

Sociology

A Down-To-Earth Approach

Thirteenth Edition

James M. Henslin



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Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

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Printer/Binder: RR Donnelley/Roanoke

Cover Printer: Phoenix Color/Hagerstown

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Henslin, James M., author.

Title: Sociology : a down-to-earth approach / James M. Henslin, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.

Description: Thirteenth edition. | Boston : Pearson Education, [2017]

Identifiers: LCCN 2015043067 | ISBN 9780134205571

Subjects: LCSH: Sociology.

Classification: LCC HM586. H45 2017 | DDC 301–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015043067>

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Student Edition:

ISBN-10: 0-13-420557-X

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-420557-1

Books A La Carte

ISBN 10: 0-13-420559-6

ISBN 13: 978-0-13-420559-5

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To my fellow sociologists,

who do such creative research on social life and who
communicate the sociological imagination to generations
of students. With my sincere admiration and appreciation,

Jim Hansen

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Chapter 11

Sex and Gender



Learning Objectives

- 11.1** Distinguish between sex and gender; use research on Vietnam veterans and testosterone to explain why the door to biology is opening in sociology. (p. 296)
- 11.2** Discuss the origin of gender discrimination, sex typing of work, gender and the prestige of work, and global aspects of pay, violence, and education. (p. 300)
- 11.3** Review the rise of feminism and summarize gender inequality in everyday life, health care, and education. (p. 308)
- 11.4** Explain reasons for the pay gap; discuss the glass ceiling and sexual harassment. (p. 316)
- 11.5** Summarize violence against women: rape, murder, and violence in the home. (p. 321)
- 11.6** Discuss changes in gender and politics. (p. 323)
- 11.7** Explain why the future looks hopeful. (p. 324)

In Tunis, the capital of Tunisia on Africa's northern coast, I met some U.S. college students and spent a couple of days with them. They wanted to see the city's red light district, but I wondered whether it would be worth the trip. I already had seen other red light districts, including the unusual one in Amsterdam where a bronze statue of a female prostitute lets you know you've entered the area; the state licenses the women and men, requiring that they have medical checkups (certificates must be posted); and the prostitutes add sales tax to the receipts they give customers. The prostitutes sit behind lighted picture windows while customers stroll along the narrow canal-side streets and "window shop" from the outside. Tucked among the brothels are day care centers, bakeries, and clothing stores. Amsterdam itself is an unusual place—in cafes, you can smoke marijuana but not tobacco.

I decided to go with the students. We ended up on a wharf that extended into the Mediterranean. Each side was lined with a row of one-room wooden shacks, one crowding against the next. In front of each open door stood a young woman. Peering from outside into the dark interiors, I could see that each door led to a tiny room with an old, well-worn bed.

The wharf was crowded with men who were eyeing the women and negotiating prices. Many of the men wore sailor uniforms from countries that I couldn't identify.

As I looked more closely, I could see that some of the women had runny sores on their legs. Incredibly, with such visible evidence of their disease, men still sought them out.

With a sick feeling in my stomach and the desire to vomit, I kept a good distance between the beckoning women and myself. One tour of the two-block area was more than sufficient.

Somewhere nearby, out of sight, I knew that there were men whose wealth derived from exploiting these women who were condemned to short lives punctuated by fear and misery.

The prostitutes sit behind lighted picture windows while customers stroll along the narrow canal-side streets and "window shop" from the outside.

gender stratification

males' and females' unequal access to property, power, and prestige

sex

biological characteristics that distinguish females and males, consisting of primary and secondary sex characteristics

gender

the behaviors and attitudes that a society considers proper for its males and females; masculinity or femininity

Differences in how we display gender often lie below our awareness. How males and females use social space is an example. In this unposed photo from Grand Central Station in New York City, you can see how males tend to sprawl out, females to enclose themselves. Why do you think this difference exists? Biology? Socialization? Both?



In this chapter, we examine **gender stratification**—males' and females' unequal access to property, power, and prestige. Gender is especially significant because it is a *master status*; that is, it cuts across *all* aspects of social life. No matter what we attain in life, we carry the label *male* or *female*. These labels are powerful. Not only do they convey images and expectations about how we should act, but they also serve as a basis for distributing property, power, and prestige.

In this chapter's fascinating journey, we will look at inequality between the sexes both around the world and in the United States. We explore whether it is biology or culture that makes us the way we are and review sexual harassment, unequal pay, and violence against women. This excursion will provide a good context for understanding the power differences between men and women that lead to situations such as the one described in our opening vignette. It should also give you insight into your own experiences with gender.

Let's begin by considering the distinctions between sex and gender.

Issues of Sex and Gender

11.1 Distinguish between sex and gender; use research on Vietnam veterans and testosterone to explain why the door to biology is opening in sociology.

When we consider how females and males differ, the first thing that usually comes to mind is **sex**, the *biological characteristics* that distinguish males and females. *Primary sex characteristics* consist of a vagina or a penis and other organs related to reproduction. *Secondary sex characteristics* are the physical distinctions between males and females that are not directly connected with reproduction. These characteristics become clearly evident at puberty when males develop larger muscles, lower voices, more body hair, and greater height, while females develop breasts and form more fatty tissue and broader hips.

Gender, in contrast, is a *social*, not a biological characteristic. **Gender** consists of whatever behaviors and attitudes a group considers proper for its males and females. Sex refers to male or female, and *gender* refers to masculinity or femininity. In short, you inherit your sex, but you learn your gender as you learn the behaviors and attitudes your culture asserts are appropriate for your sex.

As the photo montage on the next page illustrates, the expectations associated with gender differ around the world. They vary so greatly that sociologists often replace the terms *masculinity* and *femininity* with *masculinities* and *femininities*.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER *The sociological significance of gender is that gender is a device by which society controls its members.* Gender sorts us, on the basis of sex, into different life experiences. It opens and closes doors to property, power, and prestige. Like social class, gender is a structural feature of society.

Before examining inequalities of gender, let's consider why the behaviors of men and women differ.

Gender Differences in Behavior: Biology or Culture?

Why are most males more aggressive than most females? Why do women enter "nurturing" occupations, such as teaching young children and nursing, in far greater numbers than men? To answer such questions, many people respond with some variation of "They're born that way."

Is this the correct answer? Certainly biology plays a significant role in our lives. Each of us begins as a fertilized egg.

Standards of Gender

Each human group determines its ideas of “maleness” and “femaleness.” As you can see from these photos of four women and four men, standards of gender are arbitrary and vary from one culture to another. Yet, in its ethnocentrism, each group thinks that its preferences reflect what gender “really” is. As indicated here, around the world men and women try to make themselves appealing by aspiring to their group’s standards of gender.



Mexico



Jordan



Kenya



Ethiopia



Brazil



Papua New Guinea



India



China

The egg, or ovum, is contributed by our mother, the sperm that fertilizes the egg by our father. At the very instant the egg is fertilized, our sex is determined. Each of us receives twenty-three chromosomes from the ovum and twenty-three from the sperm. The egg has an X chromosome. If the sperm that fertilizes the egg also has an X chromosome, the result is a girl (XX). If the sperm has a Y chromosome, the result is a boy (XY).

The Dominant Position in Sociology

That's the biology. Now, the sociological question is, Does this biological difference control our behavior? Does it, for example, make females more nurturing and submissive and males more aggressive and domineering? Here is the quick sociological answer: The dominant sociological position is that *social* factors, not biology, are the reasons people do what they do.

Let's apply this position to gender. If biology were the principal factor in human behavior, all around the world we would find women behaving in one way and men in another. Men and women would be just like male spiders and female spiders, whose genes tell them what to do. In fact, however, ideas of gender vary greatly from one culture to another—and, as a result, so do male–female behaviors.

Despite this, to see why the door to biology is opening just slightly in sociology, let's consider a medical accident and a study of Vietnam veterans.

Opening the Door to Biology

A MEDICAL ACCIDENT

In 1963, 7-month-old identical twin boys were taken to a doctor for a routine circumcision. The physician, not the most capable person in the world, was using a heated needle. He turned the electric current too high and accidentally burned off the penis of one of the boys.

You can imagine the parents' disbelief—and then their horror—as the truth sank in. What could they do? After months of soul-searching and tearful consultations with experts, the parents decided that their son should have a sex-change operation (Money and Ehrhardt 1972). When he was 22 months old, surgeons castrated the boy, using the skin to construct a vagina. The parents then gave the child a new name, Brenda, dressed him in frilly clothing, let his hair grow long, and began to treat him as a girl. Later, physicians gave Brenda female steroids to promote female puberty (Colapinto 2001).

At first, the results were promising. When the twins were 4 years old, the mother said (remember that the children are biologically identical):

One thing that really amazes me is that she is so feminine. I've never seen a little girl so neat and tidy. . . . She likes for me to wipe her face. She doesn't like to be dirty, and yet my son is quite different. I can't wash his face for anything. . . . She is very proud of herself, when she puts on a new dress, or I set her hair. . . . She seems to be daintier. (Money and Ehrhardt 1972)

If the matter were this clear-cut, we could use this case to conclude that gender is determined entirely by nurture. Seldom are things in life so simple, however, and a twist occurs in this story.

Despite this promising start and her parents' coaching, Brenda did not adapt well to femininity. She preferred to mimic her father shaving, rather than her mother putting on makeup. She rejected dolls, favoring guns and her brother's toys. She liked rough-and-tumble games and insisted on urinating standing up. Classmates teased her and called her a "cavewoman" because she walked like a boy. At age 14, she was expelled from school for beating up a girl who teased her. Despite estrogen treatment, she was not attracted to boys. At age 14, when despair over her inner turmoil brought her to the brink of suicide, her father, in tears, told Brenda about the accident and her sex change.

"All of a sudden everything clicked. For the first time, things made sense, and I understood who and what I was," the twin said of this revelation. David (his new name) was given testosterone shots and, later, had surgery to partially reconstruct a penis. At age 25, David married a woman and adopted her children (Diamond and Sigmundson 1997; Colapinto 2001). There is an unfortunate end to this story, however. In 2004, David committed suicide.

THE VIETNAM VETERANS STUDY Time after time, researchers have found that boys and men who have higher levels of testosterone tend to be more dominant and aggressive than boys and men with lower levels of testosterone (Turan et al. 2014). In one study, researchers compared the testosterone levels of college men in a "rowdy" fraternity with those of men in a fraternity that had a reputation for academic achievement. Men in the "rowdy" fraternity had higher levels of testosterone (Dabbs et al. 1996). In one fascinating study, researchers found that prisoners who had committed sex crimes and other crimes of violence had higher levels of testosterone than those who had committed property crimes (Dabbs et al. 1995). The samples were small, however, leaving the nagging uncertainty that these findings might be due to chance.

Then in 1985, the U.S. government began a health study of Vietnam veterans. To be certain that the study was representative, the researchers chose a random sample of 4,462 men. Among the data they collected was a measurement of testosterone. This sample supported the earlier studies. When the veterans with higher testosterone levels were boys, they were more likely to get in trouble with parents and teachers and to become delinquents. As adults, they were more likely to use hard drugs, to get into fights, to end up in lower-status jobs, and to have more sexual partners. Those who married were more likely to have affairs, to hit their wives, and, it follows, to get divorced (Dabbs and Morris 1990; Mazur and Booth 2014).

This makes it sound like biology is the basis for behavior. Fortunately for us sociologists, there is another side to this research, and here is where *social class*, the topic of our previous chapter, comes into play. The researchers compared high-testosterone men from higher and lower social classes. The men from lower social classes were more likely to get in trouble with the law, do poorly in school, and mistreat their wives (Dabbs and Morris 1990). You can see, then, that *social* factors such as socialization, subcultures, life goals, and self-definitions were significant in these men's behaviors.

