it to be understood as a process and interaction, a core social and cultural structure as well as a stratification system. Crenshaw's (1991) articulation of intersectionality, along with other scholars such as Collins (1990), King (1988) and the Combahee River Collective (1978), gave social movement scholars the ability to conceptualize gender as enmeshed in a web of social identities, all important to understanding social change efforts in a more complex manner.

Because of this interdisciplinary work and flourishing of scholarship, there are a multitude of ways to characterize the research of gender in social movements. In their groundbreaking two-volume special issue in *Gender & Society*, Taylor and Whittier note that gender shapes "political opportunities, organizational processes, interpretive frames, collective identities and discourses," (1998: 623). Taylor later argued that gender shapes movements in a multi-prong approach including social structure, preexisting networks, mobilization frames, organizations, and strategies and outcomes (1999, see also Pelak, Taylor & Whittier, 1999; Taylor, 1996). Einwohner, Hollander and Olson (2000) put forth a typology that extends from gender in participants' demographics to movement goals, tactics, identities and gendered attributions. Whittier (2007) added to these categorizations with her division of the scholarship into emergence and recruitment, collective identities, frames, organizational structures, tactics and strategies, as well external social structure.

Considering their commonalities, differences and overlap, I collapse these different categorizations into three core levels and use them to organize the chapter below. First is how individuals through a variety of *processes* draw on gendered social identities in their engagement in social movements. Second, the focus moves from individuals to *organizations and communities* and the ways in which groups are structured and how they articulate their purpose. The third level considers the ways in which gendered *social and*

cultural forces shape movement opportunities and constraints. At each of these levels, I illustrate how intersectionality illuminates the way in which gender intertwines with other social statuses such as race-ethnicity, social class, sexual identity, religion, nationality and others. In sum, this chapter moves from a micro focus on individuals, to a meso focus on organizations and communities, to a more macro focus on the overall environment that social movements exist in. My goal here is not to describe how some movements are *gendered movements*, (see Chap. 34) but instead to illustrate how gender is a core factor shaping social movements. To that end, I begin by examining the research on individualized and more micro gendered processes in social movements.

1 Gendered Processes in Movements

Scholars have illustrated how gender is "done" through social interactions that teach and hold individuals accountable for their gender performance (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Some of the richest areas of social movement research illustrates how gender socialization, interaction networks, attributions and activities are processes that play in social movements. It is at this level that the ways in which individuals understand themselves and others as gendered beings influences how they experience being in a social movement.

Gender socialization and expectations.

Understandings of what it means to be a gendered person influences how people enter into and engage in social movements. Scholars have documented how men and women often fare very differently in movements. For example, scholars find that for women, motherhood (or expectations of motherhood) can profoundly shape engagement in social movements (Naples 1992, 1998a, 1998b; Pardo, 1998; Reger, 2001). Naples (1992) and Pardo (1998) demonstrate how notions of mothering and motherhood

combine with other social identities creating activist mothering. Activist mothering extends beyond the individual's family and prompts women to see motherhood as being a responsibility to enter into social movement activism. In other words, the need to care for the family transformed into the need to care for a community. Mueller (1987) labeled this form of gender socialization the development of "gender consciousness," a process defining the parameters and rationale of one's engagement in collective action. In sum, gender socialization fosters gender consciousness, a process monitored and shaped through interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987). McAdam (1992), in his study of the civil rights campaign Freedom Summer, found that expectations of appropriate gender behavior shaped men and women's different experiences at every level of involvement. For example, he found that women, seen as the more vulnerable sex, faced more opposition about joining the campaign from family and movement organizers than men. Once in, gendered expectations shaped women's roles. Women did mostly teaching and clerical work whereas the men did more of the dangerous and exciting community organizing. However, after the campaign, women had higher levels of continued activism. In McAdam's study, it is the societal expectations of gender that are at play (e.g., women are more vulnerable, men are more capable of protecting themselves). However, gender does not only shape perceptions of ability and expectations of appropriate behavior, it affects how individuals perceive themselves and their motivation to participate in social movements.

Gendered interactions and networks. Scholars have illustrated how interaction within movements is also a gendered process (McAdam, 1992; Neuhauser, 1995). Social movement studies have examined how people's gendered (and raced) networks shape recruitment into social movements. In her study of white and Black women in the civil rights movement, Irons (1998) finds that grassroots and religious networks draw Black women into a movement, along with personally experienced oppression. White women were more likely to become active

through national, often religious, organizations. Whereas Irons examines gendered and raced networks social movement participants belong to, Einwohner (1999) notes how class and gender can shape the interactions between activists and their targets. In her analysis of two animal rights campaigns, she argues that there is an "identity interaction" between the activists and their targeted populations. She finds that circus patrons viewed the animal rights activists through a primarily feminine identity and identified them as "caring people," or "very gentle, sweet types" who are "trying to change things for the good of animals" (1999: 69). Whereas hunters viewed activists through a feminine *and* non-working class identity combined. To the hunters, the activists were "overly emotional women attempting to voice an opinion on an issue that they do not understand" and "office workers" (vs. blue collar or manual workers) with no experience in nature (1999: 67). In sum, both Irons and Einwohner illustrate the importance of looking beyond gender in understanding how people negotiate movements, and how interactions within a movement draw on notions of gender and other social statuses.

Overall, this work on socialization, networks and interactions points to the critical role gender plays in bringing individuals into social movement campaigns and how they function once there. One important function in social movements is the job of leader.

Gendered leadership. As McAdam noted, men and women tend to do different things in movements (1988). Leadership is one of these activities often divided by sex. However, scholars argue that it is not so much the activity itself, but how the activity is viewed through a gender lens that is important. In her study of women in the civil rights movement, Barnett (1993) argues that women played vital roles that were not identified by men as leadership. This she argues is due to the triple constraints of gender, race and social class. Later, Robnett (1997) expanded on this observation of women's "invisible leadership" and proposed the concept of "bridge leadership." Bridge leadership was done by women in the civil rights movement who did not have

formal positions within social movement organizations but instead served as vital links between the group and the community. Robnett argues, though undervalued in the movement, bridge leadership was the cornerstone of much of the movement's mobilization and played a role in its successes. Women such as JoAnn Robinson, Septima Poinsette Clark, McCree Harris, Shirley Sherrod, Diane Nash, Johnnie Carr, Thelma Glass, and Georgia Gilmore did important work in the movement but were not recognized because of a focus on a more masculine, status-oriented leadership. While McNair and Robnett's work added new dimensions to the study of gender and leadership, it also drew attention the ways in which social movement theories and scholarship need an intersectional perspective that moves beyond a white, middle class, male focus. While leadership is one activity within a movement, a newer vein of scholarship is tracing out how gendered activities being incorporated.

Gendered Activities. While as McNair, Robnett and others worked to rewrite gendered notions of leadership, other scholars examined how gender can be at the heart of protest actions. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, feminists worked to undo the relationship between femininity/"womanness" and activities such as parenting, and homemaking while critiquing feminine activities such as beauty and make up routines and fashion. In an attempt to recast feminine gendered activities as worthwhile, contemporary feminists have focused on reclaiming of "disparaged girl things" such as fashion, make up and crafting that they feel was discarded and marginalized by earlier feminists. Scholars have examined this reclaiming of gendered activities as political. For example, Beth Ann Pentney in her study of fiber arts and feminism quotes knitting "guru" Debbie Stoller as saying, "valuing the craft of knitting is feminist act in itself ... because the denigration of knitting correlates directly with the denigration of traditionally women-centred activity," (2008: 1). In addition, Kelly (2014, 2015) argues that 21st century feminist knitting communities are a gendered form of activism that can shape

alternative understandings of masculinity and femininity through adopting the feminized practice of knitting as well as through group interactions. It is important to note that knitting is one such activity. I focus on the intersection between gender and protest in the discussion of organizational frames in the following section.

In sum, the way in which society casts gender norms and the ways in which people come to understand themselves has a profound impact on social movements. In particular, how people enter a movement, how they interact with the movement and what they engage in are all processes shaped by gender. I next turn to the ways in which organizations and communities are influenced by gender.

