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

Handbook of the Sociology of Gender

Second Edition

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Part I

Theoretical and Epistemological Context

1 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

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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 level 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 & Budesa, 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 multilevel 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, Oriel 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 polices 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. Hirshfield 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.

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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-

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

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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, Dingemanse, 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 Brizendine'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

[2]While 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 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 then 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 isolationalist 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 heternormativity 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.

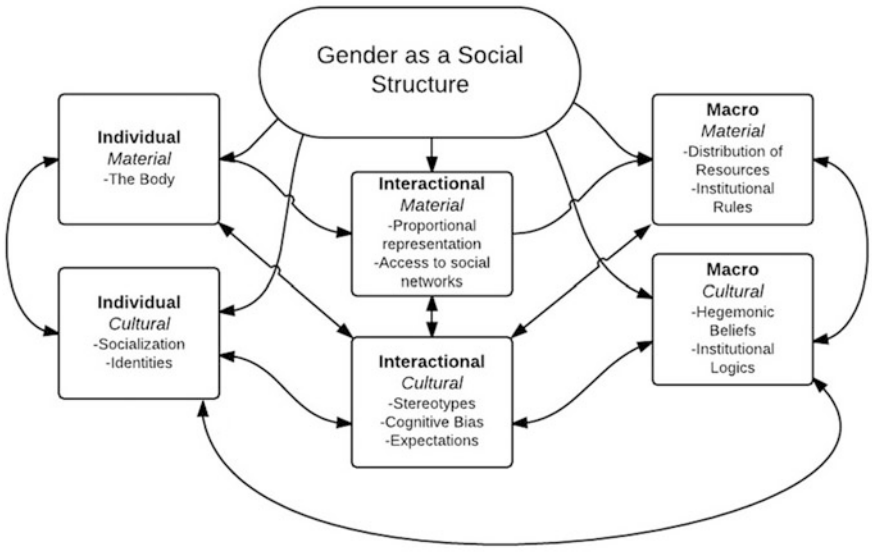

Fig. 1 Gender as a social structure (Risman, 2017, 2018)

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 Gidden'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 homogenous 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 then 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.

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Feminist Epistemology, Feminist Methodology, and the Study of Gender

3

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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

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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.

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Gender Theory as Southern Theory

4

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.

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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, postcolonial 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

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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 postcolonial 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 postcolonial 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 though 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.

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Intersectionality and Gender Theory

5

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

[1]Legal 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.

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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 bourgeoning 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. Theirs 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 postmodernist 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 homogenous 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 "intracategorial" 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 (Dill-away & 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 intercategorical 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.

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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

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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, Provenzao, & 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.

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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.

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 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

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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 people[1] 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).

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

[1] I 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/.

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 vogueing, 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.

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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 benefical contributions that intersex and transgender individuals' experiences bring to bear on the study of the relationship between physiology and gender difference. We conlude by noting that though the road to equality is hard and paved with setbacks, it is not bound by biology.

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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

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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, males 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 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 to 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.

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Gender Identities

9

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).

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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 "burrnesha") 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 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.

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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 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

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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, Prat, 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 mammies 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 (Strenthal, 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; Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). Stressors often arise within the context of major social roles such as marriage, parenting, and employment and are frequently acerbated 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 though 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 (Wildeman, 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 if 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.

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Multiple Masculinities

11

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

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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 masculinit*ies* and nonhegemonic masculinit*ies* 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 Ghaill, 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 nonhierarchical 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 heteromasculinity.

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, & Harrrison, 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 masculinit*ies* 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.

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Part III
The Interactional Level of Analysis

Framing Gender

12

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

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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; Diekman & 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).

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

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

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 (Bursztyn, 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; Diekman & 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, Ottoboni, & 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 disruptions are most effective. While we do not think that change is inevitable, we do think that it is possible.

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Interactional Accountability

13

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.

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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 boundaried (or better, 'quasi-boundaried') 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

[1]It 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 bets[2] 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

[2]Side 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 category[3] 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 & Budesa, 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

[3]Note 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 transfemininity 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 legibility, 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.

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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.

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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 then 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 approches 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, & Sassler, 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 (compated 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 on 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.

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Gendered Interactions in School

15

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.

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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

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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 & Ivinson, 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 preconceived, 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, Havard 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 ideaologies 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 overcoded, 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 heteronomativity 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 (Oranksy & 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 hetero-femininity. 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 Batholomaeus 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. Paecheter (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.

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Part IV
The Macro Level of Analysis

Gender Ideologies

16

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.

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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.

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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).

[1]Our 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*.

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,

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).

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

[2]Sociologists 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).

[3]People 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.

[4]Besides 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

[5]The effect of marital status and number of children on gender ideology has also been the subject of numerous studies (e.g., Corrigall & 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/gssattitems.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 indictors 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

[6]Women'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.

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Gender and Welfare States

17

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

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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 (Vandenbroucke & 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 & Gavanas, 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 & Gavanas, 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 clienteles 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 turns 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; Gerrity, 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 & Diekman, 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—instantiating 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.

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Gender and Education

18

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

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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, & Paretti, 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. Trzesniewski 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 (Vantieghem, 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.

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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.

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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

[1] https://www1.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/2015/index.cfm#select_label.

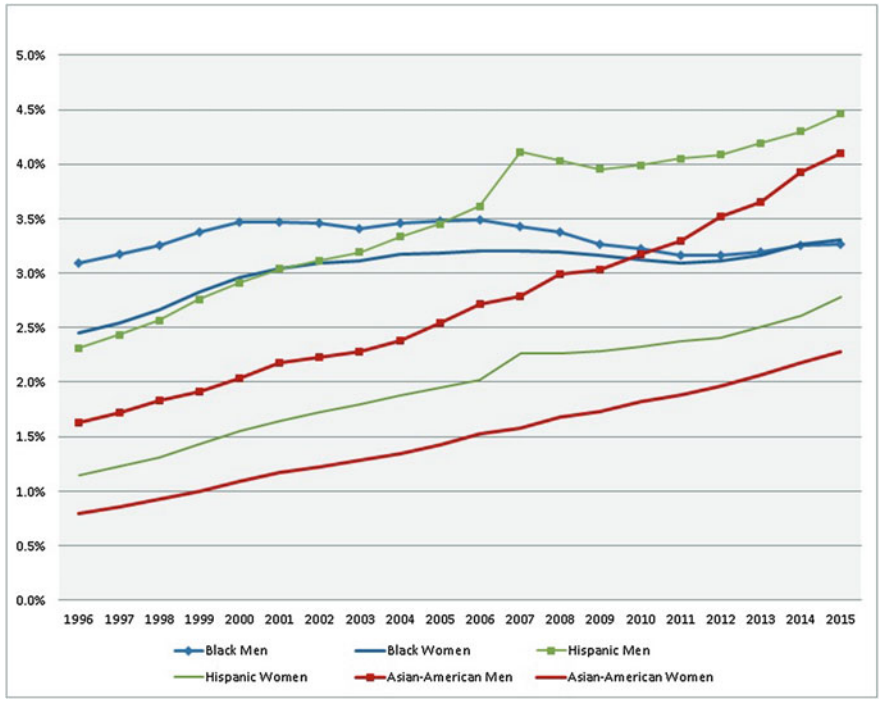

Fig. 1 The percent of minority women and men in private-sector managerial jobs. *Note* Authors calculations based on data from the EEOC available at https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/index.cfm

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 bureacracy 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. Kalev (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 section 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.

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