MORE RESEARCH ON HUMANS Research on the effects of testosterone in humans continues. The results are intriguing. Not only do higher levels of testosterone lead to higher dominance but the reverse is also true: Dominance behavior, such as winning a game, also produces higher levels of testosterone. So does holding a real gun (Klinesmith et al. 2006). This has made it difficult to determine which causes which.

Controlled studies in which cause can be determined help. When researchers administer single doses of testosterone, dominance behavior increases. This is true of *both* males and females, who then seek higher status and show less concern for the feelings of others (Eisenegger et al. 2011). Researchers are investigating how the testosterone changes people's behaviors, which they think might be by triggering other hormones.

IN SUM Sociologists acknowledge that biological factors are involved in some human behavior other than reproduction and childbearing (Freese 2008; Horowitz et al. 2014). Years back, one of the first sociologists to open this issue was Alice Rossi, a feminist sociologist and former president of the American Sociological Association. Perhaps Rossi (1977, 1984) expressed it best when she said that the issue is not either biology or society. Instead, whatever biological predispositions nature provides are overlaid with culture. A task of sociologists, then, is to discover how social factors modify biology, especially, as



David Reimer, whose story is recounted here.

This 1966 photo shows a U.S. soldier taking care of a wounded buddy



sociologist Janet Chafetz (1990:30) said, to determine how “different” becomes translated into “unequal.”

The sociological perspective—that of social factors in human behavior—dominates this book, and in the Thinking Critically section that follows, we will explore how gender is changing.

Thinking Critically

New Masculinities and Femininities Are on Their Way

Facebook has changed its classifications from male/female to, well, here is part of the list: agender, androgyne, gender fluid, gender queer, gender variant, intersex, neutrois, non-binary, and trans man. Facebook offers another 40 categories of gender.

Social change is so fast-paced and extensive that it is hard to count on anything from one year to the next. From the new Facebook classifications, you can see that even *gender*, what we consider masculine or feminine, is changing. This helps let us know that sexual identity is complicated: There are *many* ways of identifying with being male or female—and in some instances of not quite identifying with either.

Powerfully entrenched in our culture, the traditional models of the aggressive-dominant male and the compassionate-submissive female will not disappear. For most males, life will remain cast as a form of struggle, of adversaries pitted against one another. These males will try to live up to the expectations of strength and stamina, victory in competition, and achievement despite obstacles. They will continue to mask compassion and avoid even the appearance of weakness, fear, and vulnerability. For most women, the dominant model will also hold, and they will show—and probably feel—more emotions than men. They will express greater compassion and more fears and weaknesses.

As new models of gender take their place alongside the traditional ones, it is likely that a softer masculinity will become common. Men will feel freer to ask for help, to form emotional bonds with other men, even to tenderly touch both women and men—and still be masculine. Women will have more options to fight hard in the rough and tumble competitive world of business and the professions—and still be feminine.



Maria, a member of the male-dominated Chicanos por Vida in Yakima, Washington. A “tough femininity” that incorporates masculine violence is emerging among female juvenile delinquents.

As the developing masculinities incorporate behaviors previously considered inappropriate, off limits, or even taboo, we can expect a decrease of homophobia (dislike and fear of homosexuals). Homophobia seems to be based on a need to mark a sharp distance between the self and anyone who threatens the dominant model of masculinity or femininity. As cultural attitudes shift, fewer will feel an urgent need to maintain gender boundaries, to demonstrate to the self and others that “I’m not gay.”

For Your Consideration

- What have you experienced to indicate that the dominant forms of masculinity and femininity are changing?
- Do you think we are developing femininities and masculinities?
- Do you agree with the author, that homophobia will decrease?

Gender Inequality in Global Perspective

11.2 Discuss the origin of gender discrimination, sex typing of work, gender and the prestige of work, and global aspects of pay, violence, and education.

Around the world, gender is *the* primary division between people. Every society sorts men and women into separate groups and gives them different access to property, power, and prestige. These divisions *always* favor men-as-a-group. After reviewing the historical record, historian and feminist Gerda Lerner (1986) concluded that “there is not a single society known where women-as-a-group have decision-making power over men

(as a group).” Consequently, sociologists classify females as a *minority group*. Because females outnumber males, you may find this strange. This term applies, however, because *minority group* refers to people who are discriminated against on the basis of physical or cultural characteristics, regardless of their numbers (Hacker 1951).

Around the world, women struggle against gender discrimination. For an extreme case, see the Mass Media in Social Life box on the next page.

How Did Females Become a Minority Group?

Have females always been a minority group? Some analysts speculate that in hunting and gathering societies, women and men were social equals and that horticultural societies also had less gender discrimination than is common today (Wilson 2013). In these societies, women may have contributed about 60 percent of the group’s total food. Yet, around the world, gender is the basis for discrimination.

How, then, did it happen that women became a minority group? Several theories have been proposed to explain the origin of **patriarchy**—men dominating society (Baumeister 2013). Let’s consider two of them.

HUMAN REPRODUCTION The *first* theory—the major one—points to human reproduction (Lerner 1986; Friedl 1990). In early human history, life was short. Because people died young, if the group were to survive, women had to give birth to many children. This brought severe consequences for women. To survive, an infant needed a nursing mother. If there were no woman to nurse the child, it died. With a child at her breast or in her uterus or one carried on her hip or on her back, women were not able to stay away from camp for as long as the men could. They also had to move slower. Around the world, then, women assumed the tasks that were associated with the home and child care, while men hunted the large animals and did other tasks that required greater speed and longer absences from the base camp.

This led to men becoming dominant. When the men left the camp to hunt animals, they made contact with other groups. They traded with them, gaining new possessions—and they

patriarchy

men-as-a-group dominating women-as-a-group; authority is vested in males

Men’s work? Women’s work? Customs in other societies can blow away stereotypes. As is common throughout India, these women are working on road construction.



Mass Media in Social Life

Women in Iran: The Times Are Changing, Ever So Slowly

A woman's testimony in court is worth half that of a man's testimony.

A woman may inherit from her parents only half what her brother inherits.

A woman who has sex with a man who is not her husband can be stoned to death.

A woman who refuses to cover her hair in public can receive eighty lashes with a whip.

Not exactly equality.

As you would expect, Iranian women don't like it. Until now, though, there was little they could do. Controlled by their fathers until they married and afterward by their husbands, women for the most part didn't know that life could be different.

The mass media and the new literacy are spearheading change in gender relations. Iranian women are logging onto the Internet, and they are reading books. Those who watch satellite television, which is illegal, are seeing pictures of other ways of life, an unfamiliar equality and mutual respect between women and men. Their eyes are being opened to the fact that not all the women in the world live under the thumbs of men. From this awareness is coming the realization that they don't have to live like this either, that there is potential for change.

This awareness and the glimmer of hope that another way of life can be theirs have stimulated an incipient women's movement. The movement is small—and protest remains dangerous. Women are arrested for being "feminists." Punishment is fines and prison. Security forces sometimes rape these offenders. Other protestors

find brutality at home, from their husbands, fathers, or brothers.

Despite the danger, women are continuing to protest. They are even pressing for new rights in the Iranian courts. They are demanding divorce from abusive husbands. Some are getting it. Not many, but some.

Not much has changed yet. Men can still divorce their wives whenever they want, while a woman must go through a lengthy procedure and cannot be sure that she will be granted a divorce. A husband also gets automatic custody of any children over the age of 7.

The women are continuing their struggle. One small glimmer of hope: Embarrassed by the international outcry, Iranian politicians are allowing fewer women to be stoned to death. It is only a glimmer—women are still buried up to their necks in the ground and then stoned.

That there are fewer stonings, though, is, at least a beginning. Perhaps the rest will follow.

Or perhaps not. Since I wrote this, an Iranian court sentenced a woman to a year in jail for trying to watch a men's soccer game.



A sign of change. The struggle between Islamic fundamentalism and modernism is being played out in the Middle East. In the midst of it, Iran fields women soccer teams.

SOURCES: Based on Fathi 2009; Semple 2009. U.S. Department of State 2011; Erdbrink 2014.

For Your Consideration

- What do you think gender relations will be like in Iran ten years from now? Why?
- If the women's movement in Iran continues, do you think that relationships between men and women will eventually be about the same as those in the United States? Why or why not?

also quarreled and waged war with them. It was also the men who made and controlled the instruments of power and death, the weapons that were used for hunting and warfare. The men heaped prestige upon themselves as they returned triumphantly to the camp, leading captured prisoners and displaying their new possessions or the large animals they had killed to feed themselves and the women and children.

Contrast this with the women. Their activities were routine, dull, and taken for granted. The women kept the fire going, took care of the children, and did the cooking. There was nothing triumphant about what they did—and they were not perceived as risking their lives for the group. The women were "simply there," awaiting the return of their men, ready to acclaim their accomplishments.

Men, then, took control of society. Their sources of power were their weapons, items of trade, and the knowledge they gained from their contact with other groups. Women did not have access to these sources of power, which the men enshrouded in secrecy. The women became second-class citizens, subject to whatever the men decided.

HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT The *second* theory is short and simple, built around warfare and body strength. Anthropologist Marvin Harris (1977) pointed out that tribal groups did a lot of fighting with one another. Their warfare was personal and bloody. Unlike today, their battles were hand to hand, with groups fighting fiercely, trying to kill one another with clubs, stones, spears, and arrows. And when these weapons failed, they hit and strangled one another.

It is obvious, said Harris, that women were at a disadvantage in hand-to-hand combat. Because most men are stronger than most women, men became the warriors. And the women? The men needed strong motivation to risk their lives in combat, rather than just running into the bush when an enemy attacked. The women became the reward that enticed men to risk their lives in battle. The bravest men were allowed more wives—from the women at home and the women they captured. The women were valued for sex, labor, and reproduction.

WHICH ONE? Is either theory correct—the one built around human reproduction or the one built around warfare? With the answer buried in human history, there is no way to test these theories. Male dominance could even be the result of some entirely different cause. Gerda Lerner (1986) suggests that patriarchy could have had different origins in different places.

CONTINUING DOMINANCE We don't know the origins of patriarchy, then, but whatever its origins, a circular system of thinking evolved. Men came to think of themselves as inherently superior. And the evidence for their superiority? Their domination of society. (You can see how circular this reasoning is: Men dominate society because they are superior, and they know they are superior because they dominate society.) The men enshrouded many of their activities with secrecy and constructed rules and rituals to avoid "contamination" by females, whom they came to view as inferior. Even today, patriarchy is always accompanied by cultural supports designed to justify male dominance. A common support is to designate certain activities as "not appropriate" for women, such as playing football, driving race cars, mining coal, or being a soldier.

Tribal societies eventually developed into larger groups, and the hunting and hand-to-hand combat ceased to be routine. Did the men then celebrate the end of their risky hunting and fighting and welcome the women as equals? You know the answer. Men enjoyed their power and privileges, and they didn't want to give them up. Male dominance in contemporary societies, then, is a continuation of a millennia-old pattern whose origin is lost in history.



It is the job of these women in Kenya to get the water for their families. They carry not only the water, but also their young children.

Sex Typing of Work

Anthropologist George Murdock (1937) analyzed data that researchers had reported on 324 societies around the world. He found that all of them have *sex typed work*. In other words, every society associates certain work with one sex or the other. He also found that



Vedda hunters in Sri Lanka. Anthropologist George Murdock surveyed 324 traditional societies worldwide. In all of them, some work was considered “men’s work,” while other tasks were considered “women’s work.” He found that hunting is almost always considered “men’s work.”

activities considered “female” in one society may be considered “male” in another. In some groups, for example, taking care of cattle is women’s work, while other groups assign this task to men.