2 Gendered Organizations and Community in Movements

Scholars have focused on the meso level of interaction to study how organizations and communities collectively create understandings of their activist identities, how they disseminate their goals and structure their strategies. The gendering of organizational structures can set up a model that is adopted by other movements, affecting how individuals process gender. Susan Stall and Randy Stoecker argue that within organizations "gender structures produce different social movement experiences for men and women, distinct spheres of action, and distinct activist personalities" (1998: 748–749). For example, Ferree and Martin (1995) note that feminist organizations often take a particular form, shaping the experiences of their members through a focus on empowerment and collectivist decision-making. These organizational structures are replicated, sharing with other movements structures that facilitate decision-making, mobilization, and recruitment. Labelling this process "spillover," Meyer and Whittier (1994) found that gendered structures from the women's movement were replicated in the U.S. peace movement and were evident in the tactics, leadership and anti-hierarchical organizational infrastructure. Relatedly, Hurwitz and Taylor

(forthcoming) found the social movement community around Occupy Wall Street integrated gender in organizational forms that privileged feminist groups and free spaces. Yet, gender influences more than organizational structure, as is evident in the research on gender and protests through an analysis of the frames (i.e., messages) extended to the public, the identities constructed within the space of the organization or community, and the strategies and tactics adopted to make change.

Gendered Frames. Frames are politicized understandings of a social movement's goals that connect activists and potential participants (Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994). Einwohner, Hollander and Olson (2000) argue that how an organization genders its framing can shape how legitimate the movement's demands are seen (see Einwohner, 1999). For example, Ferree and Roth (1998) examine the issue of childcare in a West Berlin workers' strike. They argue that an organizational coalition that combined feminist efforts with labor could have extended the need for childcare beyond gender (and race and class). Instead, the different gendered structures within the groups resulted in a frame that kept childcare as a "women's" issue and not a "worker's" and limited its potential for success. Even feminist organizations can frame gender in different ways. In a study of a chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), motherhood was seen as interpreted two ways: as a social status with political ramifications, and as the act of caring and taking responsibility for relationships (Reger, 2001). These interpretations were incorporated into frames extended to potential recruits, and as a result constructed distinct feminist identities within one feminist organization. The relationship between gender and identities is another area of flourishing scholarship in social movements.

Gendered Identities. Developing a sense of "we" as a group is an important dynamic of social movement organizations and communities. Taylor and Whittier (1992) argued that the creation of boundaries, the negotiation with the target/enemy, and the development of a politicized consciousness foster the construction social movement identities. Their conceptualization allows for gender, along with race-ethnicity, class, nationality, religion and

other social statuses to be factors in activist identity development. Within spaces such as social movement groups or communities, activists interact forming a shared consciousness on that it means to be in a movement. Group understandings of gender inequality can influence that consciousness, and consequentially the activist identity. For example, part of identifying as a "feminist" is identifying who is a part of a community or organization and who is not, as well as coming to have a shared sense of the change that is sought in society (Reger, 2012). Emotions such as anger as the result of gender inequality can also play a role in the formation of identities (Hercus, 1999). Shared activist or collective identities are more than attributes of the individual but are important elements to the group or community. For example Leila Rupp and Taylor argue that a gendered activist identity helped sustain the women's movement through the "doldrums" before its resurgence in the late 1960s (1987, see Taylor, 1989 also). In sum, gender can play a core role in the construction of an activist identity, shaping the boundaries of the group or community, its continuity and its internal and external interactions.

Along with gender, other social identities also play a role in identity development. The history of the U.S. women's movement is one of activism born out of an intersection of race, class and gender, along with other identities. Much of the historical record of the movement focuses on the race, class and sexual identity of white, middle-class, heterosexual women (Laughlin et al., 2010). However, women of color, working class women, and lesbians created identities and organizations at the same time as white, middle-class heterosexual women, at times working with them and often working separately (Roth, 2002; Thompson, 2002). Working-class women believing that their work and family lives were not addressed by mainstream feminism created organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women in 1974 (Roth, 2008). Women of color also created their own organizations (Roth, 2002; Thompson, 2002). In the 1960s through the 1980s, Black women, along with Chicana and Asian-American women, created organizations such as The National Black

Feminist Organization, the Mexican American Women's National Association, and the Pan Asian American Women. These organizations and groups were the site of the construction of complex identities that integrated more than gender. One such group, the Combahee River Collective wrote that there was a history of Black activists whose "sexual identity combined with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggles unique" (Combahee River Collective, 1978, online). In their statement of purpose, they write:

We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously (1978: online).

Almost three decades later, the formation of #BlackLivesMatter, a movement organization with the goal of "ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise" echoes and adds to the call of the Combahee River Collective. Moving beyond the incorporation of gender, race, sexual identity and class, the founders write, Black Lives Matter affirms the lives of Black queer and trans folks, disabled folks, Black-undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black lives along the gender spectrum (Black Lives Matter, online). These two organizations illustrate how applying an intersectional perspective to the construction of social movement identities reveals the complex way that a sense of "we" is created in social movements.

Gendered Strategies and Tactics. As Stall and Stoecker (1998) point out in their study of community organizing models, gender can shape how organizations and communities structure their strategies and goals. Scholars have examined how the strategies (i.e., overall plans to make change) and tactics (i.e., the techniques of making change) can be gendered in focus and action. Organizational names are one indication of gendered strategies and tactics. Analyzing the contemporary anti-war movement, Kutz-Flamenbaum (2007) argued that groups such as Code Pink, Raging Grannies and the Missile Dick

Chicks integrate gender into their tactics ranging from the group names to their protest performances, and overall ideologies. She finds that gender is used in both normative (i.e., women as peacemakers and the use of the feminized color pink) to non-conformative ways (i.e., the use of phallic imagery). In the example of gendered performance as a tactic, the body becomes an important element as evident in the Missile Dick Chicks with their phallic costumes and dances. While Kutz-Flamenbaum focuses on performance, Whittier (2012) argues that lived experiences around gender shape strategies and tactics. In her study of the child sexual abuse movement, she notes how women activists drew on their identities as survivors of child abuse to "come out" and make change through these disclosures. Here gendered identity disclosure becomes a tactic for making change. While these examples illustrate how femininity and the experience of being girls and women influence strategies and tactics, masculinity and the experience of being boys or men have also been examined. Returning to McAdam (1988), Barnett (1993) and Robnett (1997) and their studies of the civil rights movement, it is clear that masculinity is present in the tactics and strategies of movement organizations, often shaped by the sex of the leaders and the gender lens through which they view the world.

By examining the organizational and community level of social movements, it is evident that gender shapes dynamics beyond the individual. Organizational models encompass frames, identities, and strategies and tactics, all influenced by gender. Moving beyond the individual captures the way in which gender is a societal structure reaching into the realm of social movements. I next examine how gender is a force on social movements at the societal and cultural level.

3 Gender and the Social and Cultural Environment

Scholars argue that the external environment can provide opportunities for the development of social movements or it can constrain them. Gender is a key element in society (Lorber, 1994;

Risman, 2004), also plays a role in this dynamic. The gendered opportunities and constraints can occur in two ways. First is when shifts in society influence gender norms and expectations, and facilitate social movement organizing. The second is the gendering of society itself and its effect on social movements.

Gendered opportunities. The dynamics of industrialization and urbanization are examples of how social forces change gender relations in society. Historians have examined how as work and communities changed, so did women's lives. However, U.S. women's movements and campaigns largely did not challenge traditional gender norms at first. Instead, they employed the rhetoric of traditional femininity to increase women's power, arguing that women's (more) moral nature should allow them more access to society through issues such as suffrage (Chafetz, Dworkin & Swanson, 1986; Dubois, 1978). However, the reliance on traditional notions of femininity began to change when women began to experience society differently (Freeman, 1975; Costain, 1992). These societal shifts were evident in the mid-20th century, as (mostly white) women gained more access to education and experienced a rise into a middle class lifestyle. Using men's lives as a reference, women redefined what it meant to be successful and sought rewards and opportunities outside of expected gender norms (Friedan, 1963). Social movement theorists call these societal shifts that facilitated women's activism "political opportunity structures" (Tarrow, 1989; Tilley, 1978).