There was one exception, metalworking, which was considered men’s work in all of the societies that Murdock examined. Making weapons, pursuing sea mammals, and hunting came close to being exclusively male activities, but there were a few exceptions. Although Murdock discovered no specific work that was universally assigned only to women, he did find that making clothing, cooking, carrying water, and grinding grain were almost always female tasks. In a few societies, however, such activities were regarded as men’s work.

From Murdock’s cross-cultural survey, we can conclude that nothing about biology requires men and women to be assigned different work. Anatomy does not have to equal destiny when it comes to occupations. As we have seen, pursuits that are considered feminine in one society may be deemed masculine in another, and vice versa. You can see how the photo essay on the next two pages, which shows women at work in India, underscores this point.

Gender and the Prestige of Work

You might ask whether dividing work by sex really illustrates social inequality. Perhaps it simply represents each group’s arbitrary ways of deciding how to do work, not gender discrimination?

This could be the case, except for this finding: *Universally, greater prestige is given to male activities—regardless of what those activities are* (Linton 1936; Rosaldo 1974). If taking care of goats is men’s work, then the care of goats is considered important and carries high prestige; if it is women’s work, it is considered less important and is given less prestige. Let’s take an example closer to home. When delivering babies was “women’s work” done by midwives, it was given low prestige. But when men took over this task, they became “baby doctors” with high prestige (Ehrenreich and English 1973; Rothman 1994). In short, *it is not the work that provides the prestige, but the sex with which the work is associated.*

Other Areas of Global Discrimination

Let’s briefly consider four additional aspects of global gender discrimination. Later, when we focus on the United States, we will examine these topics in greater detail.

THE GLOBAL GAP IN EDUCATION About 750 million adults around the world cannot read or write; two-thirds are women (UNESCO 2015). Illiteracy is especially common in Africa and the Middle East, although certainly not limited to those areas. In North America, only half of the adults in Haiti can read and write. As bad as these totals are, they underestimate the problem. Some people are counted as literate if they can write their names (Falkenberg 2008).

THE GLOBAL GAP IN POLITICS It is typical for women to be underrepresented in politics. On average, women make up just 20 percent of the world’s national legislative bodies. At 18 percent, the United States is below the average. The United States has the same percentage as Asia, but is below Africa and Europe (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2013). In 2008, Rwanda became the first country in the world to elect more women (56 percent) than men to its national legislature (Pflanz 2008).



Work and Gender: Women at Work in India

Traveling through India was both a pleasant and an eye-opening experience. The country is incredibly diverse, the people friendly, and the land culturally rich. For this photo essay, wherever I went—whether city, village, or countryside—I took photos of women at work.

From these photos, you can see that Indian women work in a wide variety of occupations.

Some of the jobs that women in India do match traditional Western expectations, and some diverge sharply from our gender stereotypes. Although women in India remain subservient to men—with the women's movement hardly able to break the cultural surface—women's occupations are hardly limited to the home. I was surprised at some of the hard, heavy labor that Indian women do.



The villages of India have no indoor plumbing. Instead, each village has a well with a hand pump, and it is the women's job to fetch the water. This is backbreaking work, for, after pumping the water, the women wrestle the heavy buckets onto their heads and carry them home. This was one of the few kinds of work I saw that was limited to women.



Indian women are highly visible in public places. A storekeeper is as likely to be a woman as a man. This woman is selling glasses of water at a beach on the Bay of Bengal. The structure on which her glasses rest is built of sand.

I visited quarries in different parts of India, where I found men, women, and children hard at work in the tropical sun. This woman works 8 ½ hours a day, six days a week. She earns 40 rupees a day (about ninety cents). Men make 60 rupees a day (about \$1.35). Like many quarry workers, this woman is a bonded laborer. She must give half of her wages to her master.



Women also take care of livestock. It looks as though this woman dressed up and posed for her photo, but this is what she was wearing and doing when I saw her in the field and stopped to talk to her. While the sheep are feeding, her job is primarily to "be" there, to make certain the sheep don't wander off or that no one steals them.





Sweeping the house is traditional work for Western women. So it is in India, but the sweeping has been extended to areas outside the home. These women are sweeping a major intersection in Chennai. When the traffic light changes here, the women will continue sweeping, with the drivers swerving around them. This was one of the few occupations that seems to be limited to women.



As in the West, food preparation in India is traditional women's work. Here, however, food preparation takes an unexpected twist. Having poured rice from the 60-pound sack onto the floor, these women in Chittoor search for pebbles or other foreign objects that might be in the rice.



When I saw this unusual sight, I had to stop and talk to the workers. From historical pictures, I knew that belt-driven machines were common on U.S. farms 100 years ago. This one in Tamil Nadu processes sugar cane. The woman feeds sugar cane into the machine, which disgorges the stalks on one side and sugar cane juice on the other.



This woman belongs to the Dhobi subcaste, whose occupation is washing clothes. She stands waist deep at this same spot doing the same thing day after day. The banks of this canal in Hyderabad are lined with men and women of her caste, who are washing linens for hotels and clothing for more well-to-do families.



A common sight in India is women working on construction crews. As they work on buildings and on highways, they mix cement, unload trucks, carry rubble, and, following Indian culture, carry loads of bricks atop their heads. This photo was taken in Raipur, Chhattisgarh.

THE GLOBAL GAP IN PAY In every nation, women earn less than men. As we will see later, full-time working women in the United States average only 73 percent of what men make. (If you want to jump ahead, go to Figure 11.8.) In some countries, women make much less than this.

GLOBAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN A global human rights issue is violence against women. Historical examples include foot binding in China, witch burning in Europe, and, in India, *suttee*, burning the living widow with the body of her dead husband. Today, we have rape, wife beating, female infanticide, and the kidnapping of women to be brides. There is also forced prostitution, which was probably the case in our opening vignette. There is also *swara*, a practice in tribal areas of Pakistan: Unmarried girls, even children, are given as brides to compensate a family for a man's crime (Symington 2014). Another notorious example is female circumcision, the topic of the Cultural Diversity box.

"Honor killings" are another form of violence against women. In some societies, such as Afghanistan, India, Jordan, Kurdistan, and Pakistan, a woman who is thought to have brought disgrace on her family is killed by a male relative—usually a brother or her husband, but sometimes her father or uncles. What threat to a family's honor can be so severe that a man would kill his own daughter, wife, or sister? The usual reason is sex outside of marriage. Virginity at marriage is so prized in these societies that even a woman who has been raped is in danger of becoming the victim of an honor killing



Swara, an ancient custom, includes both adult males marrying female children and marrying children to one another. In compensation for a murder committed by her father, this Pakistani woman, now 19, was married to a man four times her age when she was nine years old.

Cultural Diversity around the World

Female Circumcision (Genital Cutting)

"Lie down there," the excisor suddenly said to me [when I was 12], pointing to a mat on the ground. No sooner had I laid down than I felt my frail, thin legs grasped by heavy hands and pulled wide apart. . . . Two women on each side of me pinned me to the ground . . . I underwent the ablation of the labia minor and then of the clitoris. The operation seemed to go on forever. I was in the throes of agony, torn apart both physically and psychologically. It was the rule that girls of my age did not weep in this situation. I broke the rule. I cried and screamed with pain . . . !

Afterwards they forced me, not only to walk back to join the other girls who had already been excised, but to dance with them. I was doing my best, but then I fainted . . . It was a month before I was completely healed. When I was better, everyone mocked me, as I hadn't been brave, they said. (Walker and Parmar 1993:107–108)

Worldwide, about 125 million females have been circumcised, mostly in Muslim Africa and in some parts of Malaysia and Indonesia (Dugger 2013). In Egypt and Indonesia, about 91 percent of the women have been circumcised. At 98 percent, the highest rate is in Somalia (Turkewitz 2014). In most cultures, the surgery takes place between



An excisor displaying the razor blades she will use to circumcise teenage girls of the Sebei tribe in Uganda.

the ages of 4 and 8, but in some, it is not performed until the girls reach adolescence. Because the surgery is usually done without anesthesia, the pain is excruciating, and adults hold the girls down. In urban areas, physicians sometimes perform the operation; in rural areas, a neighborhood woman usually does it, often with a razor blade.

In some cultures, only the girl's clitoris is cut off; in others, more is removed. In Sudan, the Nubians cut away most of the girl's genitalia, then sew together the outer edges. They bind the girl's legs from her ankles to her waist for several weeks while scar tissue closes up the vagina. They leave a small opening, the diameter of a pencil, for the passage of urine and menstrual fluids. When a woman marries, the opening is cut wider to permit sexual intercourse. Before she gives

birth, the opening is enlarged further. After birth, the vagina is again sutured shut. This cycle of surgically closing and opening begins anew with each birth.

Why are girls circumcised? Some groups believe that it reduces sexual desire, making it more likely that a woman will be a virgin at marriage and, afterward, remain faithful to her husband. Others think that women can't bear children if they aren't circumcised (Kindzeka 2014).

In some societies, uncircumcised women are considered impure, and men do not want them as wives. Concerned that their daughters marry well, the mothers insist that this custom continue.

Feminists have campaigned against female circumcision, calling it a form of ritual torture to control female sexuality. They point out that men dominate the societies that practice it.

Change is on the way. A social movement to ban female circumcision has emerged. The World Health Organization has even declared that female circumcision is a human rights issue. Fifteen African countries have made the circumcision of females illegal. Without sanctions, though, these laws accomplish little.

Health workers have hit upon a strategy that is meeting with some success. They begin by teaching village women about germs and hygiene. Then they trace the women's current health problems, such as incontinence, to female

circumcision. When enough support has been gained, an entire village will publicly abandon the practice. As other villages do the same, the lack of circumcision no longer remains an obstacle to marriage.

The most powerful indicator of the future is this: Compared to their mothers, fewer young women support circumcision and fewer have been circumcised (Dugger 2013). Yet we must balance this statement with this one: In Bandung, Indonesia, hospitals offer package deals: a special price if you combine infant vaccinations, ear piercing, and genital cutting (Haworth 2012).

SOURCES: As cited, and Lightfoot-Klein 1989; Merwine 1993; Tuhus-Dubrow 2007; Lazaro 2011; Sacirbey 2012.

For Your Consideration

- Do you think that the members of one culture have the right to judge the customs of another culture as inferior or wrong and to then try to get rid of them? If so, under what circumstances? What makes us right and them wrong?
- Let's go further. Some are trying to ban the circumcision of boys. One court in Germany even ruled that the circumcision of boys "amounts to bodily harm even if the parents consent to the circumcision" (Kulish 2012). Why shouldn't the same principle apply to both female and male circumcision?



Photo of Xiao Xiuxiang, taken in 2002. Tiny feet were a status symbol. Making it difficult for a woman to walk; small feet indicated that a woman's husband did not need his wife's labor. To make the feet even smaller, sometimes the baby's feet were broken and wrapped tightly. Some baby's toes were cut off. Foot binding was banned by the Chinese government in 1911, but continued to be practiced in some places for several decades.

(Falkenberg 2008; McCoy 2014). Another offense worthy of death is refusing to marry the man the father picked out (Nordland 2014). Killing the girl or woman—even one's own sister or mother—removes the "stain" she has brought to the family and restores the family's honor in the community. Sharing this view, the police generally ignore honor killings, considering them to be private family matters.

IN SUM Gender inequality is not some accidental, hit-or-miss affair. Rather, each society's institutions work together to maintain the group's particular forms of inequality. Customs, often venerated through history, both justify and maintain these arrangements. In some cases, the prejudice and discrimination directed at females are so extreme that they lead to enslavement and death.

Gender Inequality in the United States

11.3 Review the rise of feminism and summarize gender inequality in everyday life, health care, and education.

As we review gender inequality in the United States, let's begin by going back in history a bit. What you will read, which you might find startling, will provide excellent background for understanding gender relations today.

Fighting Back: The Rise of Feminism

In the early history of the United States, the second-class status of women was taken for granted. A husband and wife were legally one person—him (Chafetz and Dworkin 1986).

Women could not vote, buy property in their own names, make legal contracts, or serve on juries. How could relationships have changed so much in the last hundred years that these examples sound like fiction?

A central lesson of conflict theory is that power brings privilege. Like a magnet, power draws society's best resources to the elite. Because men tenaciously held onto their privileges and used social institutions to maintain their dominance, basic rights for women came only through prolonged and bitter struggle.

Feminism—the view that biology is not destiny, that stratification by gender is wrong and should be resisted, and that men and women should be equal—met with strong opposition, both by men who had privilege to lose and by women who accepted their status as morally correct. In 1894, for example, Jeannette Gilder said that women should not have the right to vote: "Politics is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women" (Crossen 2003).

Feminists, known at that time as suffragists, struggled against such views. In 1916, they founded the National Woman's Party, and in 1917, they began to picket the White House. After picketing for six months, the women were arrested. Hundreds were sent to prison, including Lucy Burns, a leader of the National Woman's Party. The extent to which these women had threatened male privilege is demonstrated by how they were treated in prison.

Two men brought in Dorothy Day [the editor of a periodical that promoted women's rights], twisting her arms above her head. Suddenly they lifted her and brought her body down twice over the back of an iron bench . . . They had been there a few minutes when Mrs. Lewis, all doubled over like a sack of flour, was thrown in. Her head struck the iron bed and she fell to the floor senseless. As for Lucy Burns, they handcuffed her wrists and fastened the handcuffs over [her] head to the cell door. (Cowley 1969)

This *first wave* of the women's movement had a radical branch that wanted to reform all the institutions of society and a conservative branch whose goal was to win the vote for women (Freedman 2001). The conservative branch dominated, and after winning the right to vote in 1920, the movement basically dissolved.

feminism

the philosophy that men and women should be politically, economically, and socially equal; organized activities on behalf of this principle

The "first wave" of the U.S. women's movement met enormous opposition. The women in this 1920 photo had just been released after serving two months in jail for picketing the White House. Lucy Burns, mentioned on this page, is the second woman on the left. Alice Paul, who was placed in solitary confinement and is a subject of this 1920 protest, is featured in the photo wheel of early female sociologists in Chapter 1, page 17.



Inequality continued, of course, and even social science was part of the problem. In what is historically humorous, male social scientists paraded themselves as experts on the essence of womanhood. Here is what a renowned psychologist wrote in the 1960s, the paternalism oozing out of his well-intentioned statement: “We must start with the realization that, as much as we want women to be good scientists or engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers” (Bettelheim 1965:15 in Eagly et al. 2012).

This man knew what women wanted—and in the 1960s, almost everyone else made the same assumption. From infancy, women were immersed in the idea that their purpose in life was to be “womanly companions of men and mothers.” Even children’s books reinforced such thinking, as you can see from Figure 11.1.

Reared with this idea, most women thought of work as a temporary activity intended to fill the time between completing school—usually high school—and getting married (Chafetz 1990). Then, as more women took jobs, they began to regard them as careers. This fundamental shift in perspective ushered in huge discontent. Women compared their working conditions with those of men, and they didn’t like what they saw. The result was a *second wave* of protest against gender inequalities, roughly from the 1960s to the 1980s (Eagly et al. 2012). The goals of this second wave (which continue today) were broad, ranging from raising women’s pay to changing policies on violence against women and legalizing abortion.

About 1990, the second wave gradually merged into a *third wave* (Byers and Crocker 2012). This current wave has many divisions, but three main aspects are apparent. The first is a greater focus on the problems of women in the Least Industrialized Nations (Lövhelm 2013). Women there are struggling against conditions overcome long ago by women in the Most Industrialized Nations. The second is a criticism of the values that dominate work and society. Some feminists argue that competition, toughness, and calloused emotions represent “male” qualities that need to be replaced with cooperation, connection, and openness (England 2000). A third aspect is an emphasis on women’s freedom to explore sexual pleasure (Nguyen 2013).

Figure 11.1 Teaching Gender



The “Dick and Jane” readers were the top selling readers in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. In addition to reading, they taught “gender messages.” What gender message do you see here?

What gender lesson is being taught here?

Besides learning words like “pigs” (relevant at that historical period), boys and girls also learned that rough outside work was for men.

What does this page teach children other than how to read the word “Father”? (Look to the left to see what Jane and Mother are doing.)

Sharp disagreements have arisen among feminists (Kantor 2013). Some in the third wave promote what is called “girlie feminism” (Nguyen 2013). They say that women should declare the battle for equality won and move on to confidently enjoy the “pink things” of childhood. Women should focus on self-fulfillment and sexual pleasure. They should also embrace their “erotic capital,” using their sexual attractiveness and seductiveness to get ahead at work. Those who struggled in the second wave are shocked by these younger feminists. Such attitudes, they say, are a denial of women’s ability to compete with men on equal terms, a betrayal of the equality that women have fought for (Hakim 2010).

Although U.S. women enjoy fundamental rights today, we are far from having reached the end of gender inequality. Let’s examine how gender inequality shows up in several areas of social life. We will begin by looking at everyday life, the most pervasive form of gender inequality.

Gender Inequality in Everyday Life

Gender discrimination is common in everyday life. Let’s look at how femininity is devalued, something so frequent that it is often invisible, assumed as a normal background factor of social interaction.

DEVALUATION OF THINGS FEMININE In general, with masculinity symbolizing strength and success, a higher value is placed on things considered masculine. Femininity, in contrast, is often perceived as weakness and lack of accomplishment. People are often unaware that they make these evaluations, but if you listen carefully, you can hear them pop up in everyday speech. Let’s take a quick historical glance at one of these indicators. It might even be one that you have used:

*Sociologist Samuel Stouffer headed a research team that produced **The American Soldier** (Stouffer et al. 1949), a classic study of World War II combat soldiers. To motivate their men, officers used feminine terms as insults. If a man showed less-than-expected courage or endurance, an officer might say, “Whats a matter, Bud—got lace on your drawers?” [“Drawers” was a term for underpants.] A generation later, as officers trained soldiers to fight in Vietnam, they still used accusations of femininity to motivate their men. Drill sergeants would mock their troops by saying, “Can’t hack it, little girls?” (Eisenhart 1975). The practice continues. Male soldiers who show hesitation during maneuvers are mocked by others, who call them girls. (Miller 1997/2007)*

It is the same in sports. Anthropologist Douglas Foley (1990/2006), who studied high school football in Texas, reports that coaches insult boys who don’t play well by shouting that they are “wearing skirts.” In her research, sociologist Donna Eder (1995) heard junior high boys call one another “girl” when they didn’t hit hard enough in football. In basketball, boys of this age also call one another a “woman” when they miss a basket (Stockard and Johnson 1980). If professional hockey players are not rough enough on the ice, their teammates call them “girls” (Gallmeier 1988:227).

In the ghetto, too, boys are under pressure to prove their manhood, and a boy who won’t react violently to an insult is said to be “wearing a skirt” (Jones 2010).

How do these insults, which roll so easily off the tongues of men, represent a devaluation of femininity? Sociologists Stockard and Johnson (1980:12) hit the nail on the head when they pointed out, “There is no comparable phenomenon among women, for young girls do not insult each other by calling each other ‘man.’”

Gender Inequality in Health Care

Medical researchers were perplexed. Reports were coming in from all over the country: Women were twice as likely as men to die after coronary bypass surgery. Researchers at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles checked their own records. They found that of 2,300 coronary bypass patients, 4.6 percent of the women died as a result of the surgery, compared with 2.6 percent of the men.

The researchers faced a sociological puzzle. To solve it, they first turned to biology (Bishop 1990). In coronary bypass surgery, a blood vessel is taken from one part of the body and stitched to an artery on the surface of the heart. Perhaps the surgery was more difficult to do on women because of their smaller arteries. To find out, researchers measured the amount of time that surgeons kept patients on the heart–lung machine. They were surprised to learn that women spent *less* time on the machine than men. This indicated that the surgery was not more difficult to perform on women.

As the researchers probed further, a surprising answer unfolded: unintended sexual discrimination. When women complained of chest pains, their doctors took them only *one-tenth as seriously* as when men made the same complaints. How do we know this? Doctors were *ten* times more likely to give men exercise stress tests and radioactive heart scans. They also sent men to surgery on the basis of abnormal stress tests, but they waited until women showed clear-cut symptoms of heart disease before sending them to surgery. Patients with more advanced heart disease are more likely to die during and after heart surgery.

Although these findings have been publicized in medical circles, the problem continues (Varughese et al. 2014). Perhaps as more women become physicians, the situation will change, since female doctors are more sensitive to women's health problems (Tabenkin et al. 2010). For example, they are more likely to order Pap smears and mammograms (Lurie et al. 1993). In addition, as more women join the faculties of medical schools, we can expect women's health problems to receive more attention in the training of physicians. Even this might not do it, however, as women, too, hold our cultural stereotypes of the sexes.

In contrast to unintentional sexism in heart surgery, let's look at a type of surgery that is a blatant form of discrimination against women. This is the focus of the Down-to-Earth Sociology box.

Down-to-Earth Sociology

Cold-Hearted Surgeons and Their Women Victims

While doing participant observation in a hospital, sociologist Sue Fisher (1986) was surprised to hear surgeons recommend total hysterectomy (removal of both the uterus and the ovaries) *when no cancer was present*. When she asked why, the male doctors explained that the uterus and ovaries are “potentially disease producing.”

They also said that these organs are unnecessary after the childbearing years, so why not remove them? Doctors who reviewed hysterectomies confirmed this gender-biased practice. *Ninety percent* of hysterectomies are avoidable. Only ten percent involve cancer (Costa 2011).

Greed is a powerful motivator in many areas of social life, and it rears its ugly head in surgical sexism (Domingo and Pellicer 2009). Surgeons make money when they do hysterectomies. The more hysterectomies they do, the more money they make.

Since women, to understate the matter, are reluctant to part with these organs, surgeons have to “sell” this operation. Here is how one resident explained the “hard sell” to sociologist Diana Scully (1994):



You have to look for your surgical procedures; you have to go after patients. Because no one is crazy enough to come and say, “Hey, here I am. I want you to operate on me.” You have to sometimes convince the patient that she is really sick—if she is, of course [laughs], and that she is better off with a surgical procedure.

Used-car salespeople would love to have the powerful sales weapon that surgeons have at their disposal: To “convince” a woman to have this surgery, the doctor puts on a serious face and tells her that the examination has turned up *fibroids* in her uterus—and these lumps might turn into *cancer*. This statement is often

sufficient to get the woman to buy the surgery. She starts to picture herself lying at death's door, her sorrowful family gathered at her death bed. Then the used car salesperson—I mean, the surgeon—moves in to clinch the sale. Keeping a serious face and displaying an “I-know-how-you-feel” look, the surgeon starts to make arrangements for the surgery. What the surgeon withholds is the rest of the truth—that uterine fibroids are common, that they usually do *not* turn into cancer, and that the patient has several alternatives to surgery.

In case it is difficult to see how this is sexist, let's change the context just a little. Let's suppose that the income

of some female surgeon depends on selling a specialized operation. To sell it, she systematically suggests to older men the benefits of castration—since “those organs are no longer necessary and might cause disease.”

For Your Consideration

Hysterectomies have become so common that by age 60, *one of three* U.S. women has had her uterus surgically removed (Rabin 2013).