Coining the term "gendered opportunity structures," McCammon, Campbell, Granberg and Mowrey (2001) focus on the U.S. women's suffrage movement. They investigate how suffragists were able to gain voting rights pre-Nineteenth Amendment through the changing societal notions of gender and gender relations. They write:

Specifically, we posit that shifting gender relations produced a gendered opportunity for women's suffrage by altering attitudes among political decision-makers about the appropriate roles of

women in society. That is, changing gender relations altered expectations about women's participation in the polity, and these changes in gendered expectations increased the willingness of political decision-makers to support suffrage (2001: 51).

McCammon and her colleagues study of U.S. suffrage is just one example of how societal shifts can bring opportunities for activism. However, just as society can be open to gendered challenges; it can also be closed to them.

Gendered Constraints. Drawing on the notion of gender as key part of all social structure, Acker (1990, 2006) detailed how gender regimes, made up of sets of interlocking practices and processes, can create barriers. While Acker focused on work organizations, her concept is also in social movement studies. For example, Bell and Braun (2010) argue that regional industries and environments can serve as gender regimes and facilitate or constrain activism. Studying environmental justice activism, they find that men are outnumbered by women in these movements. They argue that the interaction between men's gender identity and coal as an industry constructs a hegemonic masculinity deters their movement involvement. Women's identity as both "mothers" and "Appalachians," (e.g., regional citizens) allows for easier access to activism. Even when women engage in activism, the gendered political and social environment can have a powerful pull when the organizing stops. Adams (2002) in her study of a Chilean shantytown examines what happens when a movement of women declines in a strongly patriarchal society. As the movement slowed, she found that women activists often returned to the traditionally gendered work and duties expected of them and did not explore new gender norms.

In sum, gender plays a key role in social movement activism that goes beyond the sex of the participant. Instead, the very structure of society can be gendered in its practices and processes and shape the opportunities and constraints that inform the potential for activism.

4 Current Theory and Future Research

Overall, viewing social movements through the lens of gender creates deeper understandings and new concepts. Gender shapes the ways individuals experience social movement interactions, how communities and organizations proceed in their social change efforts, and influences the opportunities and constraints for movement emergence. While adding to the study of gender, this scholarship also advances social movement theory. Much of the work cited was undertaken with the goal of capturing theoretically what was missing in scholarship. For example, many of the works on gendered processes of movements also make an essential contribution to an intersectional perspective. Naples (1992, 1998a, 1998b) examines low income African American and Latina women in New York City and Philadelphia while Pardo (1998) examines Mexican-American women in two dissimilar communities and explores what it means to put women at the center of politics. Einwohner (1999) examines social class and both Barnett (1993) and Robnett (1997) point to the need to see social movement processes beyond a white, male, and middle-class bias. In sum, while these works illustrate the gendered nature of social movement processes, they also advance knowledge of how race-ethnicity, social class and gender intertwine. Because of social movement scholars and their attention to gender, we now have concepts such as “bridge leadership,” “activist mothering,” and “collective identities,” and “gendered opportunity structures” that continue to be employed in research.

However, there is still work to do. Too often, the way gender is explored in social movements continues to be through sex (e.g., male or female participation) and not a more complicated notion of gender (e.g. norms and expectations of femininity and masculinity). Untapped research-wise are movements of mostly men that could use the scrutiny of a gender lens. For example, movements of the 1960s have been explored for how women and gendered notion of femininity of shaped women’s experiences. Women left the

civil rights and anti-war movements because of their treatment by men (Evans, 1979; McAdam, 1988). However, unexamined in these cases are the ways in which men experienced masculinity. What did it mean to be masculine in some of these high-risk movements? How do men police other men’s masculinity? How do less dominant forms of masculinity fare in movements where hegemonic masculinity is prized?

Relatedly, scholars need to continue to look at movements that are not explicitly gendered. The work of Barnett (1993) and Robnett (1997) offers exemplars for the continued examination of gender in mixed-sex movements. So too does Kevin Neuhouser’s research on an urban squatter settlement in Brazil (1995). He finds that the campaigns were not overtly gendered but that gender dynamics shaped participation, strategies and outcomes in a profound manner. This research can be done by selecting aspects of movements and examining them for the gender dynamics. For example, how are micro-mobilization contexts gendered and how does that influence larger movement dynamics such as emergence, mobilization and outcomes?

The increase in transgender visibility also brings an opportunity to open up the definition of gender and gendered organizations and consider non-binary, gender fluidity, transgender, and/or non-confirming gendered participants. Does the struggle for transgender rights take place in organizations that are consciously undoing the gender binary? If gender is a key aspect of all structures in society, what does it mean to organize around the dissolving of the gender binary? Connell (2012) argues that focusing on transgender offers researchers a site to investigate and expand on the gender dynamics of context, space and time. For example, the U.S. women’s movement is one context for the study of transgender activism. Indeed, Snyder (2008) argues that one of the key issues facing the women’s movement is to address how transgender women and men have complicated the category of “woman.” This complication concerns some feminists who are afraid that losing the category of “woman” in a world where women as a group still do not experience equality (Reger, 2012,

see also Stein, 2010). Can feminist or women's movements exist without the idea of 'woman' as a stable and defined category?

As the research on the external environment to a movement illustrates, gender shapes opportunities and constraints in organizing. As more and more activism plays out in the virtual world, there is an increasing need to examine the internet as a space in which movements mobilize and can be subject to gender regimes. Schulte notes (2011) that current scholarship tends to see the internet either as a space for genderless and bodiless liberation or as a male-dominated sphere where gender oppression is reinscribed. Broadening how virtual space is understood is necessary and needs additional theorizing and research. Are there places in the digital world that are feminine, masculine or gender neutral? Are there spaces that are in transition or flux and go beyond the gender binary? How do movement activists experience that space in the processes of movements, the organizational and community structures, and at the societal and cultural levels?

One essential tool for the future of gender and social movement research is the concept of intersectionality. To see people and the movements they construct through a complex, multi-dimensional lens is to capture more adequately the what, why and how of activism. Evidence of the importance of the concept is how contemporary feminists talk about building a movement of diversity and inclusion, drawing on the discourse of intersectionality. While the goal of creating a diverse movement is there, contemporary feminists continue to struggle to make this a reality (Reger, 2012). Future research could delve more deeply into why inclusivity and diversity, particularly around race and class, continues to escape much of contemporary feminism. One additional, and related, lens is the employing of transnational and specifically non-western conceptions of gender. The study of gender in a women's movement in India is different from understanding gender in a U.S. context. The study of gender in movements must incorporate an understanding of how it varies by context, historical period and region. Using only

a western lens to bring gender into movements can potentially drop out some of the most important findings around gender's embeddedness in the interactions, organizations and communities, and structure of society.

In sum, since heeding the call to bring gender into social movements, scholars have accomplished much. Research has flourished examining movements, first for how women have fared, and then using that research to go beyond sex to probe the processes, organizational dynamics and macro level factors that operate within and around social movements and activists. Yet, the call is not completely answered and there is still so much to do.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), 139–158.
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), 441–464.
- Adams, J. (2002). Gender and social movement decline: Shantytown women and the prodemocracy movement in Pinochet's Chile. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 31(3), 285–322.
- Barnett, B. M. N. (1993). Invisible black southern women leaders in the movement: The triple constraints of gender, race, and class. *Gender & Society*, 7, 162–182.
- Bell, S. E., & Braun, Y. A. (2010). Coal, identity, and the gendering of environmental justice activism in central Appalachia. *Gender & Society*, 24(6), 794–813.
- Black Lives Matter. No date. <http://blacklivesmatter.com/>. Accessed January 3, 2017.
- Chafetz, J. S., Dworkin, A. G., & Swanson, S. (1986). *Female revolt: Women's movements in world and historical perspective*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Combahee River Collective, The Combahee River Collective statement. copyright © 1978 by Zillah Eisenstein. <http://circuitous.org/scrap/combahee.html>.
- Connell, R. (2012). Transsexual women and feminist thought: Toward new understanding and new politics. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 37(4), 857–881.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Costain, A. (1992). *Inviting women's rebellion: A political process interpretation of the women's movement*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- DuBois, E. C. (1978). *Feminism and suffrage: The emergence of an independent women's movement in America, 1848–1869*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Einwohner, R. (1999). Gender, class and social movement outcomes: Identity and effectiveness in two animal rights campaigns. *Gender & Society*, 13(1), 56–76.
- Einwohner, R., Hollander, J. A., & Olson, T. (2000). Engendering social movements: Cultural images and movement dynamics. *Gender & Society*, 14(5), 679–699.
- Evans, S. (1979). *Personal politics: The roots of women's liberation in the civil rights movement and the new left*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Ferree, M. M., & Martin, P. Y. (1995). *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women's movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ferree, M. M., & Roth, S. (1998). Gender, class and the interaction between social movements: A strike of West Berlin day care workers. *Gender & Society*, 12, 626–648.
- Freeman, J. (1975). *The politics of women's liberation: A case study of an emerging social movement and its relation to the policy process*. New York: Longman.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The feminine mystique*. New York: W. W. Norton & co.
- Gerson, J. M., & Peiss, K. (1985). Boundaries, negotiation, consciousness: Reconceptualizing gender relations. *Social Problems*, 32(4), 317–331.
- Hercus, C. (1999). Identity, emotion, and feminist collective action. *Gender & Society*, 13(1), 34–55.
- Hunt, S. A., Benford, R., & Snow, D. (1994). Identity fields: Framing processes and the social construction of movement identities. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, & J. R. Gusfield (Eds.), *New social movements: From ideology to identity* (pp. 185–208). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hurwitz, H.M., & Taylor, V. (Forthcoming). Women occupying wall street: Gender conflict and feminist mobilization. In L. Banasak & H. J. McCammon (Eds.), *100 years of the nineteenth amendment: An appraisal of women's political activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Irons, J. (1998). The shaping of activist recruitment and participation: A study of women in the Mississippi civil rights movement. *Gender & Society*, 12, 692–709.
- Kelly, M. (2014). Knitting as a feminist project? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 44(May–June), 133–144.
- Kelly, M. (2015). Feminist identity, collective action, and individual resistance among contemporary U.S. feminists. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 48(Jan–Feb), 81–92.
- King, D. K. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14, 42–72.
- Kutz-Flamenbaum, R. (2007). Code pink, raging grannies, and the missile dick chicks: Feminist performance activism in the contemporary anti-war movement. *NWSA Journal*, 19(1, Spring), 89–105.
- Laughlin, K., Gallagher, J., Cobble, D. S., Boris, E., Nadasen, P., Gilmore, S., & Zarnow, L. (2010). Is it time to jump ship? Historians rethink the waves metaphor. *Feminist Formations*, 22(1, Spring), 76–135.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- McAdam, D. (1988). *Freedom summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McAdam, D. (1992). Gender as mediator of the activist experience: The case of freedom summer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(5), 1211–1240.
- McCammon, H. J., Campbell, K., Granberg, E., & Mowrey, C. (2001). How movements win: Gendered opportunity structures and U.S. women's suffrage movements, 1866 to 1919. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 49–70.
- Meyer, D. S., & Whittier, N. (1994). Social movement spillover. *Social Problems*, 4(2), 277–298.
- Mueller, C. (1987). Collective consciousness, identity transformation, and the rise of women in public office in the United States. In M. Katzenstein & C. Mueller (Eds.), *The women's movements of the United States and Western Europe* (pp. 89–108). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Naples, N. (1992). Activist mothering: Cross generational continuity in the community work of women from low-income neighborhoods. *Gender & Society*, 6, 441–463.
- Naples, N. (1998a). *Activist mothering, community work and the war on poverty*. New York: Routledge.
- Naples, N. (1998b). *Grassroots warriors: Activist mothering, community work and the war on poverty*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Neuhouser, K. (1995). “Worse than men”: Gendered mobilization in an urban Brazilian squatter settlement, 1971–1991. *Gender & Society*, 9(1), 38–59.
- Pardo, M. S. (1998). *Mexican American women activists: Identity and resistance in two Los Angeles communities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Pelak, C., Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1999). Gender movements. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 147–175). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Pentney, B. A. (2008). Feminist activism and knitting: Are fibre arts a viable mode for feminist political action? *Thirdspace: a journal of feminist theory & culture*, 8(1, Summer), Online.
- Reger, J. (2001). Motherhood and the construction of feminist identities: Variations in women's movement organizations. *Sociological Inquiry*, 71, 85–110.
- Reger, J. (2012). *Everywhere and nowhere: Contemporary feminism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 429–450.

- Robnett, B. (1997). *How long? How long? African American women in the struggle for civil rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roth, B. (2002). *Separate roads to feminism: Black, Chicana and white feminist movements in America's second wave*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roth, S. (2008). Dealing with diversity: The coalition of labor union women. In J. Reger, D. J. Myers, & R. L. Einwohner (Eds.), *Identity work in social movements* (pp. 213–231). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rupp, L., & Taylor, V. (1987). *Survival in the doldrums: The American women's rights movement, 1945 to the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schulte, S. R. (2011). Surfing feminism's online wave: The internet and the future of feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 37(3), 727–744.
- Snyder, R. C. (2008). What is third-wave feminism? A new directions essay. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 34(1), 175–196.
- Stacey, J., & Thorne, B. (1985). The missing feminist revolution in sociology. *Social Problems*, 32(4), 301–316.
- Stall, S., & Stoecker, R. (1998). Community organizing or organizing community? Gender and the crafts of empowerment. *Gender & Society*, 12(6), 729–756.
- Stein, A. (2010). The incredible shrinking lesbian world and other queer conundra. *Sexualities*, 13(1), 21–32.
- Tarrow, S. (1989). *Struggle, politics and reform: Collective action, social movements and cycles of protest*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Taylor, V. (1989). Sources of continuity in social movements: The women's movement in abeyance. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 761–775.
- Taylor, V. (1996). *Rock-a-by-Baby: Feminism, self-help, and postpartum depression*. New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, V. (1999). Gender and social movements: Gender processes in women's self-help movements. *Gender & Society*, 13(1), 8–33.
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In A. D. Morris & C. M. C. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 104–129). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1998). Guest editors' introduction: Special issue on gender and social movements: Part 1. *Gender & Society*, 12(6), 622.
- Thompson, B. (2002). Multiracial feminism: Recasting the chronology of second wave feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 28, 337–366.
- Tilley, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. New York: Random House.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- Whittier, N. (2007). Gender and social movements. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology* (Vol. IV, pp. 1872–1875). Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Whittier, N. (2012). The politics of coming out: Visibility and identity in activism against child sexual abuse. In G. Maney, R. Kutz-Flamenbaum, D. Rohlinger, J. Goodwin (Eds.), *Strategies for social change* (pp. 145–69). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jo Reger is professor of Sociology at Oakland University in Michigan. She is the author of *Everywhere and Nowhere: Contemporary Feminism in the United States* (2012, Oxford University Press), the editor of *Different Wavelengths: Studies of Contemporary Feminism in the United States* (2005, Routledge) and a co-editor of *Identity Work in Social Movements* (2008, University of Minnesota Press). Her work on the U.S. women's movements has appeared in a variety of journals including *Gender & Society*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Feminist Formations*, and the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*.



Feminists Reshaping Gender

40

Alison Dahl Crossley and Laura K. Nelson

Abstract

The gender order is incredibly durable, and persists relatively unchanged despite major cultural and structural changes. Feminists, however, have collectively mobilized to change some aspects of the gender structure. Over hundreds of years, participants in the U.S. feminist movement have advanced women's position in the workplace, home, and economy. Feminists have challenged social institutions such as the nuclear family, interpersonal relationships privileging men, and the gender binary. Over the years, feminists helped win woman suffrage, they shaped social policy during the New Deal, they helped win the right to birth control and safe and accessible abortion, they raised awareness about the harms of sexual harassment and gendered violence, and helped draft and pass laws around equal pay and access to work, among other wins. Using a range of tactics, from community-based groups, to protest and Internet organizing, feminists have unquestionably improved women's position in soci-

ety. Scholarship about feminist movements has also pushed social movement scholarship in new directions, emphasizing a diversity of targets and tactics, focusing on movement continuity over time, and foregrounding the importance of community-building and other extra-political activities in the maintenance and growth of social movements. Areas for additional research include a deeper empirical and theoretical analysis of the intersectional nature of feminism and more attention to the heterogeneity of women's experiences. Greater methodological diversity in the study of feminist movements would offer a more robust understanding of the movement, including a better grasp of the cultural and discursive outcomes of feminist movements and those like them.