→ Why do you think that surgeons are so quick to operate?

→ How can women find alternatives to surgery?

Gender Inequality in Education

THE PAST

Until 1832, women were not allowed to attend college with men. When women were admitted to colleges attended by men—first at Oberlin College in Ohio—they had to wash the male students' clothing, clean their rooms, and serve them their meals (Flexner 1971/1999).

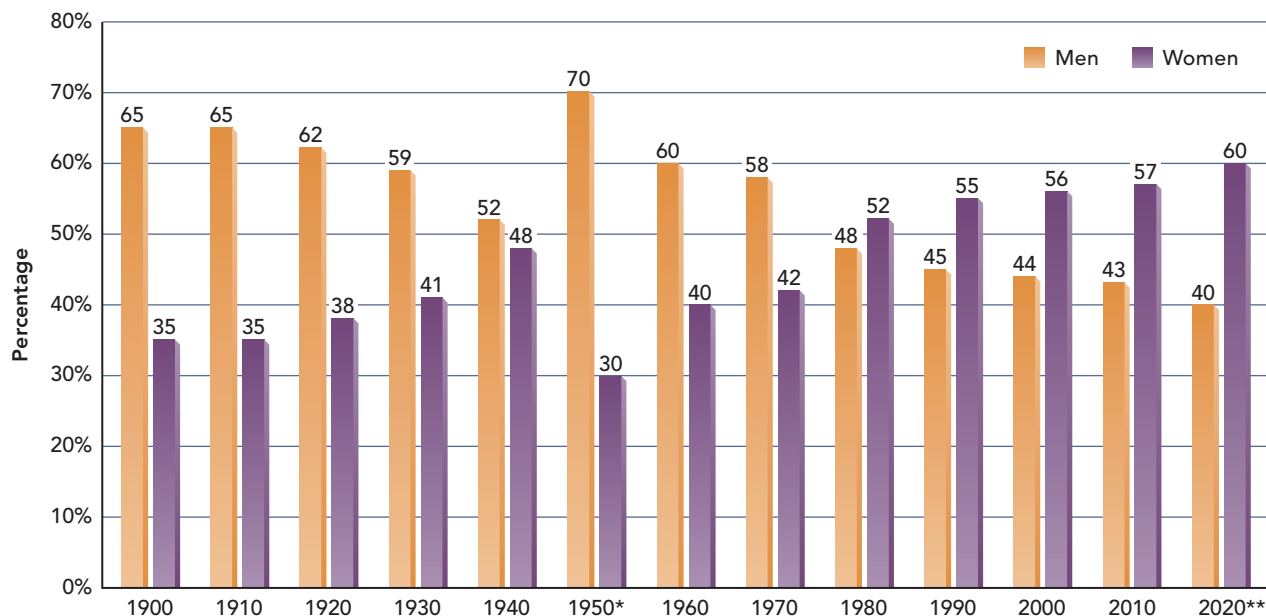
How times have changed—so much so that this quote sounds like it is a joke. But there is more. The men who controlled education were bothered by female organs. They said that women's minds were dominated by their organs, making women less qualified than men for higher education. The men considered menstruation to be a special obstacle to women's success in education: It made women so feeble that they could hardly continue with their schooling, much less anything else in life. Here is how Dr. Edward Clarke, of Harvard University, put it:

A girl upon whom Nature, for a limited period and for a definite purpose, imposes so great a physiological task, will not have as much power left for the tasks of school, as the boy of whom Nature requires less at the corresponding epoch. (Andersen 1988)

Because women are so much weaker than men, Clarke urged them to study only one-third as much as young men. And, of course, in their weakened state, they were advised to not study at all during menstruation.

A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE Like out-of-fashion clothing, such ideas were discarded. As Figure 11.2 on the next page shows, by 1900 one-third of college students were women. The change since then has been fundamental, extensive, and ongoing. Today, far more women than men attend college, but this overall average hides many distinctions. Look at Figure 11.3 to see major differences by racial-ethnic groups. You can see that African Americans have the most women relative to men, and Asian Americans the least. Overall, women now earn an astounding 57 percent of all bachelor's degrees and 60 percent of all master's degrees (*Statistical Abstract* 2014:Table 303). Do you think it might be time to apply affirmative action to men? Let's consider this in the Down-to-Earth Sociology box on page 315.

Figure 11.4 on page 315 illustrates another major change—how women have increased their share of professional degrees. The greatest change is in dentistry: In 1970, across the entire United States, only 34 women earned degrees in dentistry. Today, that total has jumped to 2,300 a year. As you can also see, almost as many women as men now become dentists, lawyers, and physicians. It is likely that women will soon outnumber men in earning these professional degrees.

Figure 11.2 Changes in College Enrollment, by Sex

*This sharp drop in women's enrollment occurred when large numbers of male soldiers returned from World War II and attended college under the new GI Bill of Rights.

**Author's estimate.

SOURCES: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1938:Table 114; 1959:Table 158; 1991:Table 261; 2011:Table 273; 2014:Table 282.

GENDER TRACKING With such extensive change, it would seem that gender equality has been achieved or at least almost so. In some instances—as with the changed sex ratio in college—we even have a new form of gender inequality. If we look closer, however, we can see *gender tracking*. That is, college degrees tend to follow gender, which reinforces male–female distinctions. Here are two extremes: Men earn 95 percent of the associates' degrees in the “masculine” field of construction trades, while women are awarded 96 percent of the associates' degrees in the “feminine” field of “family and consumer sciences” (*Statistical Abstract* 2014:Table 306). Because gender socialization gives men and women different orientations to life, they enter college with gender-linked aspirations. Socialization—not some presumed innate characteristic—channels men and women into different educational paths.

Figure 11.3 College Students, by Sex and Race–Ethnicity

SOURCE: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2014:Table 283.

GRADUATE SCHOOL AND BEYOND If we follow students into graduate school, we see that with each passing year, the proportion of women drops. Table 11.1 on page 316 gives us a snapshot of doctoral programs in the sciences. Note how aspirations (enrollment) and accomplishments (doctorates earned) are sex-linked. In four of these doctoral programs men outnumber women, in three women outnumber men, and one is a tie. In all, however, women are less likely to complete the doctorate.

If we follow those who earn doctoral degrees to their teaching careers at colleges and universities, we find gender stratification in rank and pay. Throughout the United States, women are less likely to become full professors, the highest-paying and most prestigious rank. In both private and public colleges, the average pay of full professors is more than twice that of instructors (*Statistical Abstract* 2014:Table 299). Even when women do become full professors, their average pay is less than that of men who hold the same rank (AAUP 2014:Table 5).

Down-to-Earth Sociology

Affirmative Action for Men?

When psychologist Judith Kleinfeld (2002a) suggested the need of affirmative action *for men* in college, she was met by laughter. After all, men dominate societies around the world, as they have done for millennia. To think that men would need affirmative action seemed humorous at best.

But let's pause, step back, and try to see whether the idea has merit. Look again at Figures 11.2 and 11.3. Look at how women have passed men in enrollment and how this is true of all racial-ethnic groups. This is not something temporary, like lead cars changing place at the Indy 500. The trend is strong. For decades, women have been adding to their share of college enrollment and the degrees they earn.

With colleges open to both women and men, why don't enrollment and degrees match the proportions of women and men in the population (51 percent and 49 percent)? Although no one yet knows the reasons—and many suggestions are being thrown around—some colleges consider this

imbalance a problem searching for a solution. To get more men, some colleges are rejecting more highly qualified women (Kingsbury 2007; Lam 2013). Another problem is the classroom, where on average men are underperforming women. To improve the men's performance, some colleges have begun to offer study groups and mentoring programs for men (Hass 2012; Vendituoli 2013). As strange as it might seem, an additional problem is men's emotional state. Apparently, being a minority on campus is leading some men to feel like outsiders, even that they are being discriminated against. To combat these feelings, some colleges have started men's centers, support programs for men, even student associations for men (Gibbs 2008; Rosin 2010; Vendituoli 2013).

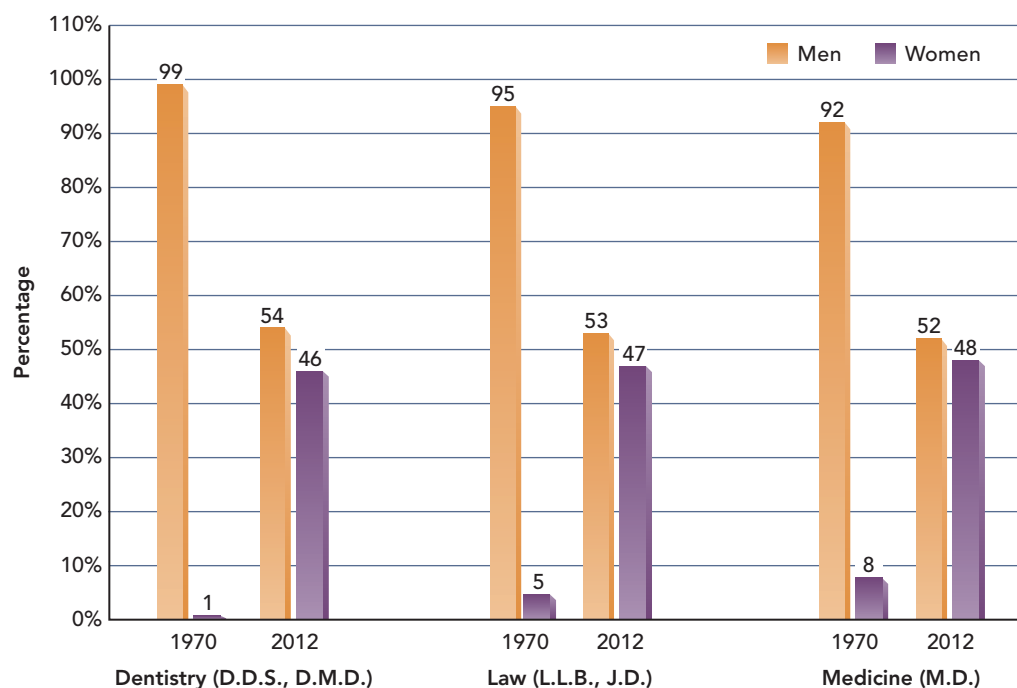


With fewer men than women in college, is it time to consider affirmative action for men?

For Your Consideration

- Why do you think that men have fallen behind?
- What implications could this have for the future of society?
- Do you think that special programs for men are desirable? Why or why not?

Figure 11.4 Gender Changes in Professional Degrees*



*Latest year available.

SOURCES: By the author. Based on *Digest of Education Statistics* 2007:Table 269; 2014:Table 318:30.

Table 11.1 Doctorates in Science, by Sex

Field	Students Enrolled		Doctorates Conferred		Completion Ratio ¹ Higher (+) or Lower (–) Than Expected	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Psychology	75%	25%	72%	28%	–4	+12
Engineering	23%	77%	22%	78%	–4	+1
Biological sciences	56%	44%	52%	48%	–7	+9
Social sciences	53%	47%	47%	53%	–11	+13
Agriculture	50%	50%	44%	56%	–12	+12
Physical sciences	33%	67%	29%	71%	–12	+6
Computer sciences	24%	76%	21%	79%	–13	+4
Mathematics	35%	65%	28%	72%	–20	+11

¹The formula for the completion ratio is X minus Y divided by Y times 100, where X is the doctorates conferred and Y is the proportion enrolled in a program.

SOURCES: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2014:Tables 836 and 840; *NSF Science and Engineering Doctorates* 2014:Table 16.