There are few structures more durable than gender. Gendered stereotypes, expectations, and social practices shape nearly every facet of our individual and collective lives. Although gender norms are not identical across cultures, the rigidity of the gender structure is near universal. Social movement participants, particularly those in feminist movements, have confronted and changed the gender structure in an array of social contexts. As one of the longest lasting social movements in modern history, the many successes and challenges of the feminist movement

A. D. Crossley (✉)
Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA
e-mail: acrossle@stanford.edu

L. K. Nelson
Northeastern University, Boston, USA
e-mail: l.nelson@northeastern.edu

tell us not only about social movement continuity, but also about the relative malleability and durability of the gender order.

Feminists have successfully reshaped gender in a number of spheres of American life, including in cultural, political, and institutional contexts. They have mobilized to change existing structures, such as increasing gender and racial diversity in the education, employment, and legal sectors. Feminists have successfully reshaped institutions such as healthcare (Sulik, 2010), military (Katzenstein, 1998), unions (Fonow, 2003), motherhood and family (Taylor, 1996), and education (Stomblor & Padavic, 1997). Feminists also create their own institutions and practices. This includes establishing alternative organizations and communities, and offline (Taylor, 1996) and online (Crossley, 2015; McCaughey & Ayers, 2003) support systems. Despite many successes, feminists continue to confront a plethora of barriers. After a period of increasing gender equality in a number of measures, including political representation and the wage gap, advances in gender equality have all but stalled since the mid 1990s resulting in what scholars call the “stalled gender revolution” (England, 2010). Remaining inequalities are too numerous to list here, but feminists continue to target women’s representation in government and policy arenas, gender segregation in educational and occupational spheres, interpersonal and gender-based violence, and the persistent wage gap between men and women. Campaigns that have recently drawn national attention include campus anti-sexual assault activism and the interconnectedness of race and gender in the police brutality epidemic.

The study of how feminists have reshaped gender has pushed the field of social movements in new directions. Because feminists are the least likely of all social movement participants to target the state or use street protest tactics (Van Dyke, Soule, & Taylor, 2004), the breadth of their mobilization requires traditional studies of social movements to deepen. This has included examinations of collective identity, emotions, movement continuity, and extra-institutional organizing (Crossley and Taylor 2015; Reger,

2012; Taylor, 1989; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). By exploring feminist movements, scholars have demonstrated the importance of non-state centered mobilization and of cultural change and tactics more broadly. This includes feminists who target change in family, education, and religion; through interaction, language, and the redefinition of social practices. These analyses indicate that social change happens in everyday interactions, online and off, in community, and through reshaping identity.

In this paper, we summarize the state of theory and research on feminist movements, include a discussion and critique of relevant approaches, and conclude with comments about needed directions for future theoretical and empirical work.

1 Movement Continuity

Modern feminist movements have enjoyed a continuous existence since the early 1800s. The most enduring framework proposed to understand these long-standing movements is the wave framework, first proposed by women involved in the women’s liberation and women’s rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. These feminists believed they were part of a second “wave” of feminist activism, building on the work done by women in the first wave (DuBois, 1971; Evans, 1980; Firestone, 1968). This early articulation of feminist waves has shaped subsequent analyses, and has persisted in the collective feminist lexicon.

The three central waves of feminism include the first wave woman suffrage movement, the second wave women’s liberation and women’s rights movement, and the third wave intersectional and micro-political movements. The first wave began in the mid-1800s and culminated in the passage of the 19th woman suffrage amendment in 1920. In addition to helping win the right to vote, first wave feminists helped win access to higher education institutions, they formed the first birth control clinics in the United States,

they won property and employment rights for married women, and started a conversation about social and cultural equality for women.

The second wave women's rights and women's liberation movements began in the early 1960s and culminated in a failed attempt to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). While this movement did not win its main demand—the ERA—they did successfully win the right to legal abortion, they pushed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to take seriously sex-based discrimination, they generated the phrase *sexual harassment* and brought this concept into the mainstream, they challenged the cultural idea of women as sex objects, and they established women's shelters and women's centers in cities across the U.S. (Rosen, 2000).

The third wave began in the 1990s and incorporated a more intersectional and micro-political approach to feminism (Reger, 2005; Walker, 1995). This wave emphasized the heterogeneity of women's experiences, including lesbian and gender-queer women, and they celebrated individual expression as a form of politics (Reger, 2012). Some believe we are currently witnessing a fourth wave, beginning in the late 2000s and persisting today (Baumgardner, 2011). This movement has utilized online spaces to create global conversations about gender discrimination, and is challenging gender-based violence and its intersection with the state and the police.

While these periods were particularly dramatic, with surges of public protests and actions in the name of women's rights, feminist political action existed before and after each of these periods of heightened action. During the supposed "doldrums" in the 1920s–1950s, feminists played an active role in shaping the new deal and other social legislation of this period, organizations like the League of Women Voters kept women and women's issues in the public eye, and organizations like the National Woman's Party worked behind the scenes to keep a feminist identity and community alive (Lemons, 1973; Rupp & Taylor, 1987; Ware, 1987). Working-class feminism and union feminism also peaked during the 1940s, the supposed

between-wave period (Cobble, 2005). After the second wave supposedly subsided, Black feminism surged, peaking in the late 1980s (Roth, 2004). In the post-1990s era, when the feminist movement was declared officially dead, feminist communities and feminist identities remained strong through offline and online communities, music and arts spaces, and institutions such as university women's centers, feminist businesses, and domestic violence shelters (Reger, 2012; Staggenborg, 1996).

As scholars uncover the myriad ways in which feminist movements exist and persist they have concluded, in the words of Jo Reger, that feminism is, and has always been, everywhere (2012). Or, feminism may be best understood as "waveless" (Crossley, 2017). The ubiquity of feminist movements across time, space, and institutions has prompted scholars to shift their attention from the differences between waves to understanding movement continuity and community.

Research on feminist movement continuity has contributed a number of concepts to understand the persistence of social movements in general over time. Rupp and Taylor coined the phrase *abeyance structures* to explain how movements persist through inhospitable political and economic environments (Rupp & Taylor, 1987). These abeyance structures can be organizations, such as the National Woman's Party, formal institutions such as university women's centers, cultural institutions such as feminist bookstores and music festivals, and informal movement discourses kept alive through on and offline activist communities and networks (Staggenborg, 1996; Crossley, 2017). These abeyance structures and those who build them work behind the scenes during politically hostile periods, providing activist networks, goals and tactical choices, and a collective identity to movements as they re-engage the public as the political environment become more open (Taylor, 1989).

Jo Reger uses the phrase *overlapping generations* to summarize both continuity and change within feminist movements over time. At any one moment, multiple generations of feminist activists co-exist and overlap. Early generations

shape and influence later generations, but this co-existence also produces generational conflict that has pushed feminism in new directions (Reger, 2012).

Continuities need not arise from direct connections between waves or overlapping generations of feminists. Social movements draw on implicit, or latent, political models and knowledge as they form new organizations (Armstrong, 2002). Early iterations of movements institutionalize particular ways of understanding the world and ways of intervening and changing social structures. This institutionalized knowledge then shapes subsequent iterations of movements as new actors build their own organizations based on these latent understandings, even in the absence of direct transferal of knowledge (Nelson, 2018).

As political opportunities change over time and create climates that are more or less open to social movements, feminist movements ebb and flow and move in and out of the public eye. Abeyance structures, overlapping generations, and the institutionalization of political knowledge ensure that movements never disappear, but shift and change while also building on the successes of the past, producing overall movement continuity and growth.

2 Organizational Repertoires

The different forms of feminism over the many decades of its existence is much broader than the traditional “organizational repertoire” adopted by social movement organizations in other fields. Because women were historically blocked from formal political institutions feminists have had to be politically innovative, adapting nonpolitical institutions for political purposes, including voluntary organizations such as women’s clubs and the Parent Teacher Association, labor unions, corporations, and institution auxiliaries. Each of these forms interact with existing political institutions in different ways, producing an array of “alternative institutions” that have provided politically-excluded women a way to influence the political process. These alternative

institutions are often consciously structured differently than formal political institutions – for example structures that are explicitly non-hierarchical and more inclusive of those without social and economic power—and have thus provided new models of political organizations, expanding the organizational repertoire available to social movements (Clemens, 1993).

This focus on nonpolitical organizational repertoires extends to a focus on extra-political change. From its first iteration in the 1910s, feminists have used nonpolitical organizational repertoires to focus on challenging gendered discourse, gendered inter-personal relationships, and individual psychologies. Women’s isolation from one another in nuclear families has prevented the types of solidarities, and organizational opportunities, present in other marginalized communities by virtue of living and working together. Feminists have challenged this isolation by forming women-only groups that provide spaces for women to give a political voice to their personal, isolated lives. These spaces allow women to make visible common experiences they face by virtue of their social positions, raising awareness around the issues women collectively face as a social class.

The earliest form of this political tactic was via “background talks” used by the feminist organization Heterodoxy, active in New York City from the 1910s to the early 1940s. During these background talks women would discuss their childhood, early careers, and any challenges they faced growing up. The women as a group would then discuss the common experiences among different women, linking these experiences to larger social structures (Nelson, 2018). Women’s liberationists active in small groups in the 1960s gave this tactic a name: consciousness-raising. Fusing the personal and political is the nucleus of these groups (Cassell, 1977), and they ideally involve four steps: self-revelation, active listening, discussion and linking between individual problems and larger social forces, and connecting their discussions to other theories of oppression (Ferree & Hess, 1995, 71). Personal issues such as intimate relationships, family, work, sexuality, and housework were shared among participants, and the realization of gender oppression in these

groups drove much of the growth of the women's movement. This form of social movement organizing "offers participants the opportunity to reframe their individual biographies in socially and politically meaningful terms" (Taylor, 1996, 104). The goal is to change individual psychologies and in doing so, provide fodder to change institutions. While many consciousness-raising groups had no organizational affiliations, the process of politicization that occurred in these groups often led to organizational affiliations, additional feminist activism, or the maintenance of feminist networks (Cassell, 1977, 55). In the contemporary period, this conversation happens online in a global community, with Twitter hashtags and Facebook groups that transcend geographical boundaries (Crossley 2015).

Formal feminist organizations are also essential to the continuity of the feminist movement and are also a barometer of the vitality of the movement (Ferree & Martin, 1995). Feminism, like most social movements, does not have a central organizational structure or homogenous ideology. Instead, feminism is composed of organizations and communities that are independent and heterogeneous in their structures, tactics, and ideological frameworks. Feminist organizations vary dramatically in their structure and approaches, consistent with the broad range of experiences that women have and bring to feminist movements. Historically, feminist organizations take on two forms: collective and bureaucratic. In the 1960 and 1970s, with a resurgence of the feminist movement more broadly, bureaucratic and hierarchical feminist organizations were a popular form of feminism—with organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) becoming for many, the face of the feminist movement (Reger, 2002). Collective organizations such as SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective and Older Lesbians Organizing for Change (OLOC) strove to reflect the ideologies of the feminist movement,

and in theory did not reproduce the hierarchical structures that historically silence and marginalize women and people of color. These organizations typically emphasized the importance of sharing personal knowledge and experiences, emotions, and cultivating a distinctive women's culture (Crossley, Taylor, Whittier, & Pelak, 2011; Rupp & Taylor, 1993; Taylor, 1996). Feminists also create groups within larger social movements whose participants' express sexism or racism, such as Occupy Wall Street, maintaining some ideologies of the larger movement while carving out a specific space for feminist and anti-racist principles (Hurwitz and Taylor, 2018).

While collective and bureaucratic feminist principles are important strands of feminist organizations, these organizational structures overlap and are intertwined, as decision making in collective organizations can pose challenges, and feminists even in hierarchical groups bring their feminist principles and beliefs (Crossley et al., 2011; Staggenborg, 1998; Whittier, 1995). These feminist organizations are also central to the creation and nurturing of feminist and women's culture more broadly—and operate within the constellation of feminist community, culture, and organization—furthering feminist collective identities and the movement as a whole (Crossley et al., 2011; Rupp & Taylor, 1993; Staggenborg & Lecomte, 2009; Taylor & Whittier, 1992).

The perspective of feminism as existing and persisting in many different forms, through different organizational models, and via a range of abeyance structures, institutions, and communities, provides an expansive view of feminism and feminist fields. Feminism is not restricted to lobbying governments or marching in the streets. Feminism also, if not predominantly, exists across nonpolitical organizations and institutions throughout society, and it is an ongoing presence, continually challenging gendered social structures through individual change and interpersonal interaction.

3 Feminist Community

Feminists employ cultural tactics and target cultural change, such as emphasizing movement solidarity and community-building, more than participants in other movements (Van Dyke et al., 2004). In her examination of a local women's movement, Staggenborg (1998) develops the theory of "social movement communities," and finds that community is central to propelling a movement over time and through cycles of protest. This perspective adds nuance and a feminist perspective to the traditional political opportunity theory, which focuses on external forces in shaping a social movement. Instead, gender and social movement scholars acknowledge the dynamic relationship between community networks and other forms of mobilization. Communities create deep feminist ties that not only nourish the participants, but then also establish critical networks so participants are ready for mobilization when a spurious event or grievance occurs. Write Staggenborg and Taylor (2005, 44): "When political campaigns mobilize, they draw on the emotional bases and the cultural and institutional mobilizing structures of the movement community." An example of this is the feminist mobilization after the murders in Isla Vista, CA, during which a young man killed a number of young people stating that women were never attracted to him. Immediately following this event, participants in on- and offline feminist networks mobilized in Isla Vista and around the world to demand attention to the persistence of sexism and violence against women. Pre-existing feminist communities allowed for a rapid organized response.

Staggenborg and other scholars highlight how the cultural elements of movements and interpersonal dynamics of their participants can reveal previously overlooked elements of the life of a social movement (Ray, 1999; Reger, 2012; Staggenborg, 1998). Feminist communities are a tactic to further feminist goals, insofar as they provide a space for the planning of feminist mobilization and an opportunity to build networks. Feminist communities are also a movement outcome in and of themselves, insofar as

they advance feminist solidarity in creating spaces for women outside mainstream social structures.

Recent research has built upon the frameworks of offline community and analyzed online feminist communities, such as on those facilitated on social media and feminist blogs (Earl & Kimport, 2011; Nip, 2004). Similar to offline feminist activism, a study of an Australian feminist blog network (Shaw, 2012) found that the blog network "functions to critique the ideology of mainstream discourses at least partly in order to change them, and participation in this community can be understood as discursive activism" (42). Scholarship has also found that online activism is capable of fostering the types of interpersonal networks and communities that are central to mobilization and movement continuity (Crossley, 2015), providing fora for dissemination for feminist ideologies and connections to other feminists regardless of geographical distance. Duncan (2005) found an online discussion board fostered strong community ties: "Online networking ... provides feminists with a home place, a protected space to return to and build a community after working toward activist goals" (162).

As women and feminists have less access than men to formal political change and opportunities, community has been critical to the movement. An emphasis on community and cultural change has made feminist mobilizations less visible than movements engaging in street protest (Staggenborg & Taylor, 2005), resulting in the sometimes overlooking or underestimating of the movement and its continued vibrancy (Crossley, 2017; Reger, 2012).

4 Institutions and Feminism

Because power is reproduced in multiple institutional arenas (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008), social movement actors target a variety of institutions and non-state entities (Crossley, 2015). Although it is true that social movements generally target states and governments (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001), scholars have recently

begun to analyze the dynamics of social movements inside institutions (Banaszak-Holl, Levitsky, & Zald, 2010; Katzenstein, 1998; Raeburn, 2004; Rojas, 2007). Particularly during periods when the state is non-responsive to social movement mobilization, participants may direct their claims-making to other institutional contexts or “habitats” (Katzenstein, 1998). Feminists have had a number of successes in mobilizing to change religious denominations, universities and their administrations, and health care institutions, to name a few (Van Dyke et al., 2004). The opportunities afforded by these contexts vary over time and place, however (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008).