Gender Inequality in the Workplace

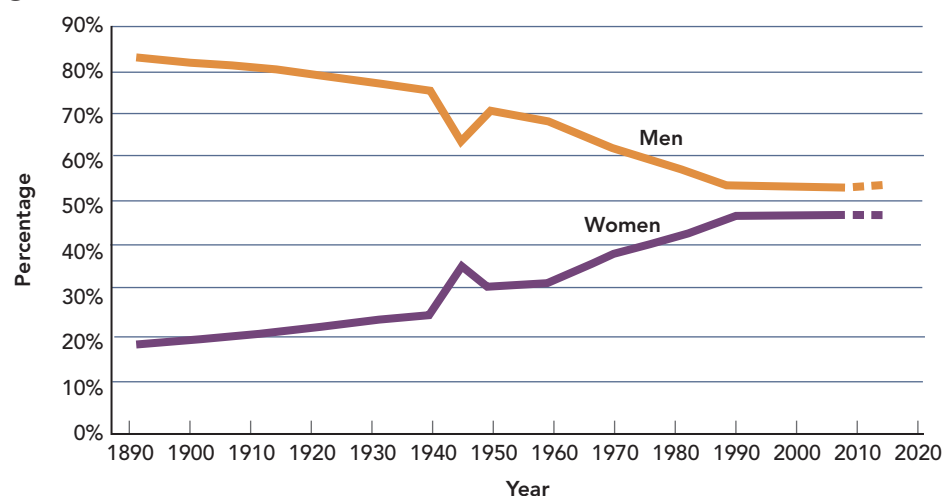
11.4 Explain reasons for the pay gap; discuss the glass ceiling and sexual harassment.

To examine the work setting is to make visible basic relations between men and women. Let's begin with one of the most remarkable areas of gender inequality at work, the pay gap.

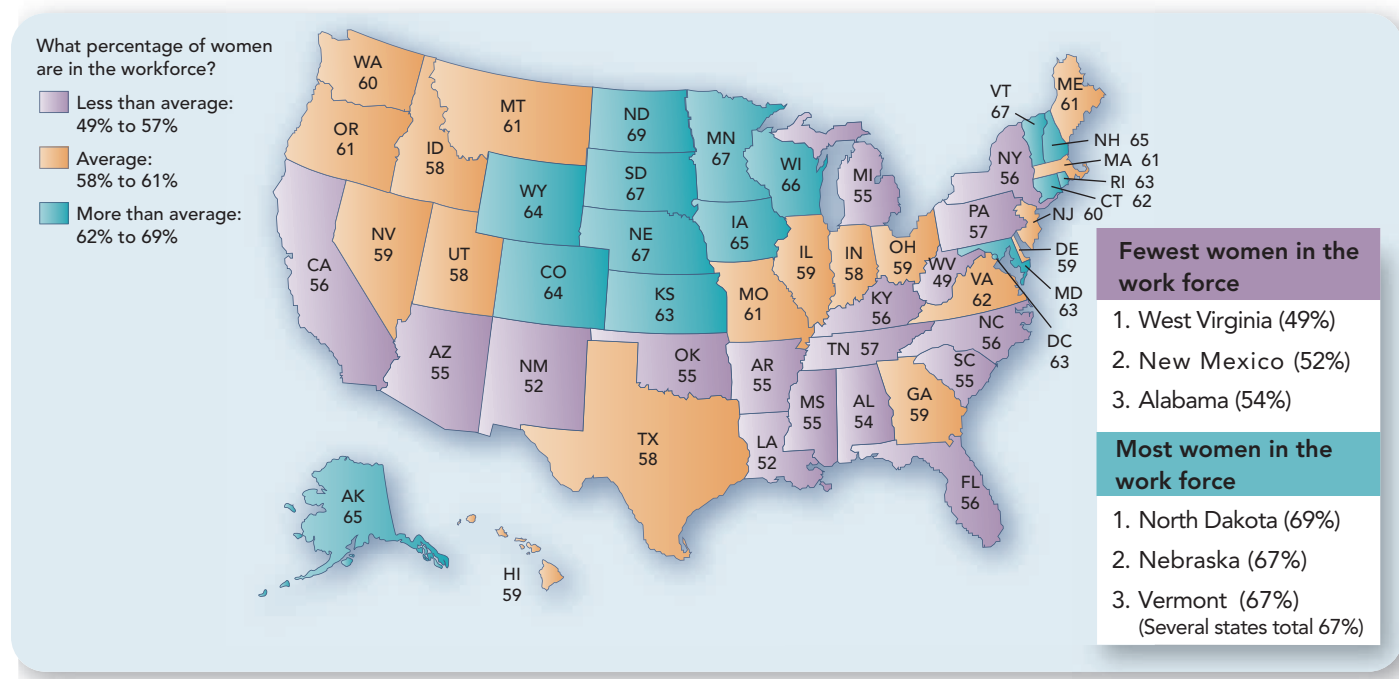
The Pay Gap

After college, you might like to take a few years off, travel around Europe, sail the oceans, or maybe sit on a beach in some South American paradise and drink piña coladas. But chances are, you are going to go to work instead. Since you have to work, how would you like to make an extra \$712,000 on your job? If this sounds appealing, read on. I'm going to reveal how you can average an extra \$1,484 a month between the ages of 25 and 65. Are you ready?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND First, let's get a broad background to help us understand today's situation. One of the chief characteristics of the U.S. workforce is the steady increase in the numbers of women who work for wages outside the home. Figure 11.5 shows that in 1890, about one of every five paid workers was a woman.

Figure 11.5 Proportion of Men and Women in the U.S. Labor Force

SOURCES: By the author. Based on *Women's Bureau of the United States* 1969: 10; *Manpower Report to the President*, 1971: 203, 205; *Mills and Palumbo* 1980: 6, 45; *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2014:Table 614.

Figure 11.6 Women in the Workforce

SOURCE: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2014:Table 621.

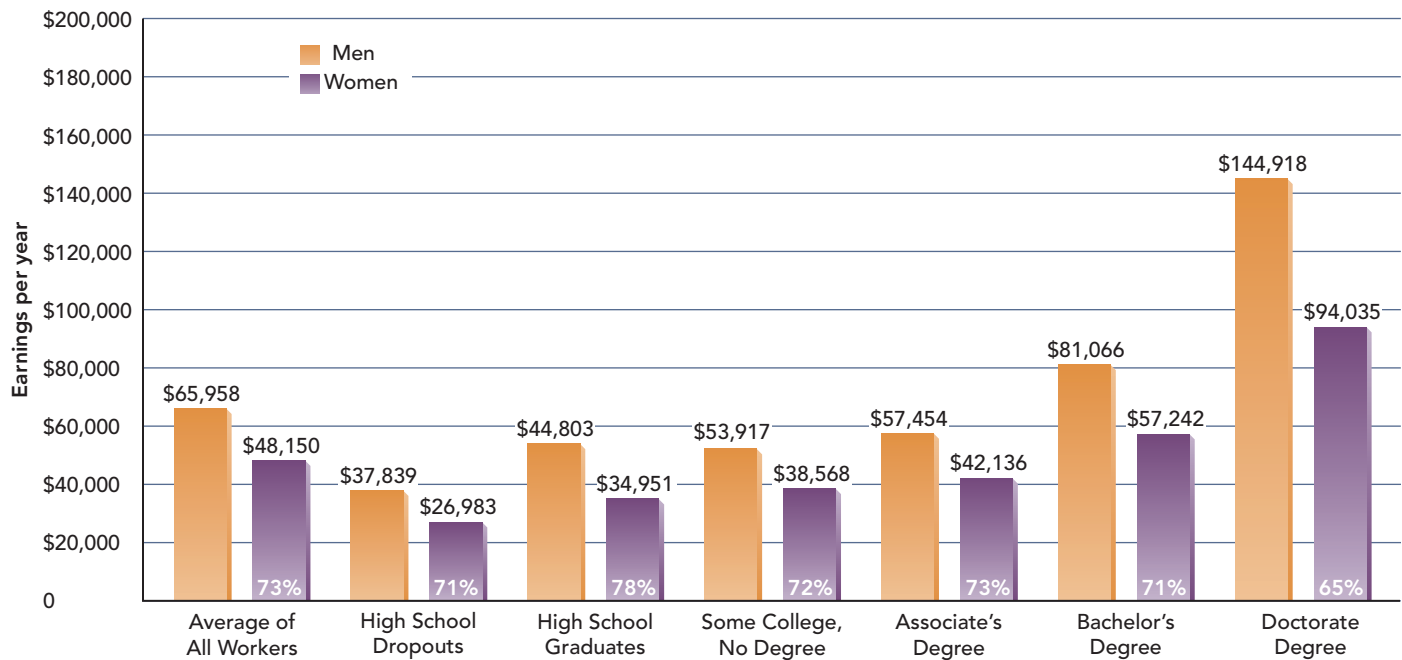
By 1940, this ratio had grown to one of four; by 1960 to one of three; and today, it is almost one of two. As you can see from this figure, 53 percent of U.S. workers are men and 47 percent are women. During the next few years, we can expect little change in this ratio.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS Women who work for wages are not distributed evenly throughout the United States. From the Social Map above, you can see that where a woman lives makes a difference in how likely she is to work outside the home. Why is there such a clustering among the states? The geographical patterns that you see on this map reflect regional subcultural differences about which we currently have little understanding.

THE “TESTOSTERONE BONUS” Now, back to how you can make an extra \$712,000 at work—maybe even more. You might be wondering if this is hard to do. Actually, it is simple for some and impossible for others. Look at Figure 11.7 on the next page. All you have to do is be born a male. If we compare full-time workers, based on current differences in earnings, this is how much more the *average male* can expect to earn over the course of his career. Now, if you want to boost this difference to \$23,800 a year for a whopping career total of \$953,000 extra, be both a male and a college graduate. Hardly any single factor pinpoints gender discrimination better than these totals. As you can see from Figure 11.7, the pay gap shows up at *all* levels of education.

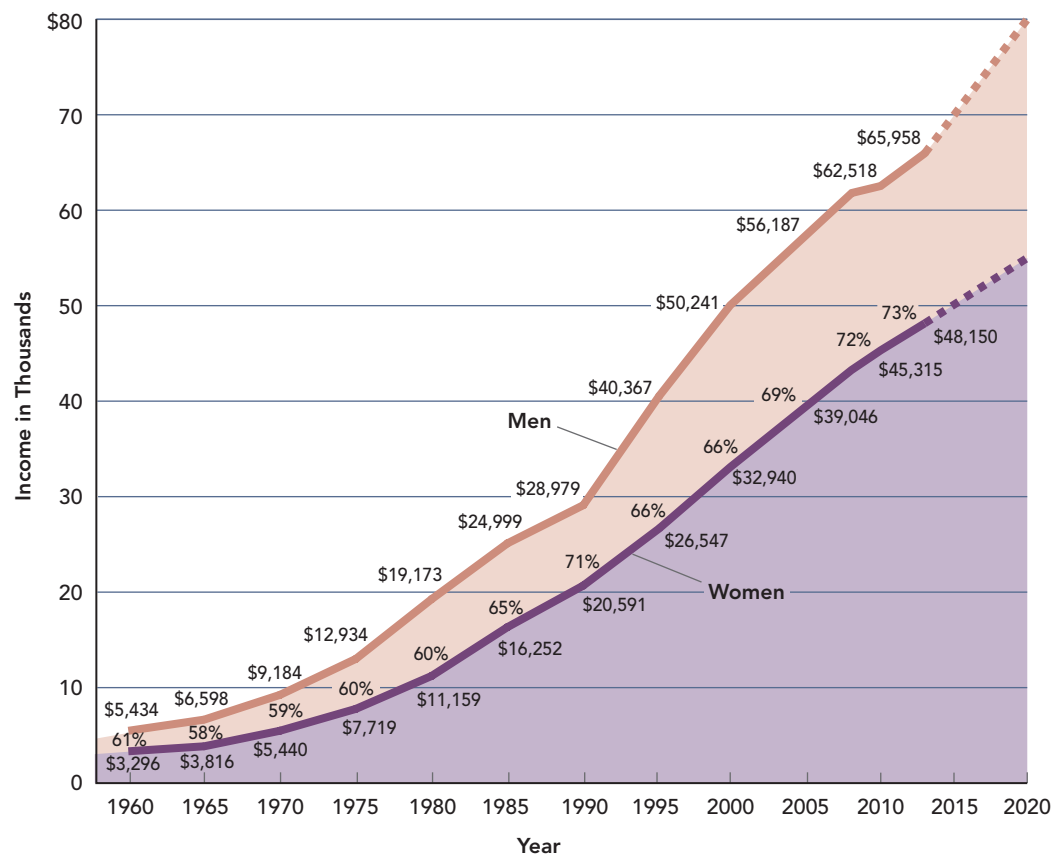
For college students, the gender gap in pay begins with the first job after graduation. You might know of a particular woman who was offered a higher salary than most men in her class, but she would be an exception. On average, employers start men out at higher salaries than women, and women never catch up with the men’s starting “testosterone bonus” (Weinberger 2011; R. Smith 2012). Depending on your sex, then, you will either benefit from the pay gap or be victimized by it.