Feminism within institutions of higher education has been critical to the continuity of the movement, and educational institutions have created numerous opportunities for feminist contention and mobilization. This takes the form of women’s studies departments, women’s centers, women-friendly policies, and feminist student organizations. It is indicative of movement success, because access to education was a major goal of the women’s movement (Gelb & Palley, 1996). Institutional embeddedness has important consequences for the transmission of feminist knowledge and ideas, particularly evident with student activism. Student identities and networks foster camaraderie, energetic mobilization, and tactical innovation unique to the student experience, as separate from established political institutions. In large part, scholars attribute the persistence of student mobilization to their biographical availability, or free time and flexible schedules (McAdam, 1988; Snow et al., 1980). However, as students face rising tuition and fees, many of them are also employed, complicating the biographical availability approach (Crossley, 2017). Student activism has typically been synonymous with mobilization by men, and recent attention to feminist student organizations has shed light on them as important sites of leadership skills and the teaching and learning of feminist ideologies (Crossley, 2017), as well as the connection between academic curricula and activist networks (Taylor & de Laat, 2013). Just as feminism varies by context, so does campus

feminist activism (Reger, 2012), for example some educational institutions and their administrators nourish a feminist culture while others attempt to stymie mobilization and community.

5 Diversity with Feminist Activism and Research

Feminism means many things to many people. While feminist movements have always been diverse, inequalities between women and the strength of social structures that prop up those inequalities has meant that a certain type of feminism dominates public coverage of the movement, and subsequently much research. This well-covered feminism is one that is composed predominantly of white and middle-to-upper class women, and one that assumes gender universalism and the idea that all women experience gendered oppression the same way. To counter this hegemony, and to protest the inequalities among women this form of feminism reinforces, some activists actively avoid the feminist label or modify their feminism with additional terms such as “woman of color feminist” or “intersectional feminist” (Crossley, 2017). Women of color, for example, proposed the term “womanist” in the 1980s as an alternative to the term feminist, to emphasize the alienation they felt from mainstream, white feminism (Walker, 2003). “White feminism” has also not fully recognized the complexity of feminism in developing countries (Mohanty, 1984), or within gender queer and transgender communities (Stryker, 2007). Unfortunately, feminisms within these different communities, and across geographic and social boundaries, often develop in isolation from one another.

Research on feminist movements needs to better recognize the complexity of the feminism label, how mainstream, often white-dominated, feminism interacts with marginalized communities, as well as how feminism coming out of these marginalized communities challenges and complicates accepted feminist discourses (Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1984). Recognizing the complexity of

feminism and its meaning in different communities will require scholars to re-think the definition of feminism and what a feminist movement entails. Moreover, research on feminism could do a better job of incorporating intersectional concerns and taking into consideration the heterogeneity of women's experiences. Theoretically, social movement scholars can benefit from a deeper engagement with critical gender, critical race, postcolonial, and queer theory, as well as a more global approach to feminist movements. Steps toward this is research that brings a global and neoliberal lens to feminist movements (e.g., Armstrong, 2013), and research that employs a trans-rights lens (e.g., Stryker, 2007).

Addressing these issues will also require methodological pluralism. Research on feminist movements typically consists of ethnographies of one or two movements or communities (e.g., Reger, 2012; Staggenborg, 1996), qualitatively following a few organizations over time (e.g., Rupp & Taylor, 1987), and quantitatively tracking single issues, such as suffrage or the jury movement (e.g., McCammon, 2012). This research has provided empirical knowledge and theoretical concepts to better understand feminism as a social movement and has contributed valuable concepts and theories to social movement scholarship. These methodological approaches have limited the ability to understand the full diversity of feminisms and feminist activism, the relationship between feminism and other social movements, outcomes of feminist movements, and the relationship between feminism and the gender order as a whole. Feminist scholars should also embrace new methodological advances in Bayesian statistics, computational and big data methods (Bail, 2014; Nelson, 2017), lab experiments, simulations and agent-based modeling, and large-N qualitative studies (e.g. McAdam & Boudet, 2012). Embracing methodological pluralism will provide a more complete picture of feminism and feminist activism.

6 Future Research

Substantively, outcomes of feminist movements, the diffusion of feminism and feminist fields, and the influence of feminism on other social movements, are all areas needing future attention. Because feminism focuses on social, cultural, and individual change, future research should focus on ways to operationalize and measure these types of outcomes, and the direct or indirect influence the feminist movement has on effecting this change. This could be done through large-scale, longitudinal discourse analysis and longitudinal analyses of images, relating changes in the wider, societal discourse to claims made by feminists. The methods and computing power needed to analyze discourse on a large scale exist. The challenge is collecting longitudinal data that can track wide-spread changes. Scholars should focus on creating open-source, expansive, digital repositories containing feminist literature and movement documents, as well as more general cultural artifacts that span histories, countries, and communities, to begin to document these changes.

Feminists also attempt to change individual psychologies and the way men and women view themselves and their relationships to one another. Lab experiments can identify how feminist tactics may change individual psychologies and individuals' understandings of gender and inter-personal relationships, as well as inter-personal practices. Larger-scale experiments done through platforms such as Volunteer Science and Mechanical Turk could supplement smaller, more focused, lab experiments. Large-scale experimental framing studies could further identify how different types of movement claims illicit different responses (e.g. Bloemraad, Silva, & Voss, 2016). This type of methodological pluralism will better capture discursively-based movement outcomes.

Another outcome of feminism is its effects on other social movements. Social movement spillover has captured one aspect of this (Meyer &

Whittier, 1994), but future research could expand on this concept. Organized feminism today is perhaps most evident within other social movements. The Black Lives Matter movement was started, and is led by women, and Black Lives Matter maintains a strong program of gender equality. Feminism has also flourished within the Occupy Wall Street movement (Hurwitz and Taylor, 2018). This suggests that we may even need to abandon the idea of feminism as a movement that can be analytically, conceptually, and empirically separated from other issues and movements. Social movement scholars in general who study indigenous movements, labor movements, racial and ethnic movements, and others, should incorporate a feminist lens into their analyses, to better understand how feminism directly and indirectly shapes these movements, while scholars of feminist movements should recognize that new forms of feminism come directly from these other social movements. This research should intentionally blur the boundaries between known social movement communities to recognize the inter-penetration within. Doing so will incorporate a much more diverse set of actors into research on feminist movements.

The research on feminism as a social movement has shown that feminism is everywhere (Reger, 2012). This ubiquity is a sign of its impact, but also makes it difficult to measure and empirically study. Increased conversation between scholars of feminist movements, social movement scholars, race scholars and post-colonial theorists, and gender scholars will enable us to better address issues of outcomes, including individual, cultural, and inter-personal change, as well as cross-movement influence. How do we understand the role of feminist women in contemporary Black movements? Indigenous movements? Post-colonial movements? What does this mean for our understanding of feminism? How does the ubiquity of feminist identities challenge our understanding of gendered socialization? Unconscious bias? Gendered social structures? These questions require a holistic conversation among multiple strands of sociological theory and methods.