The pay gap is so great that U.S. women who work full time average *only 73 percent* of what men are paid. As you can see from Figure 11.8 on the next page, this low percentage is actually the *smallest* gender pay gap the United States has ever had. And it isn’t only the United States. A gender gap in pay occurs in *all* industrialized nations.

Figure 11.7 The Gender Pay Gap, by Education¹

¹Mean earnings of full-time year-around workers. The percentage at the bottom of each purple bar indicates the women's percentage of the men's income.

SOURCE: By the author. Based on U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey*, Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) Supplement, 2014:Table PINC-04.

Figure 11.8 The Gender Gap over Time: What Percentage of Men's Income Do Women Earn?

SOURCES: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1995:Table 739; 2014:Table 733, and earlier years; and Figure 11.7 of this chapter. Broken lines indicate the author's estimate.

REASONS FOR THE GENDER PAY GAP What logic can underlie the gender pay gap? As we just saw, college degrees are gender linked, so perhaps this gap is due to career choices. Maybe women are more likely to choose lower-paying jobs, such as teaching grade school, while men are more likely to go into better-paying fields, such as business and engineering. Actually, this is true, and researchers have found that about *half* of the gender pay gap is due to such factors. And the balance? It consists of a combination of gender discrimination (Jacobs 2003; Roth 2003) and what is called the “child penalty”—women missing out on work experience and opportunities while they care for children (Gough and Noonan 2013).

Another reason has also become apparent. Let’s look at this in the Down-to-Earth Sociology box below.

Down-to-Earth Sociology

Applying Sociology: How to Get a Higher Salary

It will take years of united effort to overcome the powerful structural factors that hold down women’s pay at work. But to increase your own pay, you don’t have to wait for this to happen.

Let’s apply sociology to see what steps you can take. As you just read, when college students take their first jobs, most women start at lower salaries than men do. Apart from the structural reasons, such as men being perceived as more valuable workers, another factor is that women aren’t as good as men at negotiating salaries. Women are more likely to accept the first offer or to negotiate a little and be happy with the small increase that comes with a second offer (Bennett 2012; Lipman 2014).

Why be satisfied with less? If you are a woman, remember that the first offer is usually negotiable. The hiring agent will be happy if you accept the offer, but usually is willing to add considerably to it if you negotiate strongly. Negotiating is like riding a bike. It is simply a skill that you can learn. So learn it. Read books on how to negotiate. Also, practice with a partner. Role-play until you are good at it.

Then, during your career, continue to promote yourself. You might think that the system will automatically reward hard work. Perhaps it should be, but things don’t work this way in real life. Don’t be afraid to bring your accomplishments to the attention of your supervisors. You need to show them that you deserve higher raises. If you don’t, you run the risk of what you have done getting lost in the shuffle of the accomplishments of the workers around you.



On top of this, be bold and ask for large raises. When women ask for raises, they ask for 30 percent less than what men ask for (Lipman 2014). If asking large makes you uncomfortable, then overcome that discomfort. Again, read books on how to negotiate, and practice your negotiating skills with others. (And copy this page and put it into practice.)

Does this application of sociology apply only to women? Of course not. Even though men on average are less reluctant to bring their accomplishments to the attention of supervisors and to ask for and negotiate higher salaries, many men also hesitate to do so. They can use these same techniques to overcome their reluctance. All workers, male and female,

can hone up on their negotiating skills. It’s worth the time you put into improving this skill. It can pay off in your weekly paycheck.

Sociology isn’t something to lock up in an ivory tower. Sociology is about life. As you can see, you can even apply its insights into achieving success at work and increasing your standard of living.

For Your Consideration

- How do you think you can improve your negotiating skills?
- For practice, what partner do you think you should choose?
- How can you evaluate what you are learning?
- What other insights of sociology do you think you can apply to your career?

THE CEO POWER GAP As is obvious to all, men have more power than women in the corporate world. To see the gender gap in power, consider this. Women head only fourteen of the nation's largest three hundred corporations. The surprising positive news: With today's corporate boards more sensitive to gender, the median pay of these women equals that of their male peers (Murray 2014; Leahy and Fairchild 2015).

I examined the names of the CEOs of the 350 largest U.S. corporations, and I found that your best chance to reach the top is to be named (in this order) John, Robert, James, William, or Charles. Edward, Lawrence, and Richard are also advantageous names. Amber, Katherine, Leticia, and Maria apparently draw a severe penalty. Naming your baby girl John or Robert might seem a little severe, but it could help her reach the top. (I say this only slightly tongue in cheek. One of the few women to head a Fortune 500 company—before she was fired and given \$21 million severance pay—had a man's first name: Carleton Fiorina of Hewlett-Packard. Carleton's first name is actually Cara, but knowing what she was facing in the highly competitive business world, she dropped this feminine name to go by her masculine middle name.)

Is the Glass Ceiling Cracking?

*"First comes love, then comes marriage,
then comes flex time and a baby carriage."*

—Said by a supervisor at Novartis who refused to hire women
(Carter 2010)

This supervisor's statement reflects blatant discrimination. Most gender discrimination in the workplace, however, seems to be unintentional, with much of it based on gender stereotypes.

glass ceiling

the mostly invisible barrier that keeps women from advancing to the top levels at work

Apart from cases of discrimination, then, what keeps women from breaking through the **glass ceiling**, the mostly invisible barrier that prevents women from reaching the executive suite? Stereotypes are part of the reason (Isaac 2012). It is common for men, who dominate leadership, to have the stereotype that women are good at "support" but less capable than men of leadership. They steer women into human resources or public relations. This keeps many away from the "pipelines" that lead to the top of a company—marketing, sales, and production—positions that produce profits for the company and bonuses for the managers (Hymowitz 2004; DeCrow 2005).

Another reason that the glass ceiling is so strong is that women lack mentors—successful executives who take an interest in them and teach them the ropes. Lack of a mentor is no trivial matter, since mentors can provide opportunities to develop leadership skills that open the door to the executive suite (Hymowitz 2007; Yakaboski and Reinert 2011).

THE WOMEN WHO BREAK THROUGH As you would expect, the women who have broken through the glass ceiling are highly motivated individuals with a fierce competitive spirit. They are willing to give up sleep, recreation, and family responsibilities for the sake of advancing their careers (Sellers 2012). Hannah Bowles (2012), who interviewed fifty women who had reached top positions in their companies, reports that these women

1. have a great deal of confidence in their abilities;
2. set goals for themselves and measure their progress;
3. promote themselves;
4. identified "gatekeepers" to advancement and made themselves noticeable; and
5. identified a need, sold management on it, and successfully met that need.

These keys for success apply to both women and men.

AND THE FUTURE? Will the glass ceiling crack open? Some think so. They point out that women who began their careers twenty to thirty years ago are now running major divisions within the largest companies, and from them, some will emerge as the new

CEOs. Others reply that these optimists have been saying the same thing for years. They point out that the glass ceiling continues to be so strong that most of these women have already reached their top positions (Carter 2010).

Sexual Harassment—and Worse

Sexual harassment—unwelcome sexual attention at work or at school, which may affect job or school performance or create a hostile environment—was not recognized as a problem until the 1970s. Before this, a woman considered unwanted sexual comments, touches, looks, and pressure to have sex as a personal matter, something between her and some “turned on” man—or an obnoxious one.

With the prodding of feminists, women began to perceive unwanted sexual advances at work and school as part of a *structural* problem. That is, they began to realize that the issue was more than a man here or there doing obnoxious things because he was attracted to a woman; rather, men were using their positions of authority to pressure women for sex.

LABELS AND PERCEPTION As symbolic interactionists stress, labels affect the way we see things. Because we have the term *sexual harassment*, we perceive actions in a different light than people used to. We are now more apt to perceive the sexual advances of a supervisor toward a worker not as sexual attraction but as a misuse of authority.

NOT JUST A “MAN THING” It is important to add that sexual harassment is not just a “man thing.” Unlike the past, many women today are in positions of authority, and in those positions, they, too, sexually harass subordinates (McLaughlin et al. 2012). With most authority still vested in men, however, most sexual harassers are men.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION Originally, sexual desire was an element of sexual harassment, but no longer. This changed when the U.S. Supreme Court considered the lawsuit of a homosexual who had been tormented by his supervisors and fellow workers. The Court ruled that sexual desire is not necessary—that sexual harassment laws also apply to homosexuals who are harassed by heterosexuals while on the job (Felsenthal 1998; Ramakrishnan 2011). By extension, the law applies to heterosexuals who are sexually harassed by homosexuals.

Gender and Violence

11.5 Summarize violence against women: rape, murder, and violence in the home.

One of the consistent characteristics of violence in the United States—and the world—is its gender inequality. Globally, females are more likely to be the victims of males, not the other way around. Let’s briefly review this almost one-way street in gender violence as it applies to the United States.

Violence against Women

We have already examined violence against women in other cultures; earlier in this chapter, we reviewed a form of surgical violence in the United States; and in Chapter 16, we will review violence in the home. Here we briefly review some primary features of gender violence.

FORCIBLE RAPE The fear of rape is common among U.S. women, a fear that is far from groundless. The U.S. rate is 0.50 per 1,000 females age 12 and older (*Statistical Abstract* 2014:Table 327). This means that 1 of every 2,000 U.S. girls and women ages 12 and older



As the glass ceiling slowly cracks, women are gaining entry into the top positions of society. Shown here is Indra Nooyi, Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of PepsiCo.

sexual harassment

the abuse of one’s position of authority to force unwanted sexual demands on someone



“Of course it isn’t a case of sexual discrimination. We just don’t think you’re the right man for the job.”

Although crassly put by the cartoonist, behind the glass ceiling lies this background assumption.

Table 11.2 Rape Victims

Age	Rate per 1,000 Females
12–15	1.6
16–19	2.7
20–24	2.0
25–34	1.3
35–49	0.8
50–64	0.4
65 and Older	0.1

SOURCES: By the author. A ten-year average based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2005:Table 306; 2006:Table 308; 2007:Table 311; 2008:Table 313; 2009:Table 305; 2010:Table 305; 2011:Table 312; 2012:Table 316; 2013:Table 278; 2014:Table 328.