References

- Armstrong, E. A. (2002). *Forging gay identities: Organizing sexuality in san francisco, 1950–1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Armstrong, E. A. (2013). *Gender and neoliberalism: The all india democratic women's association and globalization politics*. New York City: Routledge.
- Armstrong, E. A., & Bernstein, M. (2008). Culture, power, and institutions: A multi-institutional politics approach to social movements. *Sociological Theory*, 26, 74–99.
- Bail, C. A. (2014). The cultural environment: Measuring culture with big data. *Theory and Society*, 43(3–4), 465–482.
- Banaszak-Holl, J., Levitsky, S. R., & Zald, M. N. (2010). *Social movements and the transformation of American health care*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baumgardner, J. (2011). *F 'Em!: Goo goo, gaga, and some thoughts on balls*. Berkeley, CA: Seal Press.
- Bloemraad, I., Silva, F., & Voss, K. (2016). Rights, economics, or family? Frame resonance, political ideology, and the immigrant rights movement. *Social Forces* (January, sov123). <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov123>.
- Cassell, J. (1977). *A group called women: Sisterhood and symbolism in the feminist movement*. New York: David McKay.
- Clemens, E. S. (1993). Organizational repertoires and institutional change: Women's groups and the transformation of U.S. politics, 1890–1920. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(4), 755–798.
- Cobble, D. S. (2005). *The other women's movement: Workplace justice and social rights in modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Crossley, Alison Dahl. (2015). Facebook feminism: Social media, blogs, and new technologies of contemporary U.S. feminism. *Mobilization*, 20(2), 253–269.
- Crossley, A. D., & Taylor, V. (2015). *Abeyance cycles in social movements*. In movements in times of democratic transition. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Crossley, A. D. (2017). *Finding feminism: Millennial activists and the unfinished gender revolution*. New York: New York University Press.
- Crossley, A. D., Taylor, V., Whittier, N., & Pelak, C. (2011). Forever feminism: Contemporary US feminism from 1960–2011. In V. Taylor, L. J. Rupp, & N. Whittier (Eds.), *Feminist frontiers* (9th ed., pp. 498–516). New York: McGraw Hill.
- DuBois, E. C. (1971). Feminism old wave and new wave. *CWLU Herstory Project*. www.cwluherstory.org/feminism-old-wave-and-new-wave.html.
- Duncan, B. (2005). Searching for a home place: Online in the third wave. In J. Reger (Ed.), *Different wavelengths: Studies of the contemporary women's movement* (pp. 161–178). Routledge: New York.

- Earl, J., & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: Activism in the internet age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender and Society*, 24(2), 149–166.
- Evans, S. (1980). *Personal politics: The roots of women's liberation in the civil rights movement and the new left*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ferree, M. M., & Hess, B. B. (1995). *Controversy and coalition: The new feminist movement across four decades of change*. New York: Routledge.
- Ferree, M. M., & Martin, P. Y. (Eds.). (1995). *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women's movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fonow, M. M. (2003). *Union women: Forging feminism in the united steelworkers of America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Firestone, S. (1968). *The women's rights movement in the U.S.A: New view*. Notes from the First Year. (pp. 1–11) New York: The New York Radical Women.
- Gelb, J., & Palley, M. L. (1996). *Women and public policies: Reassessing gender politics*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.
- Hurwitz, H. M. K., & Taylor, V. (2018). Women occupying wall street: Gender conflict and feminist mobilization. In L. A. Banaszak & H. J. McCammon (Eds.), *100 years of the nineteenth amendment: An appraisal of women's political activism*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katzenstein, M. (1998). *Faithful and fearless: Moving feminist protest inside the church and military*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lemons, J. S. (1973). *The woman citizen: Social feminism in the 1920s*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- McAdam, D. (1988). *Freedom summer*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, D., & Boudet, H. (2012). *Putting social movements in their place: Explaining opposition to energy projects in the United States, 2000–2005*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McCammon, H. J. (2012). Explaining frame variation: More moderate and radical demands for women's citizenship in the U.S. women's jury movements. *Social Problems*, 59(1), 43–69.
- McCaughy, M., & Ayers, M. D. (2003). *Cyberactivism: On-line activism in theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Meyer, D. A., & Whittier, N. (1994). Social movement spillover. *Social Problems*, 41(2), 277–298.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1984). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Boundary 2*, 12(3), 333–358.
- Mohanty, C. T., Russo, A., & Torres, L. (1991). *Third world women and the politics of feminism*. Indiana University Press.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (Eds.). (1984). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (2nd ed.). New York: Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press.
- Nelson, L. K. (2017). Computational grounded theory: A Methodological Framework. *Sociological Methods & Research*. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0049124117729703>.
- Nelson, L. K. (2018). Feminism means more than a changed world ... it means the creation of a new consciousness in women: Feminism, consciousness-raising, and continuity between the waves. In L. A. Banaszak & H. J. McCammon (Eds.), *100 Years of the nineteenth amendment: An appraisal of women's political activism*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nip, J. Y. M. (2004). The queer sisters and its electronic bulletin board: A study of the internet for social movement mobilization. *Information, Communication and Society*, 7, 23–49.
- Raeburn, N. C. (2004). *Changing corporate America from inside out: Lesbian and gay workplace rights*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ray, R. (1999). *Fields of protest: Women's movements in India*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Reger, J. (2002). Organizational dynamics and the construction of multiple feminist identities in the national organization for women. *Gender & Society*, 16(5), 710–727.
- Reger, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Different wavelengths: Studies of the contemporary women's movement*. New York: Routledge.
- Reger, J. (2012). *Everywhere and nowhere: Contemporary feminism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rojas, F. (2007). *From black power to black studies: How a radical social movement became an academic discipline*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rosen, R. (2000). *The world split open: How the modern women's movement changed America*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Roth, B. (2004). *Separate roads to feminism: Black, chicana, and white feminist movements in America's second wave*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Rupp, L. J., & Taylor, V. (1987). *Survival in the doldrums: The American women's rights movement, 1945–the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rupp, L. J., & Taylor, V. (1993). Women's culture and lesbian feminist activism: A reconsideration of cultural feminism. *Signs*, 19(1), 32–61.
- Shaw, F. (2012). 'HOTTEST 100 WOMEN' Cross-platform discursive activism in feminist blogging networks. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 27(74), 373–387.
- Snow, D. A., Zurcher L. A., Eklund-Olson, S. (1980). Social networks and social movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment. *American Sociological Review*, 45(5):787.
- Staggengborg, S. (1996). The survival of the women's movement: Turnover and continuity in bloomington,

- Indiana. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 1 (2), 143–158.
- Staggenborg, S. (1998). Social movement communities and cycles of protest: The emergence and maintenance of a local women's movement. *Social Problems*, 45 (2), 180–204.
- Staggenborg, S., & Taylor, V. (2005). Whatever happened to the women's movement? *Mobilization*, 10 (1), 37–52.
- Staggenborg, S., & Lecomte, J. (2009). Social movement campaigns: Mobilization and outcomes in the montreal women's movement. *Mobilization*, 14(2), 405–422.
- Stomblor, M., & Padavic, I. (1997). Sister acts: Resisting men's domination in black and white fraternity little sister programs. *Social Problems*, 44, 257–275.
- Stryker, S. (2007). Transgender feminism. In S. Gillis, G. Howie, & R. Munford (Eds.), *Third wave feminism* (pp. 59–70). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sulik, G. (2010). *Pink ribbon blues: How breast cancer culture undermines women's health*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, V. (1989). Social movement continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance. *American Sociological Review*, 54(5):761.
- Taylor, J., & de Laat, K. (2013). Feminist internships and the depression of political imagination: Implications for women's studies. *Feminist Formations*, 25(1), 84–110.
- Taylor, V. (1996). *Rock-a-by baby: Feminism, self-help, and postpartum depression*. New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In A. D. Morris & C. M. C Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 104–129). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Van Dyke, N., Soule, S. A., & Taylor, V. (2004). The targets of social movements: Beyond a focus on the state. In D. J. Meyers & D. M. Cress (Eds.), *Authority in contention, volume 25 of research in social movements, conflict and change* (pp. 27–51). Oxford: JAI Press.
- Walker, R. (1995). *To be real: Telling the truth and changing the face of feminism*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Walker, A. (2003). *In search of our mothers' gardens: Womanist prose* (Reprint ed.). Orlando: Mariner Books.
- Ware, S. (1987). *Beyond suffrage: Women in the new deal*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Whittier, N. (1995). *Feminist generations: The persistence of the radical women's movement*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.
- Alison Dahl Crossley** is the Associate Director of the Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University. Crossley is the author of *Finding Feminism: Millennial Activists and the Unfinished Gender Revolution* (NYU Press, 2017), and she received her Ph.D. in Sociology with an emphasis in Feminist Studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Laura K. Nelson** is an assistant professor of sociology at Northeastern University, where she is also on the Executive Committee for the Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program and is core faculty at the NULab for texts, maps, and networks. She received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, and has held postdoctoral fellow positions at the Berkeley Institute for Data Science, Digital Humanities @ Berkeley, the Northwestern Institute on Complex Systems, and Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University.