Table 11.3 Relationship of Victims and Rapists

Relationship	Percentage
Relative	6%
Known Well	33%
Casual Acquaintance	23%
Stranger	34%
Not Reported	3%

SOURCES: By the author. A ten-year average based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2005:Table 307; 2006:Table 311; 2007:Table 315; 2008:Table 316; 2009:Table 306; 2010:Table 306; 2011:Table 313; 2012:Table 317; 2013:Table 323; 2014:Table 329.

is raped *each year*. Despite this high number, women are much safer now than they were twenty-five or so years ago, when many think society was so much safer. Today’s rape rate is only one-third of what the rate was in 1990.

Although any woman can be a victim of sexual assault—and victims include babies and elderly women—the typical victim is 16 to 19 years old. As you can see from Table 11.2, sexual assault peaks at those ages and then declines.

Women’s most common fear seems to be an attack by a stranger—a sudden, violent abduction and rape. However, contrary to the stereotypes that underlie these fears, most victims know their attackers. As you can see from Table 11.3, one of three rapes is committed by strangers.

Males are also victims of rape, which is every bit as devastating for them as it is for female victims (Dao 2013). The rape of males in the military and in jails and prisons is a special problem. An astounding finding is that about as many prisoners are raped by prison staff as by other prisoners (Holland 2012).

The most common drug used to facilitate date rape is alcohol, not GHB.



DATE (ACQUAINTANCE) RAPE

At the peer workshop on sexual assault at the University of California at Berkeley, the student leader was talking to fraternity members. When she explained that sex with someone who has blacked out from drinking is rape, “jaws dropped.” “They didn’t even know this was illegal or wrong,” she said. (Phillips 2014)

Date rape (also known as *acquaintance rape*) is common. Based on a nationally representative sample of women college students, 1.7 percent have been raped during the preceding six months. Another 1.1 percent were victims of attempted rape (Fisher et al. 2000).

These small percentages represent *huge* numbers. With 12 million women enrolled in college, 2.8 percent (1.7 plus 1.1) means that over a quarter of a million college women were victims of sexual assault *in just the past six months*. (The research was based on colleges with more than 1,000 students, so this assumes that the same rates apply to smaller colleges.)

You can assume, then, that tens of thousands of men were arrested. Not really, though. Most of the women told a friend what happened, but only *5 percent* reported the crime to the police (Fisher et al. 2003). (In another study, 11.5 percent reported their rape [Wolitzky-Taylor et al 2011].)

Most did not consider the event “serious enough” to report. Many were uncertain that a crime had been committed. Others were embarrassed and wanted to keep it from their families. Some felt helpless, that “It would be my word against his.”

Some victims even feel responsible for their own rape: They were drinking with the man, went to his place, or invited him to her place. As a physician who treats victims of sexual assault said, “Would you feel responsible if someone hit you over the head with a shovel—just because you knew the person?” (Carpenito 1999).

MURDER All over the world, men are more likely than women to be killers. Figure 11.9 illustrates this gender pattern in U.S. murders. Note that although females make up about 51 percent of the U.S. population, they don’t even come close to making up 51 percent of the nation’s killers. As you can see from this figure, when women are murdered, about seven times out of eight the killer is a man.

VIOLENCE IN THE HOME In the family, too, women are the typical victims. Spouse battering, marital rape, and incest are discussed in Chapter 16. Two forms of violence against women—honor killings and female circumcision were earlier topics of this chapter.

FEMINISM AND GENDERED VIOLENCE Feminist sociologists have been especially effective in bringing violence against women to the public’s attention. Some use symbolic interactionism, pointing out that to associate strength and virility with violence—as is done in many cultures—is to promote violence. Others employ conflict theory. They argue that men are losing power and that some men turn violently against women as a way to reassert their declining power and status (Reiser 1999; Xie et al. 2011).

SOLUTIONS There is no magic bullet for the problem of gendered violence, but to be effective, any solution must break the connection between violence and masculinity. This would require an educational program that encompasses schools, churches, homes, and the media. Given the gun-slinging heroes of the Wild West and other American icons, as well as the violent messages that are so prevalent in the mass media, including video games, it is difficult to be optimistic that a change will come any time soon.

Our next topic, women in politics, however, gives us much more reason for optimism.

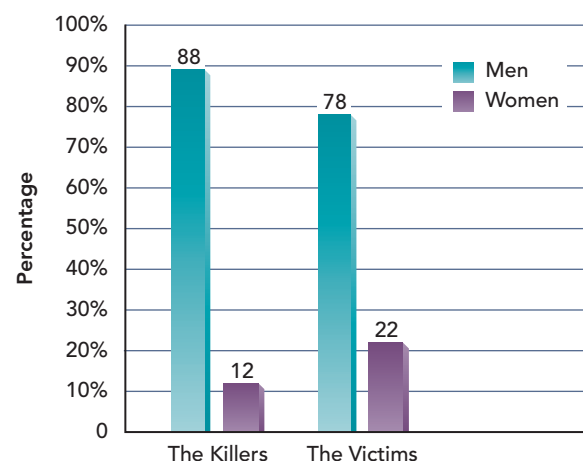
The Changing Face of Politics

11.6 Discuss changes in gender and politics.

Women could take over the United States! Think about it. There are eight million more women than men of voting age. But look at Table 11.4 on the next page. Although women voters greatly outnumber men voters, men greatly outnumber women in political office. The remarkable gains women have made in recent elections can take our eye off the broader picture. Since 1789, about two thousand men have served in the U.S. Senate. And how many women? Only forty-four, including the twenty current senators. Not until 1992 was the first African American woman (Carol Brown) elected to the U.S. Senate. It took until 2013 for the first Asian American woman (Mazie Hirono) to be sworn into the Senate. No Latina has yet been elected to the Senate (National Women’s Political Caucus 1998, 2013; *Statistical Abstract* 2014:Table 432).

We are in the midst of fundamental change. In 2002, Nancy Pelosi was the first woman to be elected by her colleagues as minority leader of the House of Representatives. Five years later, in 2007, they chose her as the first female Speaker of the House. These

Figure 11.9 Killers and Their Victims



SOURCE: By the author. Based on *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2014:Tables 324, 342.



Angela Merkel, the world’s most powerful woman, broke through the German glass ceiling in politics. Serving her third 4-year term as chancellor of Germany, she is shown here on a visit to New Zealand, greeting a Maori leader in their traditional manner of rubbing noses.

Table 11.4 U.S. Women in Political Office

	Offices Held by Women (Percentage)	Offices Held by Women (Number)
National Office		
U.S. Senate	20%	20
U.S. House of Representatives	18%	79
State Office		
Governors	10%	5
Lt. Governors	22%	11
Attorneys General	16%	8
Secretaries of State	22%	11
Treasurers	14%	7
State Auditors	16%	8
State Legislators	24%	1,789

SOURCE: By the author. Based on Center for American Women and Politics 2014.

posts made her the most powerful woman ever in Congress. Another significant event occurred in 2008 when Hillary Clinton came within a hair’s breadth of becoming the presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. That same year, Sarah Palin was chosen as the Republican vice presidential candidate. We can also note that more women are becoming corporate executives, and, as indicated in Figure 11.4 on page 315, more women are also becoming lawyers. In these positions, women are traveling more and making statewide and national contacts. Along with other social changes that give women more freedom, such as the idea that fathers should take more responsibility for the care of their children, it is only a matter of time until a woman occupies the Oval Office.

Glimpsing the Future—with Hope

11.7 Explain why the future looks hopeful.

Women’s fuller participation in the decision-making processes of our social institutions has shattered stereotypes that tended to limit females to “feminine” activities and push males into “masculine” ones. As structural barriers continue to fall and more activities are degendered, both males and females will have greater freedom to pursue activities that are more compatible with their abilities and desires as individuals.

As females and males develop a new consciousness both of their capacities and of their potential, relationships will change. Distinctions between the sexes will not disappear, but there is no reason for biological differences to be translated into social inequalities. The potential, as sociologist Alison Jaggar (1990) observed, is for gender equality to become less a goal than a background condition for living in society.

Summary and Review

Issues of Sex and Gender

11.1 Distinguish between sex and gender; use research on Vietnam veterans and testosterone to explain why the door to biology is opening in sociology.

What is gender stratification?

The term **gender stratification** refers to unequal access to property, power, and prestige on the basis of sex. Each society establishes a structure that, on the basis of sex and gender, opens and closes doors to its privileges.

How do sex and gender differ?

Sex refers to biological distinctions between males and females. It consists of both primary and secondary sex characteristics. **Gender**, in contrast, is what a society considers proper behaviors and attitudes for its male and female members. Sex physically distinguishes males from females; gender refers to what people call “masculine” and “feminine.”

Why do the behaviors of males and females differ?

The “nature versus nurture” debate refers to whether differences in the behaviors of males and females are caused by

inherited (biological) or learned (cultural) characteristics. Almost all sociologists take the side of nurture. In recent years, however, sociologists have begun to cautiously open the door to biology.

Gender Inequality in Global Perspective

11.2 Discuss the origin of gender discrimination, sex typing of work, gender and the prestige of work, and global aspects of pay, violence, and education.

Is gender stratification universal?

George Murdock surveyed information on tribal societies and found that all of them have sex-linked activities and give greater prestige to male activities. **Patriarchy**, or male dominance, appears to be universal. Besides work, male dominance is seen in education, politics, and everyday life.

How did females become a minority group?

The origin of discrimination against females is lost in history, but the primary theory of how females became a minority group in their own societies focuses on the physical limitations imposed by childbirth.

What forms does gender inequality take around the world?

Its many variations include inequalities in education, politics, and pay. It also includes domination in the form of violence, including female circumcision.

Gender Inequality in the United States

11.3 Review the rise of feminism and summarize gender inequality in everyday life, health care, and education.

Is the feminist movement new?

In what is called the “first wave,” feminists made political demands for change in the early 1900s—and were met with hostility, even violence. The “second wave” began in the 1960s and continues today. An overlapping “third wave” is in process.

What forms does gender inequality take in everyday life, health care, and education?

In everyday life, a lower value is placed on things feminine. In health care, physicians don’t take women’s health complaints as seriously as those of men. They also exploit women’s fears, performing unnecessary hysterectomies. In education, more

women than men attend college and earn college degrees. Many choose fields that are categorized as “feminine.” Women are less likely than men to complete the doctoral programs in science. Fundamental change is indicated by the growing numbers of women in law and medicine.

Gender Inequality in the Workplace

11.4 Explain reasons for the pay gap; discuss the glass ceiling and sexual harassment.

How does gender inequality show up in the workplace?

All occupations show a gender gap in pay. For college graduates, the lifetime pay gap runs close to a million dollars in favor of men. **Sexual harassment** also continues to be a reality of the workplace.

Gender and Violence

11.5 Summarize violence against women: rape, murder, and violence in the home.

What is the relationship between gender and violence?

Overwhelmingly, the victims of rape and murder are females. Female circumcision and honor killing are special cases of violence against females. Conflict theorists point out that men use violence to maintain their power and privilege.

The Changing Face of Politics

11.6 Discuss changes in gender and politics.

What is the trend in gender inequality in politics?

A traditional division of gender roles—women as child care providers and homemakers, men as workers outside the home—used to keep women out of politics. Women continue to be underrepresented in politics, but the trend toward greater political equality is firmly in place.

Glimpsing the Future—with Hope

11.7 Explain why the future looks hopeful.

How might changes in gender roles and stereotypes affect our lives?

In the United States, women are increasingly involved in the decision-making processes of our social institutions. Men, too, are reexamining their traditional roles. New ideas of gender are developing, allowing both males and females to pursue more individual, less stereotypical interests

Thinking Critically about Chapter 11

1. What is your position on the “nature versus nurture” (biology or culture) debate? What materials in this chapter support your position?
2. Why do you think that the gender gap in pay exists all over the world?
3. What do you think can be done to reduce gender inequality?